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HOWARD A. WILSON

William Dean Howells's Unpublished Letters About the Haymarket Affair

Howard A. Wilson is William Edward Simonds Professor of English and Chairman of the English Department at Knox College. Before going to Galesburg he taught at Indiana, Drake, and Cornell universities, and Amherst College. He is a native of Indiana, studied at De Pauw University and the State College of Washington, and received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin.

ON MAY 4, 1886, a meeting of workingmen was called in Chicago to protest the killing by police of strikers at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company the day before. The place chosen for the meeting was the Haymarket, at the corner of Desplaines and Randolph streets. Shortly after 10 P.M., as the meeting was about to break up, a bomb was thrown into a company of policemen sent to disperse the crowd. One policeman was killed instantly by the explosion. In the short "riot" that followed, eight policemen and an undetermined number of private citizens were killed or so severely wounded that they later died. Eight men — two of whom were probably not at the Haymarket at the time the bomb was thrown — were arrested on charges of committing murder, inciting to murder by speech and writing, and being accessory to murder. All eight were convicted, and seven were sentenced to be hanged. Approbation for the verdict was almost universal, but in the near-hysteria which prevailed a few men dared question whether the eight "anarchists" had had a fair trial. Among these the best known was William Dean Howells. Although *The Rise of Silas Lapham,* published the year before, had in some quarters been accused of "out-Zolaing Zola," Howells's

associations with the *Nation* and *Atlantic Monthly* and his half-dozen or more earlier novels had earned him esteem and respectability. He was no visionary idealist, and his doubts and misgivings about the trial and conviction deserved to be heard. But neither Illinois Governor Richard G. Oglesby nor the public listened, and Howells found that only to intimates like his father and Mark Twain and to acquaintances like William Mackintire Salter, who shared his misgivings, could he express himself fully.

From Mildred Howells's edition of her father's correspondence,[1] the general pattern of William Dean Howells's reactions to the famous case can be traced. His interest began, presumably, at the time of the anarchists' trial, which opened on June 21, 1886. It was "through reading their trial" that Howells concluded that the condemned men "proved themselves absolutely guiltless of the murder charged upon them."[2] On September 25, 1887, eleven days after the Illinois Supreme Court had upheld the verdict of the lower court that the seven men should hang, Howells wrote to Roger A. Pryor expressing his pleasure in Pryor's decision to take the case and appeal for a writ of error to the United States Supreme Court.[3] From subsequent correspondence between Howells and General Pryor it becomes evident that Pryor may have suggested to Howells that he make a public appeal in behalf of the condemned men. On October 3 Pryor wrote to Howells: "A temperate claim on behalf of the Anarchists . . . under the *imprimatur* of your name, cannot but be of wholesome and happy effect."[4]

1. Mildred Howells, ed., *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (New York, 1928).

2. Letter to Thomas S. Perry, April 14, 1888, *ibid.*, I: 413. See also Everett Carter, "William Dean Howells' Theory of Critical Realism," *ELH, A Journal of English Literary History,* XVI (1949): 151-66, in which Carter sets Aug. 20 as the earliest possible date for the beginning of Howells's interest.

3. Howells, *Life in Letters,* I: 393. Pryor was then a successful New York newspaperman and lawyer; he served in the Confederate Army in the Civil War. See also Walter Fuller Taylor, "On the Origin of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform," *American Literature,* II (1930-1931): 3-14.

4. Howells, *Life in Letters,* I: 394.

Howells wrote such a letter to Pryor late in October,[5] but when Pryor suggested publishing it, Howells decided against publication. On November 1, while waiting for the United States Supreme Court to rule on the petition for a writ of error, Pryor wrote Howells:

> . . . In the ardor of my zeal for my clients, the possible detriment to yourself escaped my consideration; but that fact, as well as the no effect of the publication, are obvious on cool reflection. No man should challenge public obloquy without a commensurate object.
>
> Still, I am satisfied that an appeal by you for Executive clemency, would not be ineffectual. And, I am afraid that such appeal is our last resource. The Court should grant us the writ – of which the effect is only to bring the judgment below up for review on Federal questions, but I believe it will be denied.[6]

The next day, November 2, the Supreme Court denied the writ of error, and on November 4 Howells wrote his famous letter to the *New York Tribune,* in which he pleaded:

> . . . the men stentenced to death are still alive, and their lives may be finally saved through the clemency of the Governor, whose prerogative is now the supreme law in their case. I conjure all those who believe that it would be either injustice or impolicy to put them to death, to join in urging him by petition, by letter, through the press, and from the pulpit and the platform, to use his power, in the only direction where power can never be misused, for the mitigation of their punishment.[7]

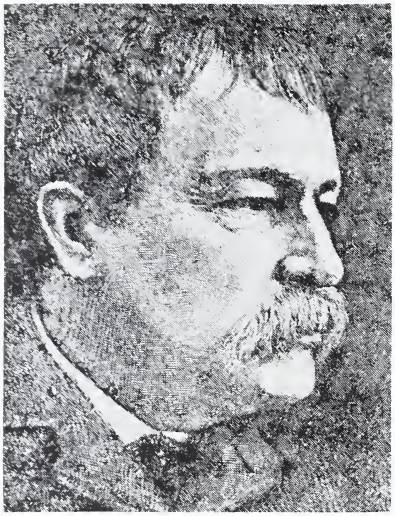
On November 11, the date set for the executions, Howells wrote with considerable passion to F. F. Browne:

> . . . I don't know yet what the governor has done. While I write

5. In commenting on this letter, which was not published, Miss Howells says, "Judge Pryor refers to a letter from Howells to him about the 'Anarchists' that he suggested publishing, but which Howells decided not to print." *Ibid.,* I: 397.

6. *Ibid.,* 397-98.

7. *Ibid.,* 398-99. The letter was published Nov. 6, instead of Nov. 4, as Miss Howells says. For a personal letter from Howells to F. F. Browne which appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* of Nov. 8, 1887, see John W. Ward, "Another Howells Anarchist Letter," *American Literature,* XXII (1950-1951): 489-90. For a letter which Howells wrote but presumably did not send to the *New York Tribune* after the execution of the anarchists, see Edwin H. Cady, *The Realist at War: The Mature Years, 1885-1920, of William Dean Howells* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1958), 73-77.



William Dean Howells – the noted novelist did not believe that the Haymarket anarchists had had a fair trial.

that hideous scene may be enacting in your jail yard – the thing forever damnable before God and abominable to civilized men. . . .

All over the world people must be asking themselves, What cause is this really, for which men die so gladly, so inexorably? So the evil will grow from violence to violence![8]

Two days later he expressed himself to his father in what were perhaps the strongest terms he used about the affair. "All is over now, except the judgment that begins at once for every unjust and evil deed, and goes on forever. The historical perspective is that this free Republic has killed five [*sic*] men for their opinions."[9] Had Howells done no more than write the famous letter to the *Tribune,* he would merit the tribute his daughter pays him:

> Howells felt so strongly that the "Chicago Anarchists" had not been fairly tried that he risked, as he believed, his reputation and his livelihood in trying to save them. . . . Whether he was right or wrong in his view of the case does not affect the fact of his courage in hazarding everything for what he thought the right.[10]

But his interest in the case and his efforts for the condemned men went further than his writing the letter to the *Tribune.* Before he was through he had been moved by

8. Howells, *Life in Letters,* I: 402.
9. *Ibid.* Four men were hanged; one committed suicide.
10. *Ibid.,* 393.

the events of November, 1887, to a sympathetic consideration of philosophical anarchism. A record of his reactions can be seen in the hitherto unpublished letters he wrote during these weeks to William Mackintire Salter of Chicago,[11] one of the leaders in the attempt to get amnesty for the condemned men.

At that time William Mackintire Salter was a minister in Chicago and the lecturer for the Chicago Ethical Society. Salter was born in Burlington, Iowa, in 1853, and graduated from Knox College in the class of 1871.[12] As an undergraduate, he had come to have some doubts about orthodox Christianity, and his commencement oration, "Is Orthodoxy in Theology Necessary for the Christian?", had caused some raised eyebrows among the college trustees. He entered the Yale Theological School in 1871 but in 1873 transferred to the Harvard Divinity School, believing "[he] might at least hold on to enough to be a Unitarian minister if [he] could not be an Orthodox one." He did become a Unitarian minister, but after a year of serving a church in Massachusetts, he re-entered Harvard only to find that "the solid grounds for distinctive Christian faith in any form had slipped away." He continued, nevertheless, to work for his degree and in 1876 was granted the B.D. degree and appointed Parker Fellow of Harvard at the University of Göttingen. While he was in Germany, his health failed. He returned to America and spent over a year and a half herding sheep in Colorado. After recovering his health he took additional work at Columbia University and in 1883 was appointed lecturer for the Chicago Ethical Society. Here he followed with great interest the fate of the men implicated in the Haymarket riot of May 4, 1886, and came

11. The letters are in the Memorabilia Room of Knox College, Galesburg. They are published here with the permission of Professor W. W. Howells, of Harvard University, on behalf of the heirs of William Dean Howells, and may not be published or printed without special permission from him.

12. For the facts of Salter's life, I have relied on the sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the autobiographical sketch in *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ethical Movement, 1876-1926* (New York, 1926), 37-43.

to believe, as did a considerable number of other men, that the conspirators had been tried for one crime and sentenced for another. On October 23, 1887, while waiting for the Supreme Court ruling in the case, he delivered a lecture before the Ethical Society entitled "What Shall be Done with the Anarchists?"[13] The key to his position is contained in the following passage:

> . . . I cannot discover a thing against these four men [Schwab, Spies, Parsons, and Fielden; Salter had already granted that three of the others, Engel, Fischer, and Lingg, were acquainted with the "conspiracy" the night before the Haymarket riot] that goes beyond seditious and treasonable language and membership, or rather leadership in a diabolical conspiracy against the present order of society. This is crime enough. It is crime enough to outlaw them or banish them, or even hang them, though I should not will the like. But it is not the crime with which they were charged; it is not the crime of being accessories to the murder of Degan [the policeman who was killed outright by the bomb]. There is this kernel of truth in the claim of anarchist sympathizers, that the anarchists were tried for murder and are to be hanged for anarchy.[14]

Salter's conclusion was that Spies, Schwab, Parsons, and Fielden should not be punished as equally guilty with the others. Let them be imprisoned, he said. Hanging would be a public crime. "Their offense is against the State and the officers of the State. Is not the State big enough, strong enough to be able to afford to be magnanimous?"[15]

Salter may have sent a copy of this lecture to Howells. If he did not, then Howells saw it in *The Open Court,* for on November 1 he wrote the following letter[16] to Salter:

13. Printed in *The Open Court,* I (Oct., 1887): 530-35. There is a summary of the lecture in Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York, 1936), 398-99. This book is invaluable for anyone wanting a full account of the affair.

14. *The Open Court,* I (Oct., 1887): 535.

15. *Ibid.,* 534.

16. This and all other unpublished letters used here are in the Memorabilia Room at Knox College. The letters are printed in full. The Salter Papers, which were given to Knox College after Salter's death, consist of more than sixty letters and miscellaneous newspaper and magazine clippings about the Haymarket affair and the Pullman strike; a manuscript article, "Misappre-

DANSVILLE, N.Y., NOV. 1, 1887

DEAR MR. SALTER –

I have read with grateful satisfaction your discourse on the condemned Anarchists. I have never thought they had a fair trial, and I find by your statement of the case that I had clearly acquainted myself with the facts. These men were indictable for conspiracy, and they were tried for murder.

I have already both signed a petition for the commutation of their sentence, and have written a letter to the governor in their behalf.

Is there any hope of his clemency? Is there anything more to be done? Take a moment to write me a line. I feel deeply in this matter. You may remember meeting me at Prof. James's[17] in Cambridge. If you do, kindly present my regards to Mrs. Salter.

Yours cordially
W. D. HOWELLS

We are at the Sanitorium here with our invalid daughter.

Events moved rapidly between November 1 and 11, the date set for the executions. On November 2 the Supreme Court denied the writ of error. The only hope for the men then lay with Governor Oglesby. Salter and other sympathizers concentrated their energies on getting signatures to an appeal for amnesty. Public meetings were held, to one of which Howells wired his sympathy and good wishes.[18] On November 6, the day that Howells's letter appeared in the *Tribune,* four bombs were found in Lingg's cell.[19] On the same day Engel took an overdose of drugs.[20] He did not die, but Lingg later succeeded in killing himself. For many, the discovery of the bombs was additional confirmation of the guilt of the men; certainly it made the task of those who sought clemency harder. Nevertheless, on the

hensions in the Anarchist Case," sent to the *Christian Register* but not printed; and a copy of the article by Judge Joseph E. Gary, "The Chicago Anarchists of 1886: The Crime, the Trial, and the Punishment," in the *Century Magazine,* XLV (April, 1893): 803-37, with Salter's marginal notes and comments.

17. Salter and William James were brothers-in-law. Mrs. Salter was a sister of Mrs. James.

18. Telegram in the Memorabilia Room, Knox College. The message reads: "If worthwhile communicate my sympathy and good wishes at amnesty meeting tonight. W. D. Howells." The telegram is dated Nov. 5, 1887.

19. David, *Haymarket Affair,* 436-39.

20. *Ibid.,* 455.

night of November 8, chartered cars left Chicago for Springfield, bearing the amnesty leaders whom Governor Oglesby had agreed to see the next morning. Interest in the Governor's decision ran high. On the ninth Howells wired Salter, "Please telegraph me the governor's decision about the anarchists."[21] At seven o'clock on the evening of the tenth, the Governor issued a statement. He had commuted the sentences of Schwab and Fielden.[22] At a little after noon the next day, Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were hanged.[23]

It is doubtful that even the men who worked hardest for amnesty had held very high hopes that the Governor would do more than he did. But up until the evening of November 10, commutation of sentence for Parsons, and perhaps for Spies, as well as for Schwab and Fielden, had at least been a possibility. Now, with four of the men hanged and another a suicide, the import of what the state had done, not what it might do, hit Howells with its fullest force. Within the next few days he expressed his feelings not only to his father but also to Salter and to other friends who had worked for the condemned men. And then, as he accepted the *fait accompli,* he turned, with a novelist's interest perhaps, to the men themselves and asked Salter for pictures and for details about their lives. The following letters show the nature and extent of his interest:

Dansville, Nov. 13, 1887.

My Dear Eddy[24] –

I got your postal while I still had some foolish hope that the lives of those hapless men could be saved. Of course I never doubted where you stood – it was as if I touched your true hand in the dark and knew that you were beside the few not drunk and blind with the fear and hate that seem to have debauched this nation. But I

21. Telegram in Memorabilia Room, Knox College.

22. David, *Haymarket Affair,* 455-57.

23. Lingg had committed suicide by exploding a bomb early the previous morning. *Ibid.,* 454-55.

24. This is undoubtedly Edwin D. Mead, a cousin of Mrs. Howells's and the editor of the *New England Magazine.* See Howells, *Life in Letters,* I: 415. The presence of this letter among the Salter papers is unexplained.

was glad to hear your voice. I too had studied the case, and found none of the men connected by credible proof with any "plot" against society's forces on the occasion of the policemen's murder, for which they were all convicted. But I wont insist with you; I know the accuracy and justice of your mind.

We are going to leave Winny at the Sanatorium here, and pass some weeks or months at Buffalo (Hotel Niagara) so as to be away from her, yet near.

Yours affectionately
W. D. Howells.

On November 14 he wrote:

Dansville, Nov. 14, 1887.

My Dear Mr. Salter:

I read your "Cure for Anarchy"[25] at once, with the satisfaction I find in the sanity and wholesomeness of your work. I don't think the cure so easy as you seem to do; but the suppression of the symptoms is fatal, we can both agree. Your suggestion that if people want a change in the State they must vote it, points the true way out of all our troubles; but it is slow travel.

– I can't trust myself to write of the horror of Friday; but I need not tell you what I feel. Someday I hope to be able to write soberly and usefully about it.

– I hope you've seen my friend Dr. Leffingwell.[26] He's first [?] of the few to whom I could turn for sympathy in all this misery, and a man known by the humane science of his writings in the *Contemporary* and the *Fortnightly*.

Yours sincerely
W. D. Howells

Do send me a copy of your review of the Anarchist case.[27] I sent mine to a great and good man [28] whom I was fool enough to hope I might move to join in the pleas for mercy.

25. A second address of Salter's given on Oct. 30, presumably at the Ethical Society. See MS letter in the Knox Memorabilia Room from George W. Custer, dated Oct. 31, which refers to an address by Salter with this title.

26. Albert Leffingwell was one of the proprietors of the sanatorium at Dansville where Winifred Howells was staying.

27. Presumably a reference to the earlier "What Shall Be Done with the Anarchists?"

28. This undoubtedly refers to John Greenleaf Whittier, to whom Howells had written on Nov. 1: "I enclose a paper on the anarchists by a very good and able minister of Chicago." Howells had asked Whittier to write Gov. Oglesby a letter in behalf of the men, but Whittier refused. See Albert

In subsequent letters Howells urged that Salter undertake a book about the case:

THE NIAGARA, BUFFALO, Nov. 20, 1887.

DEAR MR. SALTER –

I'm greatly your debtor for all those papers, which I read with the helpless grief and rage which seems to be my part in this business. But now that the worst has happened, can't we do something to begin the work of history concerning those men? I have suggested to Mr. Browne[29] of the *Dial,* the publication of a book embodying expressions of sympathy and protest from those who made them, and a narrative of the efforts of the clemency committees. A very clear and unimpassioned statement of the facts of the trial, execution and burial should be included. I will glady contribute a letter, which is the only thing not covered by my present contracts. What do you think of the plan? The profits of the book sh'd go to the dead men's families.[30]

Dr. Leffingwell went on from Dansville to Chicago to attend the funeral. I gave him a card to you, but he couldn't find your house.[31] He reported of the funeral just what your wife and sister said. – It was he who drew up the petition which was telegraphed abroad from Springfield as the first in due form to reach the governor. I signed it first, but the credit belongs to him. He wrote a year ago to Oglesby asking commutation.

Yours hastily,
W. D. HOWELLS

THE NIAGARA BUFFALO, Nov. 24, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. SALTER:

You can safely send me anything to this address, and I shall be most glad to get poor Spies's letter, which it wrung my heart to read in print. Do you mean to give it me? – By the way I should like to have fotografs of the four murdered men – in fact of the whole eight accused, including Neebe. Can you get them for me?

Mordell, *Quaker Militant: John Greenleaf Whittier* (New York, 1933), 261-62. The letter is also quoted in David, *Haymarket Affair,* 397-98.

29. Francis Fisher Browne (1843-1913). Several MS letters from Browne to Salter are in the Knox Memorabilia Room.

30. Salter evidently suggested the idea of such a volume to Browne also. On Nov. 23, 1887, Browne wrote to Salter: "Thanks for your note. I fear it impracticable. Yet I should like to confer with you – if at any time you will call *The Dial* office, at A. C. McClurg and Co.'s." MS letter.

31. On Nov. 2, 1887, Leffingwell wrote Salter to express his regret at not being able to find Salter's house. MS letter.

William Mackintire Salter – he led the fight for clemency for the Haymarket plotters.

I have not, I suppose, examined the case so carefully as you and Prof. Adler; but I do not think the men should have had *any* sentence at all under that *bouffe* trial, with its cock-and-bull pretence of a conspiracy. They ought to have had a new trial, each man severally, and before impartial juries.

But how too late all these theories are! Did you see that letter I printed in the *N.Y. Tribune,* Nov. 6? All the papers abused it, but few copied it. – What a squalid and vulgar oligarchy of half-bred scribblers we live under! Somehow their power must be broken.

It still seems impossible those four men should have really been killed two weeks ago. Think of Parsons actually coming back, from safety,[32] and giving himself up to that incredible death! Was ever a generous man so atrociously dealt with before? – I don't understand how you could get through it all, unbroken.

Yours cordially,
W. D. Howells

The Niagara Buffalo, Dec. 1, 1887

My Dear Friend –

I found your letter here yesterday when I came home from New York, and I don't know how to thank you enough for the gift of

32. Parsons had left Chicago on the night of the Haymarket affair (May 4, 1886) and gone to the home of William Holmes in Geneva, Wis. From there he had gone to Waukesha, where he lived in disguise. His whereabouts were known to his wife and the defense counsel. Capt. William Perkins Black, the chief counsel, persuaded him to give himself up in an attempt to win public sympathy for the defendants. David, *Haymarket Affair,* 236-37.

poor Spies's note.[33] I value it most highly: it seemed to be the touch of a dying man on my hand. I suppose that you and I have the same reservations in regard to him; but we must both allow that he was a noble, unselfish and heroic soul. We ought not to leave his memory and that of the others to infamy; but I can well understand why Mr. Browne cannot undertake the memorial. I cannot because my Harper engagement covers all my work; but can't you? I will contribute a letter – the only form not cut off by my contract – and I will help you in any way I can. Wouldn't Mr. Lloyd[34] associate himself with you in the work? I read and will read again Mr. L's address to the Governor. How could that man resist such facts? – In New York, I met Mr. O. J. Smith of the American Press Association, who said he knew the bailiff who "fixed" the jury: a perfectly unmoral creature. – Gen. Pryor,[35] with whom I had been in correspondence since he took up the Anarchists' case, asked me to dinner, and there I met half a dozen men of our thinking. He told me that *after* their case was lost with the U.S. Supreme Court, the Anarchists paid him and the others up in full. Spies wrote to thank him the day he was murdered. Can you get me a copy of the Illinois Supreme Court opinion? And there is a law journal in Chicago which reviewed that opinion, about Oct. 1st; can you get that? The large scroll of pictures came. Many thanks. I send a small check, for it's a shame to let you lose a cent in these kindnesses.[36]

33. Among the Salter papers are four notes from Spies in prison, one of them dated (in Salter's handwriting) at ten o'clock on the morning of the execution. This final note reads: "Accept my thanks for your kind endeavors in our behalf. Oh no! I am not of a revengeful disposition. My fault lies not in that direction. I am too sensitive, too full of feeling – that is my *fault*. I feel much like John Huss, when he said: *'O sancta simplicitas!* I have nothing to regret! Farewell!' "

34. Henry Demarest Lloyd (1847-1903). His "Story of a Great Monopoly" so vividly exposed the methods of railroads and the Standard Oil Company that the March, 1881, *Atlantic,* in which Howells had had the courage to publish it, ran to seven printings. His *Wealth against Commonwealth* appeared in 1894.

35. For Howells's correspondence with Pryor see Howells, *Life in Letters,* I: 393-95, 397-98, and above.

36. Salter had evidently assumed the cost of printing and circulating the petitions, in spite of the fact that he was in financial straits at the time and receiving $50 a month from his brother to help him meet his household expenses (see MS letter from Sumner Salter, Dec. 14, 1887). Lloyd also gave Salter money for the anarchists' cause and knew of Howells's contribution: "You rather waved me away when I proposed, what I now do, but you must allow me the same privilege Howells has claimed. The enclosed is to meet as far as

Don't you think Most's[37] conviction a great injustice? He was tried for his speech of Nov. 12, and condemned for his book of four years ago! This can't last. Sometime the conscience of the people will be stirred.

Yours sincerely
W. D. Howells.

The Niagara Buffalo, Dec. 11, 1887

Dear Mr. Salter –

I am able at last to send you a copy of my insufficient *Tribune* letter; and at the same time I thank you for the fotograf of poor Spies, and the two books you accompanied it with.

What do you say to undertaking to edit the Clemency Memorials? Is it too soon or too late? I think of those men every day, and of the wrong their names are under, & long to have them righted before the world. – The fotograf of Spies is most interesting. What an intelligent, earnest, *good* face! And that man hanged! Incredible!

I enclose a letter from a gentleman who wrote me after my *Tribune* letter appeared. Please note what he says of the suggested memorial. He is an old friend of Mr. Lloyd's.

Yours sincerely
W. D. Howells.

Buffalo, Dec. 25, 1887

Dear Mr. Salter –

I've no doubt you and Mr. Lloyd are right about the time for making a studied and historical expression in regard that Infamy,

it goes the expenses incurred in the Anarchist case, the printing of the petitions, the trip to Springfield, etc." MS letter from H. D. Lloyd, Dec. 21, 1887.

37. Johann Most, probably the most famous anarchist at the time, had been arrested in New York for delivering an allegedly "incendiary" address on Nov. 12 in defense of the Chicago anarchists. He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment. The case was unsuccessfully appealed, and he served his term in 1891-1892. David, *Haymarket Affair,* 531. In the original "Smiling Aspects of American Life" section of what later became *Criticism and Fiction,* Howells suggests Most as a possible hero for "a labor-question romance." "Whatever their deserts, very few American novelists have been led out to be shot, or finally exiled to the rigors of a winter in Duluth; one might make Herr Most the hero of a labor-question romance with perfect impunity; and in a land where journeyman carpenters and plumbers strike for four dollars a day the sum of cold and hunger is certainly very small, and the wrong from class to class is almost inappreciable." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* LXXIII (Sept., 1886): 641. In the volume *Criticism and Fiction* one of the few changes is the omission of the clause dealing with Most. Another is the

which the fact of Magruder's[38] residence in Chicago helps to make intelligible. Some one wrote me from Decatur, Ills., that probably Gov. Oglesby was influenced against the men by his ambition to be nominated for the Vice Presidency. Facts will accumulate from which a fresh light can be thrown on the whole affair. – The press continues as atrocious as ever, but I believe that it never fairly represented the whole sentiment of any community. Every now and then I hear of some good man who loathed that injustice as we did. Several such I knew of in Buffalo, where the papers were prompt to class me with Train[39] and Nina Van Zandt[40] (I say nothing against her) when my letter appeared. – I have read the last matter you sent me, as I have always read about the subject, with an indignation inexpressible. I don't wonder the friends and followers of the dead are furious. How hard it is, when a great wrong has been done, not to say and then to think that its victims were wholly right! That is the devil of it; the train of evil seems to warp and twist all things awry as it goes on, when once its infernal impetus is given. – I was greatly disappointed in Parsons' face: it seems almost foolish or insane.[41] His speech gave me an expectation of something much higher; there were very striking things in it. If you think a course of the *Alarm*[42] will profit me by

addition of the qualifying clause, "though all this is changing for the worse," at the end of the last sentence quoted.

38. Judge Benjamin B. Magruder of the Illinois Supreme Court, who on Sept. 14 had read the verdict of the Supreme Court sustaining that of the lower court.

39. Charles Francis Train, the eccentric liberal, whose career had embraced railroad building, organizing the Crédit Mobilier, and participating in the Marseilles Commune, undertook a lecture tour on behalf of the anarchists. Understanding the value of sensationalism, he told his audiences that if it were absolutely essential that seven men hang, the American people could better sacrifice the seven judges of the Illinois Supreme Court than the condemned men. David, *Haymarket Affair,* 395-96.

40. The handsome daughter of a well-to-do family, Nina Van Zandt had fallen in love with Spies, who was thirty-two and a bachelor, during the trial. Spies married her by proxy while he was in jail – perhaps having been persuaded that he was less likely to go to the gallows if he were married. *Ibid.,* 453, n. 79.

41. The photograph must have been an unflattering one. There is nothing to suggest that Parsons was either foolish or insane. For an account of his life see David, *Haymarket Affair,* 341-42.

42. One of the official organs of the International Working Peoples' Association – the only one printed in English in this country. The *Alarm* began publication in Chicago on Oct. 4, 1884. Parsons did most of the writing for the paper. David, *Haymarket Affair,* 113. The *Alarm* was suppressed after the Haymarket riot, but it resumed publication in Nov., 1887.

all means subscribe for me. Hitherto I must own I haven't found Anarchy very thinkable, as a political system, though yesterday it suggested itself as something of general consent, like etiquette or social usage – something that is to prevail through reason and convenience. Is that what they mean? – Do you know about the case of Rev. J. C. Kimball[43] of Hartford, who preached a clemency sermon, and met with persecution in his community? I will send you his pamphlet.

Yours sincerely,
W. D. Howells.

If, as is generally agreed, Howells's interest in the Haymarket affair played an important part in the development of his thinking on economic and social problems,[44] then these letters are of value in helping us to realize more fully his concern not only for the condemned men but also for what was happening to the social and economic structure of the country. Even as he wrote, three days after the execution, of the horror he felt, the idea for his first "industrial" novel must have been shaping itself in his mind, for on November 18 in a letter to his sister he mentioned the idea for a novel which was to become *Annie Kilburn.*[45] This was followed the next year by *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* in 1892 by *The Quality of Mercy,* in 1893 by *The World of Chance,* and in 1894 by *A Traveller from Altruria.* Taken together, these novels, with their contrasts between the contemporary economic world of strikes and violence and the communal life of Altruria, constitute Howells's own exegesis of what, in *Criticism and Fiction,* he called "the smiling aspects of American life."

43. See Kenneth R. Andrews, *Nook Farm: Mark Twain's Hartford Circle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 54.

44. See Taylor, "On the Origin of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform," for a full account of the subject.

45. Howells, *Life in Letters,* I: 404-5.

DONALD F. TINGLEY

The Cuban Diary of Edwin M. Lacey

Donald F. Tingley's extensive knowledge of eastern and southern Illinois has led to the discovery of many important manuscripts, one of which is this diary of a Spanish-American War soldier from Illinois. Dr. Tingley received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Illinois in 1952 and worked for a brief time as field representative for the Illinois State Historical Library before joining the faculty at Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, where he is now a professor of history and chairman of the Division of Latin-American Studies. Dr. Tingley is a former director of the Illinois State Historical Society and a frequent contributor to this Journal.

IN THE MIDST of a worldwide surge of imperialist activity, the United States, in April, 1898, entered into a war to liberate Cuba from the Spanish. Most of the American people embarked upon this venture with lighthearted enthusiasm which was generated largely by the sensational journalism of William Randolph Hearst and others of the yellow press. The motives of those who created the war spirit ranged from crass greed to a somewhat misguided desire to spread the benefits of the white, protestant, industrial civilization to the less fortunate of the world. The war ended on August 12, 1898. It had been, as John Hay wrote to his friend Theodore Roosevelt, "a splendid little war."[1]

Edwin M. Lacey, a twenty-four-year-old telephone lineman from the little town of Neoga, in Cumberland County, Illinois, enlisted in the Fourth Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Like many others, he was, as he put it, "wild to

1. A recent popular account of the war is found in Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War* (Boston, 1958). See also Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), for the causes of the war, and J. E. Wisan, *The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press (1895-1898)* (New York, 1934), for the role of the press in bringing about the war.

go to war." As it turned out, the war was over before he got to Cuba. But he did spend several months there, helping to establish a communications system.

He was an observant young man and left an interesting commentary on his service. His diary is full of complaints about the food and tales of pranks that are reminiscent of soldiers of all wars.

The Fourth Illinois was mustered into United States service in Springfield on May 20, 1898, and was sent immediately by train to Florida.[2] Governor and Mrs. John Tanner were in the crowd that gathered to bid them farewell. The train trip was a lark for the soldiers. At each stop they were greeted enthusiastically by crowds, were served food and drink, and traded buttons for bouquets.

In Florida the Fourth Illinois set up camp in a swampy area near Jacksonville. Before their training was completed, the war ended, but Lacey applied for and was granted a transfer to the Second United States Volunteer Signal Corps. After a month he was granted a furlough and upon his return to the company was promoted to corporal. A few days later he was hospitalized with malaria and "plursy of the lunges." When he left the hospital, he was given a thirty-day furlough, and by the time he returned to duty, his regiment had already gone to Cuba.

It is at this point that Lacey's story is taken up in his diary.[3] His spelling and wording are left unchanged. For clarity an occasional word has been supplied in brackets and punctuation has been inserted. Some of his observations were apparently written on the spot, while others were set down a few days after the event; generally the passage itself will tell which was the case. Lacey did not bother to break his narrative into paragraphs. Since the diary was kept in a

2. Lacey enlisted in Mattoon on April 26. He is erroneously listed in the *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois* (9 vols., Springfield, Ill., 1900-1902), IX: 478, as Edward M. Lacey.

3. The diary is now in the possession of Virginia Lacey Anderson, Charleston, Ill., a granddaughter of Edwin M. Lacey. The editor expresses his appreciation to Mrs. Anderson for the use of the diary.

small notebook, this may have been a space-saving device. For easier reading, therefore, the text has been paragraphed and the dated entries set in italics:

On Jan. 22, 1899 I left Savannah, Ga. for Havana, Cuba. [I] left on the Transport "Manitobia" at 4 P.M., Sunday.

Monday fore-noon was bright and pretty. It was the first time I had ever been out-of-sight of land, but [I] enjoyed it very much as we sat on the upper deck and shot fish. About one o'clock Monday afternoon it clouded up for a storm and rained most of the afternoon and that night. At 11:00 monday night, we passed the light house "Jupiter" on the coast of lower Florida, 315 miles from Savannah, Ga. and about 15 miles from us. The "Manitobia" is a very good boat, is 455 ft. long 46 ft. beam, and 44 deep. [She] has 5 decks. Her average speed is 12 knots per hour but [she] can run 16 Knots. She has 4 large compound engines of about 2,000 H.P. each. She was a regular freight boat when the Gov. turned it into a transport. They built little stalls in it just large enough . . . to swing two hammocks, a space 2 ft. wide, 6 ft. high, and 10 ft. long. That is for two to sleep in. Just before dark Monday evening Jan. 23 a whale was seen, about 150 yards from the boat, headed the same way. We could see about 25 ft. of his length above water.

We arrived in sight of Havana Wednesday morning about 3:00 but layed out about 8 miles from shore until 7:00 a.m. [when we] pulled up to the mouth of the harbor and waited there for a pilot. [We] pulled into the harbor at 7:30 a.m. Jan. 25th, 99 on the anniversity [*sic*] of the "Battle Ship Maine" (one year from the day she entered the harbor). . . . On the 15th of Feb. she was blown up. As we passed her ever man took off his hat, while the buglers sounded retreet.[4] We landed at the main land place No. 3 but were not allowed to get off. All we could see or hear were Cubans. Some were selling fruit and some were handling freight for "Uncle

4. Lacey's comments here about the *U.S.S. Maine* illustrate the emotion that had been generated over this incident. The *Maine* had been sent as a show of force, and it was generally assumed that the Spanish had blown it up, although this was never proved. In any case, citizens of the United States were chanting "Remember the *Maine!* To Hell with Spain!" There are several good "before and after" pictures of the *Maine* in Freidel's *Splendid Little War,* frontispiece, 6, 7. For the findings of the Court of Inquiry, see *Message from the President of the United States Transmitting the Report of the Naval Court of Inquiry upon the Destruction of the United States Battle Ship Maine . . ., Senate Document 207,* 55 Cong., 2 Sess.

Sam." We finally got of[f] the boat and our Lieut Mitchell met us at the docks and told us where to go to get to camp. It was 7 miles ride out of there to camp and when we got to the depot [we] forgot where we wanted to get a ticket for. There was three of us signal corps boys [which] was all that come over on that boat. But we finally saw a government wagon and the driver knew where the S. C. camp was and we talked Spanish enough to get a ticket for Buena Vista, meaning "Beautiful view" in english and it is a Beautiful place to, finner than any garden in Chicago. My company diden't stay in Havana very long after I got with them but they had been there every since Dec. 15, '98.

On January 28 we got orders to move to Sancti Spiritus and the morning of Jan. 31 began to load our materal and baggage and at 6:00 left on the Habana Railroad, running from Havana to Batabona, a distance of 40 miles. [We] arrived there at 9:00 [and] were received by 2 co's of Cuban soldiers. We slept that night on the platform. The next day we got all loaded but our horses.

The night of the 1st of Feb we slept on the boat *Josefita,* a Spanish passenger boat, that made one trip a week between Batabona and Tunas, Cuba. At 10 a.m. Feb 2nd, we left the harbor at Batabana.

Our first stop was Cienfuegos. [We] arrived there at 2:30 a.m. Feb. 3rd. The 6th Ohio, 31st Mich. Regements, and the 16th Signal Corps are stationed there. Our Capt. gave us an hour to run around in the city. There is 17,000 pop. there now. [There] was about 30,000 before the war. We left there at 11:45 that same day. There was over 2000 spanish soldiers there the day we left. Some of them were loading to leave but they treated us very nice. The boat crew on the boat we were on had . . . for pets, two pigs, two goats, three or four parrots, and several pet chickens. . . . They all run lose. One night the pet hog came grunting around me and I just layed my revolver up along his head. That, of course, woke ever one in that part of the boat. Some of the crew come around to see what was up but the next night they kept it tied up.

We arrived at Trinidad on the evening of the 3rd at 4:10 but were not allowed to get off the boat as we were not going to stay there long. 5 companies of the 4th Tenn. are camped there. They say that they have good health there. The town is built on the side of a large mountian and [is] about 600 pop.

We arrived at Tunas our last landing place at 8:30 p.m., Friday, Feb. 3rd. What boys were not on guard, spread out their cots on the deck and slept as good as they could until morn. There was 9

fellows and my-self and Sergt. Kernan[5] on guard that night and until 9:00 the next day when we were taken off guard and let go at will. We took in the town [and] seen the old Spanish fort [that] Sampson[6] bombarded [and] . . . several houses that [were] shot full of holes. There wasen't any Cubans living there then, nothing but Spanish. There was two sections of us out of Tunas and we got out of there about 4:00 Saturday evening, Feb. 4th. The Cubans at Tunas wore cloths something like Adam and Eve wore. They don't want any cloths. All they want is something to eat.

[We] arrived at Sancti Spiritus Saturday evening at 5:30, got supper and staid all night. [We] went out to camp Sunday a.m. There is no wagon roads in this part of the country. Every thing is carried on pack mules or horses and it is hard for our government wagons to get around. We have two detachments out now and have Cubans with them to build roads for the wagons. We are to build a telegraph line from here to Placetas, 32 miles away and one to Ciego 45 miles east of here.

I put in three loops in the city last Thursday Feb. 9th. one from the Present telegraph office to Col. Hannons Hdgrs, paped [tapped?] onto the Tunas wire and one from the Placetas line and will cut in the Ciego line before we leave here.

I had a mounted pass last Saturday, Feb. 11 and took a ride through the moutains south of us about 12 miles. [We] were out all day [and] saw a flock of parrots. I judge about 25 or 30 in it but they were very wild and we could not catch them without shooting them. We could ride up to the cocoanutt trees take a long pole and knock them off, cut one end out, and drink the milk. They are very nice to eat . . . in there native country. When they are green or just getting ripe, the birds pick holes in them and drink the milk. The "Magpies" are very fond of them.

Last Sun., Feb 12th, was our first mail since we left Havana. We only have one mail each way a week. It comes in on Friday [and] is delivered at camp Saturday noon. Last Sunday several of us took a trip on foot through the Mts. and caves east of our camp. We explored some caves that one time had been inhabited by some people but don't know what kind. Some of the rooms are as large as 15 or 16 ft. square and from 8 to 20 ft. high. The walls were as white as snow. [We] found a furnace where there had at

5. Sgt. Frank Kernan of Poquonock, Conn. Names of some of the men of the Second Company of the United States Volunteer Signal Corps are supplied from a list that is with the diary. No muster roll has survived in the records of the War Department.

6. Rear Admiral W. T. Sampson, U.S.N.

one time been cooking done, a natural well, in one corner of a room, and in another we found the skelton of a small child. [I] judged from the size of it that it could not be over three or four mths old. [I] tried to move it with a stick and it fell to pieces. There had been some cloths on it. Then in another place one of the boys almost layed his hand down on a Trantular that would measure about 6 inches from toe to toe. . . . It is an ever day occurance to find two or three Santipited and a few snakes. A Cuban here the other day had a snake skin about 12 ft. long and as large around as a 5 inch stove pipe.

We commenced on the line between Sancti Spiritus and Ceigo Jan. 16. [We] had Cubans ahead building roads.

On Friday, Feb 24, the Cubans celebrated the anniversity of the Cuban and Spanish war. The day it commenced was Feb. 24, 1896[7] and the Cubans in Sancti Spiritus painted the town red. There was American and Cuban flags at float all over town. Well this is last day we spend in Sancti Spiritus. We have had several cock fights this week. That is all the Cubans and these 4 Tenn. boys think of. We went to town tonight and had a fine time. We went all around the provost and they coulden't do a thing. We had some of the finest lemonade, better than we ever got in the states, but it was 10c a drink. We leave here tomorrow morning as it is Sunday, the day for soldiers to move.

Feb 26: Sunday: we broke camp this *am* at 5. I was to oversee the loading of the wagons and had to do most of it. As they would say, I am an operator or I am a line-man, I don't know how to load a wagon. Well, we rode all day over some of the worse roads I ever seen. That is, we rode and walked. It was easier to walk than to ride. We have come about 25 miles to-day and stoped to pitch our tents at 6:00 on the banks of a beautiful river. Our next camp will be called Camp "Dugan" in honor of one of our "1st Class sergt., the life of our Camp."[8] We will perhaps be here three days as we will have to build some kind of a crossing over the river before we can pass over. We diden't have any dinner today and not much supper but we are too tired to kick.

Feb 27th: This has been a hard day on some of us. Sergt.

7. Cuba was one of the last Spanish possessions in the Western Hemisphere. There long had been a restless spirit in Cuba. The final revolt actually broke out on February 24, 1895. Lacey is incorrect in his date. A readable account of this revolution is found in the standard diplomatic history textbook, Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1950), 494-97.

8. Sgt. J. B. Dugan, of Hartford, Conn.

Kernan and I took a detail of 6 men out this a.m. besides our-self to build lines. Line work in this country is not like it is at home. The best poles we can get are as bad or worse than those poles on the Trowbridge line. They are what they call iron wood, and to climb them you can't stick your spike in more than a quarter of an inch and then they slip out and you slide about half way down the pole.

To day for dinner we had three small pieces of bacon and a hunk of bread about the size of your two hands and nothing to drink from 10:00 until about 4:30. I don't think I ever seen it quite so hot. Our camp is on the river, as near on it as we can get. My tent, the back end, is only 4 ft. from the bank that goes streight down for about 30 ft.

The road across the river is almost impossible and today one wagaon loaded with line material from the other camp started down the hill and as it struck the waters edge, which was about 3 ft. streight down, the front team come lose from the wagon and there they stuck. The driver rolled up his socks and waded into the water and got his government mules hitched up again. While he was doing this, I stood in the rear of my tent and took a picture of the man with bad luck. O! what roads we have to travel over in this "God forsaken country".

To-day I seen the tree where over 500 Cubans were choped to pieces and hanged by the Spanish soldiers. I also strung wire over one of the Spanish & Cuban battle grounds where one of their hardest fights took place. They have a grave yard all fienced in with barbwire, and a large cross sets at the gate. It is about 32 miles North East of Sancti Spiritus and about one mile west of this river we are camped on (The Jatibonico river).

Several of the boys went fishing to-day while the rest of us worked on the line. To night I have to be corporal and Sargt. of the guard after working all day. The reason of this is that the Co. is divided into two detachments as the entire Co. can't work all togather to any advantage. There is only three Sargt and three corporls in our detachment. One Corpl. was on guard last night and the other is acting Sargt. of the stables. O! we are working like dogs. But I woulden't care if we could get enought to eat. I will go and post my first relief and will finish later on. The relief is posted and we can set and listen to the wild dogs barking out in the jungles. There is a good many of them but they are about the only animal left on the island as the Spaniards and Cubans have killed and eat most ever thing. We saw a very nice herd of cattle

to day, but they belong to Uncle – Sam. The Cubans here use goats milk if they use any but they are very few. The Crow here is a little larger than our black bird. The Cubans do most of their traveling and moving on small horses and mules as there is no roads until the boys in blue build them. Smoking tobacco and cigarette paper are in demand here. The last tobacco I bought was a half lb. of bulldurham and gave 50c for it. And tonight we are intirely out of rations. [We] have enough flour to make pancakes for breakfast, no sugar no salt or peper and enough coffee for one meal. If the rations don't get in to morrow we will be pretty hungry by this time tomorrow night.

Feb. 28: Well this has been a day of starvation. We had a very slim breakfast, fasted for dinner and supper but supplies will be here before dark is the report. There is a hungry set of boys around tonight. The boys managed to kill 2 possums to day and that is all we had to eat for supper for 65 men.

March 1st.: Well this day is done, we broke the record. 4 linemen strung 5 miles of wire and cut our own way through the brush. Water is very scarse around here after you get away from the river. One time today we were 5½ miles from water. Can you find that kind of a place in the states? And we were almost starved for water when we got to it. There was nine of us on the detail and we had 1 can of corn-beef, 1 can of tomatoes, 1 can of beans, and three hardtacks each, and no coffee or water to drink. There is a detachment of 10 men going out tomorrow to make a new camp for us, and I go out in the morning with 7 men and my self, and expect to be with-in 4 or 5 miles of them to morrow night. They are going 18 miles and we already have 6 miles up. O! the boys that were so anxious to join the signal corps at Savannah, are sick of their job now.

March 2nd.: This day was to my sorrow. I got poisoned while cutting our way through the brush and weeds in order to string our wire. You see we are following the old spanish line and useing their poles when we find one that is all ok and the brush and weeds are as high as your head and the old wire is torn down and laying on the ground. The mules and wagon get tangled up in that about every three poles and we have to stop and cut them out. The only farm I have seen since we left Havana is about 7 miles east of our camp on the river. There is about 5 acres of banana trees but very few bananas on them. Well this is Sunday, March 5, our regular moving day. We are all packed up and will start some of the wagons in a short while. We move 20 miles further east.

Tuesday March 7th.: Well we finished moving to day and a long hard trip too. We left our old camp on the Jatibonico river at 6:30 this a.m. and got here this evening at 5:00 but the wind was nice and cold. But we come through some of the prettiest country I ever looked at. [We] moved 22 miles today. This is the finest camp we have had since we come to the island. It is on a nice level place with several nice shade trees in the center of the camp. The river is handy and we can take a bath ever night and have nice running water to drink. Moreover we are camped in a old spanish camp ground and battle field. Some of the boys have found several old Machette. [We] are about 15 miles from Ceigo and expect to be to the city by Saturday night if our wire gets here. This has been the hardest work I ever done. If you could see the places we have to go through you would think it almost impossible. But a man can go any where when he has to and is working for Uncle Sam.

March Friday 10: Well the company held a meeting to day in regards to the ration question. This has been expected for some time. We were only drawing rations for 52 men and 59 eating off of them. This throwed us short rationed. They are not full rations any way. The Three Com'ed Officers were paying $8.00 per month each but we could not see any benifit of the $24.00 per month for mess fund so we thought they had better not mess with us unless they paid for their dog-robbers and their selves $10.00 per mth each, making a mess fund of $70.00 per mth. But that is none too much for a company of men that work as hard as we do. But the officers thought it was. The captian thought it was and called the company up in front of him. He said, "The mess stewart has come to me, and said that the co. had held a meeting and decided that the officers pay more for the grub they get. I want you to understand that I want no one to come to me with orders as to what I do, and what I shall not do. There will be 5 rations sent up here each meal and we will pay at the rate of 25c per day for them." One of our 1st. Sergt. steped out and said. "You have the wrong idea. This co. met to decide wheather we could spare any of our rations or not as they were already short ones and the men working hard. We diden't get enough to eat, and out here in the "Wilds" we had no chance to buy any thing." The Capt. on seeing the right meaning in which the meeting was held, said "Very well, I had the wrong idea, but we will have to board with you until we get to Ciego. Then we will have a officers mess." It was a good thing for us that the Capt seen where

we were right for there was a humor of mutiny in camp and we would have put a guard over the Comosarry supplies and none would have went to the officers.[9] We move eather Sunday or Tuesday to Ceigo.

March 11th.: On Saturday the 2nd. U.S.V. Signal Corps raised the U.S. Flag over the wilds of Cuba. The means in which it was raised was: It is known that the buzzards are very numerous here and very tame. We caught one and tied a flag about a foot wide and 18 inches long to his tail and turned him lose. He was frightened by the action and went high into the air carying with him the U.S. flag. It is the highest flag ever raised on the island of Cuba.

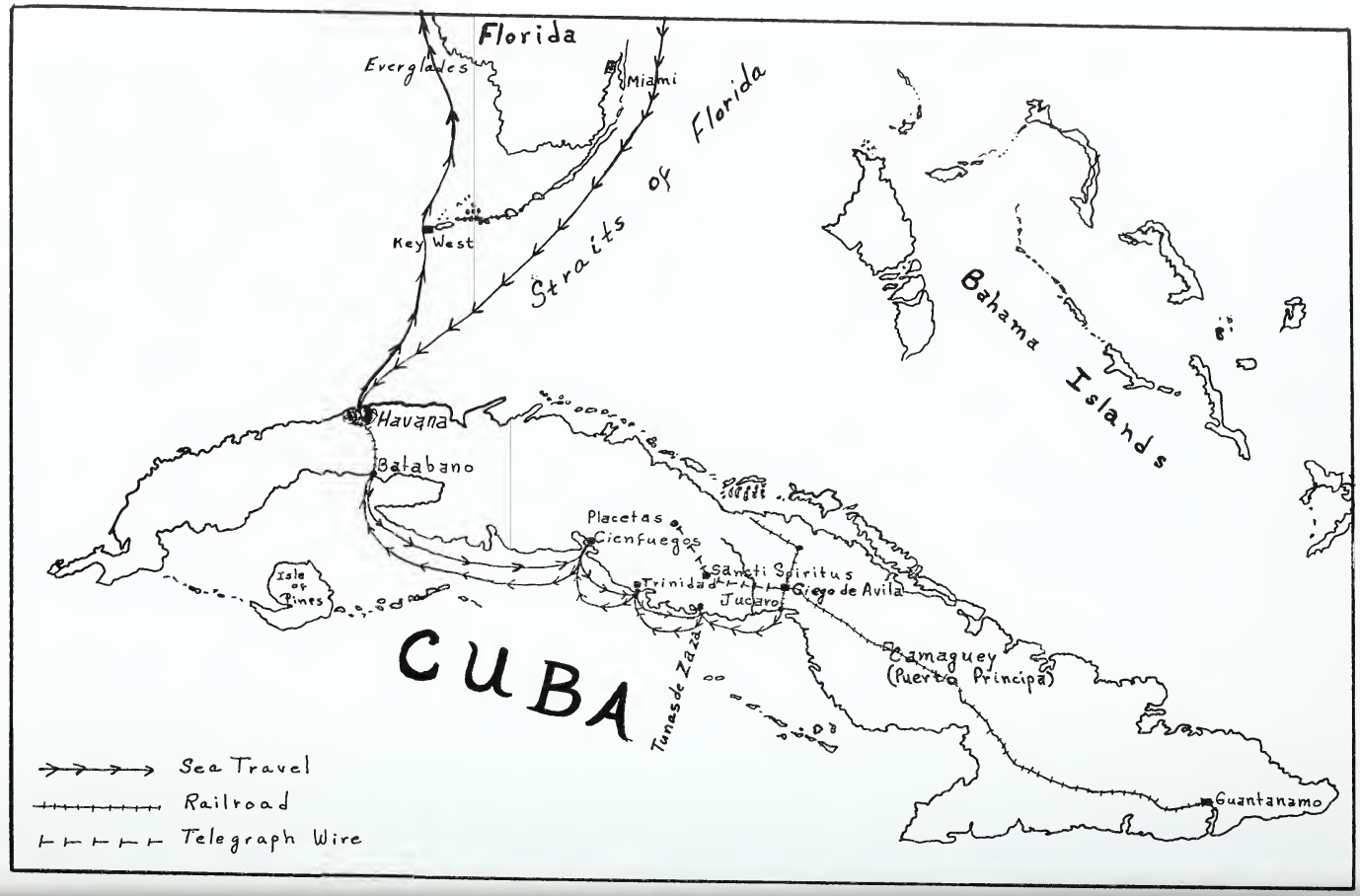
March 12th.: We moved to Ciego. It is a small place about 10,000 pop. There is one railroad through it. that runs from the Southern coast to within about 25 miles of the Northern coast. On our way over here we killed 18 animals. I don't know what they are called, but they look like our possum. You bet we had a good supper. We are camped in the east side of the City in the street. We have a fine camp ground and the people seem to be very nice people. There is 4 Companies of the U.S. regulars camped about 2 miles east of the City and they are very nice boys as far as we have seen.

The report came to us today that the 2nd U.S.V.S.C. was to be mustered out soon. This place is one of the cities that the great Spanish Trocha goes through. And it looks like it would be almost impossible to go through the line with a Reg. of Infy. The blocks are about 100 yards apart, from coast to coast. Each house would hold about one company. The walls are about 2 ft. thick, made of the hardest of rock. There is a signal tower here that stands about 75 feet in the air and with a good glass you can see about 30 miles. It was built by the Spanish and shows good workmanship.[10]

March 15: Today we received orders to sign our names to a paper. That is if we wanted to remain in the service. Of course it was an insult to us but two of the boys signed to join the U.S.

9. Officers in the United States Army are paid a subsistence allowance and, where possible, are expected to maintain an officers' mess. Apparently the officers of the Second U.S. Signal Corps were eating out of the supplies of the enlisted men.

10. The "Trocha" was an elaborate military fortification dividing Camagüey and Santa Clara provinces. This line lies a little to the west of the center of the island. Reference is made to the Trocha in Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (New York, 1931), 35.



The route taken by Edwin M. Lacey on his Cuban telegraph line assignment from the Sierra de Cuba

regular signal corps. We have the line complete from Sancti Spiritus to Ciego de Avila.

March 18: The first message went over the wire from here to Sancti Spiritus today. It was sent by Capt Wooten of the 2nd U.S. V. Signal Co. The message was, "The line is complete from here to Sancti Spiritus and works fine. We are taking up some poles along the Military railroad. We will proceede to Puerto Principa[11] as fast as possible."

March 22: We met the 11th Company 1½ miles east of San Nichols, which is 18 miles the way the bird flies, and connected the wire, which lets us work over land wire from Puerto Principa to Havana, which also finished our work in this part of the island.

March 23: A large fire in Ciego destroyed several houses that the Spanish had built for barracks. It made a hot fire. The fire engine was a barrel with a pump in it. They carried water and put in the bl. The 2nd Signal Corps and one Co. of the 15 infy. turned out.

Sunday March 26: Last night three other fellows and my-self, were invited out to a Spanish house and furnished musice and songs to 4 of the most beautiful young Spanish ladies and today I took their picture. It was the first picture they had ever had taken, and they were delighted.

March 30: Ha! ha! it is pay-day, the first we have had since we left Havana, and I was a guard for the pay master and handled more money than I ever had in my hands in all my life put together, about $5,700 in silver, all half dollars and quarters, and about $1,500 in paper. The pay master told us that we would get one more pay day in Cuba.

March 31st. about 7:00 [I] was at the depot waiting for the train to take us to Jucaro It is 10:00 and some of the boys are so drunk they can't track. They probely will be tied up when we get on the boat. We leave here at 12:00 sharp. This is also "Good Friday." We arrived at Jucaro 1:45 p.m. and eat our dinner in some old Spanish Barracks. Jucaro is about 300 pop. We left there at *510* in the evening. We went out to the large steamer in lighters, 3½ miles, and got our baggage transfered at 8:30 p.m. and was off at sea in a short while. The boat we go back on is a sister boat to the *Josefita.* The *Antinogineo Menendez* is a larger boat ever way than the *Josefita.* We were all asleep when we arrived at Tunas, but were soon all awake, when C. C. Hill come on board and woke us up. He got his discharge along in March and

11. Now the city of Camagüey.

went back to Havana and got a Gov. position as post master at Tunas. But he is a free man and can leave the island when he gets ready. We arrived at Trinidad April 1st. at 7 a.m. where several Americans got on board. They were friends of the *6th* Ohio Reg. We only stop here 30 minutes. Well dinner is over. We didn't have very good attendance at dinner, as some of the boys have been feeding the fish all fournoon. And from the way things look now there will not be many for supper. Some of the boys have fat meat on a stick and going around showing it to the sick ones. Of course that is a good thing, "I don't think."

We arrived at Cienfuegos, at 12:50 p.m. April 1st. We have several hours here and as it is Easter sun — tomorrow some of us have agreed to make this day our Easter sunday, and are going to town to eat. We are back. I'm not hungry but I don't think I feel any better, for we found an American Lunch room and as we haven't had a good meal since we left the states we eat all we could. We looked at the "bill of fair" and ever thing on it was so good we just ordered the whole bill of fair. When that was eaten, we ordered another complete order, and another. But the Prop. whistled "all out boys". There was 11 in the party and ever man eat three full orders. We had all after noon to run around in and we took in the time pretty well.

We left there at 9:30 Saturday evening and talk about your rough sea, we had it that night. The boat rocked so, our cots would slide around on the floor. I did begin to feel a little sick, but I done as Grand Pa told me, went to midship, and stayed there the rest of the night. I have my first time, to be sea sick. Between Trinidad and Cienfuegos, is some of the prittiest waters any one ever looked at. It was so clear, you could see, from 20 to 30 ft. down into the water and there in plane sight was the finest beds of correl white as snow. There was one place for 15 or 20 miles a solid bed of white correl. Sunday was beautiful day but very hot.

We arrived at Batabano at 1 p.m. April 2nd. The train was waiting for us, to take for Havana. From Batabano to Havana is some of the prettiest country on the island. There has been several crops of cane, tobacco out and several places we could see small patches of gardon truck out and looking fine. I don't know how many sugar mills there is along that road, but we counted 18 or 20 of which were all torn down but two or three.

We arrived at Havana Sunday evening at 5 p.m. where 10 Inft. wagons out of the 3rd. Neb. Reg. were waiting to take us out to our old camp ground. We got out there at 9 p.m. No tents were

up, so we just had to sleep any place we could find room. I was corpl. of the guard so I diden't sleep. The next a.m. we got to work and put up our tents. We haven't been doing much since we come back. Yesterday I and two other friends, were out on a pass, and had a fine time, got a picture of the church where Columbus' body slept, seen the very spot, where his old bones were taken up and taken back to Spain after laying in that church from the year 1795. For a good history of this body look in Munsey's Magazine, March Number.

Today we received orders to turn in all Government property. This is April *7th* and we are anxiously waiting to be mustered out. This evening we can see a hard storme out on this little pond north west of our camp. The waves are dashing high, making white caps that look like houses. It will be luck if our tents stay to the ground tonight.

April 20th.: Today we have been working in Gen. Lee's Pallise, putting up wires, for the exchange that stays up for some time. I had the pleasure of hanging the first American telephone that was ever in the house. The Palace has a 200 ft. front, and is about one block long. [It has] a beautiful flower gardon in the center, and is two stories high, with the finest ball room one ever looked at and a white marble floor.

April 23rd.: One of my friends and I went out to day to take pictures and thought we would go over and take a picture of the "Battleship Maine." Ferreo[12] my friend Knew a member of the Boat *Resolute,* and we went over to her first, but in going over, the water in the harbor it was very rough and a high wind was blowing, and a big wave hit the boat we were in, and she almost turned upside-down. You may bet there was some tall scratching done to stay on top, but we diden't get much wet. We went within a 100 feet of the *Resolute* and the Capt. was out on deck. We saluted him and ask if we could come aboard to see a friend and he said we could and told the boys to lower a lader. We went on board but they would not let us walk around any. The capt. sent for the party we wanted to see, then we got permission to go over to the *Maine* and take some pictures, and I got three good ones. Some of the boys went with us, they told us it was the first time, that any one had been on the wreck of the *Maine* since they had been there. No one was allowed to take any thing, but the boys let us pull off a piece of wood from the deck, and we went from there over to Moro Castle, and took a picture of it. Then

12. Frank Fererio, of Passaic, N.J.

come back to the City stayed all night in town, . . . at the Romo Hotel. We paid $2.00 for supper and $1.50 for a bed. We got up the next morning and got out to camp in time to answer roll call.

April 26th: Today one year ago, I and seven others inlisted in the army to fight the Spanish, so we all went to the Capt. and told him we wanted a pass, to go to the City for a hollow-day. He looked at us for a while and said "I may as well turn out the whole push". He did, and we all got passes good until eleven p.m. that night and we had a time. We rode around in cabs until we got tired looking at the city, went to a Spanish Opera which cost a $1.00 a seat. We went to the hotel and played whist until about 2:30 a.m. We went to bed and never got up until 9 a.m. the next day. We went out to camp, expecting all to be put under arrest. Well we reported to the Capt. and he ask us if we had a good time. We said we did. Well, he said, I thought after I made those passes out, that I had better make them for the next day noon. We were all taking short breaths then, and he said I suppose you boys are ready to do some work this after noon. And that was the end of it. We spent about $6.50 each and I bought $4.00 worth of photograph supplies, so that day cost me about $10.00 but it was the first real good time we have had on the Island.

May 5th: This evening about 3 p.m. we got orders to pack our things and take down our tents. We knew then that we were going home. It was hard to go to sleep Friday night as we were afraid we would not get up in time to get to Havana and catch the boat. We got up Saturday morning at 4 o'clock, loaded our wagons, and went to town. We were put aboard a big barge and taken out in the middle of the Harbor . . . [We went] through a process of fumigateing and disinfection and Lord Knows what they won't do with us before they get through with us. We had to take ever thing out of our trunk and put them in a big wire basket, a basket for each man, then they took them on board, and put them in a big iron boiler, where they went through 470 pounds pressure of steam and some kind of gass. The boat that they done the fumigating in was a government boat built a perpose for that business. They leave them in that steaming boiler about 20 minutes, then taken out, and put on a line to dry.

Well, after we were disinfected and passed, we were taken over to the plant line boat, *Olivette,* and left there at 1:45 Saturday evening, and it was about 4:00 before we got anything to eat that day and most of us were so sich that we coulden't eat. I diden't eat. I diden't say New York but I diden't care to eat any thing.

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In going through the Florida streight, the waters were very rough and the boat tossed like a soap bubble on the water. The sharks stayed close at hand, so in case some turned up their toes. We arrived at Key West 7 p.m. and they used the search light to see they way into the harbor. There were guards placed over us and we were not alowed to go ashore but we sent some boys out after some pies and oranges and it seemed like home. It was dark we diden't get to see the City, and today we had fine sailing, and arrived at Egmont-Keys, 12:30 p.m. May 7, and placed in side of a wire fiense about 300 ft. square and are not alowed to go closere than 10 ft. to the fiense. If you do there is a guard that will take a shot at you. We got out of this pen 30 minutes each day and are made take a bath. It is a good thing for some, but some of them it will scare to death. We will have to stay here 4 days. Then we will go to Savannah and be mustered out. We will get home about the last of this mth.

Wednesday, May 10: This is our last day in quarantine. Tomorrow we leave for Savannah at 9 a.m.

May 11: We left Egmont Keys on the *Tarpon* and arrived at Port Tampa 5 p.m. and left there on the plant system Ry. at Waycross. Our mules and baggace cov. was left behind and I had to stay with it and come into Savannah on a common old freight train and our transpatation called for *1st* class passage. We arrived at Savannah at 3:30 p.m. on the *12th May.*

May 20th '99 Ha! Ha! Today is the most glorious day since May 20-'98. This makes one year exactily since we were mustered into the service of the U. S. V. army. That day we were wild to go to war, today we are wild to go home. This morning at 9 a.m. we were lined up, and marched up in front of the mustering out Officer, and at 10:02 I received my discharge papers, from Lieut. Jas. Wood, and my money from the pay Master. I left Savannah Ga. at 7 p.m. May 20, for home by the way of Chattanauga Cincinnati & over the Big 4, to Mattoon and arrived home at 10:30 Monday night May 22nd '99. This ends my little storry.

JAMES P. JONES

John A. Logan, Freshman In Congress, 1859-1861

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JOHN A. LOGAN is best remembered as Illinois' most powerful post–Civil War Republican, but his first appearance on the national scene, in 1859, was as a Democrat. Because of his activities during this prewar period he has been called one of "the most powerful of the Democrats in Illinois" and the congressman who held the party "loyalty of his constituents as probably no other Illinois Congressman of his time."[1]

Born in Murphysboro and reared in Egypt, Logan joined the party of his father, a Democratic legislator. He was twice elected to the Illinois House of Representatives, and in 1858 ran for Congress from the Ninth District. Running as a staunch supporter of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Logan won an overwhelming victory. He defeated David L. Phillips, a Republican, 15,878 to 2,796.[2]

From the election until November, 1859, Logan practiced

1. Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1916), 348; Lloyd Lewis, *Captain Sam Grant* (Boston, 1950), 429. Logan's switch to the Republican Party came in 1866, when he was elected congressman-at-large from Illinois on the Republican ticket. The Civil War, Copperheadism, and political opportunism seem to have been the principal motives behind his decision.

2. *Chicago Press and Tribune,* Nov. 18, 1858; D. W. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians: A Succinct History of the Politics of Illinois, from 1856 to 1884 . . .* (Springfield, Ill., 1884), 45.

law in Egypt while he awaited the opening of Congress. In the summer a daughter was born to Logan and his wife, the former Mary Cunningham. When summer gave way to autumn, Logan left his family in Benton and entrained for the nation's capital.

The trip was Logan's first into the East, and he was especially interested by a brief stop at Harpers Ferry. It had been a little more than a month since John Brown raided the town, and bullet holes were plainly visible. Logan, who bitterly condemned Brown, shuddered as he wrote after seeing the town, "There is more danger of a rupture in this government now than [there] has ever been before."[3]

Logan arrived in Washington, November 26, an unknown freshman congressman from the Northwest.[4] He first lodged at Brown's Hotel, where he paid $25 a week – more than his pocketbook could stand – but he soon moved to a modest rooming house near the Capitol, where he lived with Illinois Democratic Congressman Philip B. Fouke. At the hotel he was cheered to hear several southern congressmen say that Douglas was the only man who could handle the national emergency.

On December 4 his career as a member of the House began informally in Democratic caucus, where he met many of his party's leaders and voted for Thomas Bocock, of Virginia, for speaker. The five Illinois Democrats were anti-Lecompton men, and though they initially agreed to back Bocock, they were an unknown quantity in the Thirty-sixth Congress. Leading the Douglas men in the House was John A. McClernand, whom Logan knew casually from contacts at political gatherings in Illinois. The other Illinois House Democrats were James C. Robinson, Isaac N. Morris, and Fouke.

3. John A. Logan to Mary Logan, Nov. 27, 1859, Logan Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

4. Logan was so obscure that he was listed in the index of the *Congressional Globe* as "Logan, John A., a Representative from Indiana." *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, p. lvi.

Next day, before packed galleries, the Thirty-sixth Congress began its chaotic course. An explosion came quickly. After one vote for speaker, John B. Clark, of Missouri, introduced a resolution that any man who favored the views toward slavery expressed in Hinton Helper's book *The Impending Crisis of the South* was unfit to be speaker. Since the leading Republican candidate, John Sherman, had endorsed the work, the resolution was obviously directed at him. The reaction to Clark's proposal made the already difficult speakership election almost impossible. Logan favored the Clark resolution, and voted against an attempt to table it.

The speakership fight was made uncertain by the close division of the House. There were 109 Republicans, 101 Democrats, and 27 Whigs and Know-Nothings, the latter holding the balance of power. The second ballot shook the contest down to a two-way fight between Sherman and Bocock, with the two minor parties scattering their votes to prevent a choice. It was obvious to Logan that House organization would be a long and tedious process, and he devoted all his spare time to getting his own affairs organized.

On December 7, taking advantage of a lull in the speakership fight, Congressman William Kellogg, of Illinois, rose to attack Senator Douglas. The speech brought Illinois Democrats to their feet. Logan tried to get the floor to answer Kellogg, but failed, and it was McClernand who finally defended the Little Giant.[5]

Two days later, Logan got the floor for the first time. His maiden speech was not a notable example of parliamentary oratory, but it did not go unnoticed. The young Democrat, with his swarthy skin, jet black hair, and large drooping mustache, made his auditors take notice as he spoke with a booming voice. Logan began by charging Kellogg with wanting to ruin Douglas as a presidential candidate. Logan — of whom it had been said, "No man

5. *Ibid.*, 40-41.

hated an abolitionist more than he" – reminded the House that Kellogg's cry was "Republicanism! Abolitionism! Sewardism!"[6] Stopping Kellogg's attempted interruption, his voice soared as he cried:

> I tell the gentleman now, since he has refused this morning, to bring forward his proof, that from this time forth, I shall never notice it. I scorn to notice it any further, and the reason for it is this: I made a charge once, in the Legislature of the State of Illinois, and I stood up and did prove it, when called upon for proof, and did not shrink from responsibility, and like a spaniel cower.[7]

Kellogg leaped up shouting, "Does the gentleman call me a spaniel coward?" Amid confusion and shouts the pair rushed at each other, but friends held them apart while the chair gaveled for order.[8] Through the din, Logan demanded to be allowed to continue, assuring the chair, "I am in no danger of receiving injury." This brought a demand that provocation cease, and Logan promised to continue in "as mild a temper as I am capable of." When hisses and noise continued, he defiantly shouted, "If I am to be hissed; if I am to be clapped down, or if I am to be intimidated in this Hall, allow me to say that I have as many rights, whether they be respected or not, as any other man on the floor."[9] John Farnsworth, of Illinois, then asked that the House not be turned into a "bear garden," and suggested that Logan's remarks were out of order. When a semblance of order was restored, Logan, still on his feet, turned his attack on southern Democrats who had received Kellogg's accusation with "smiles and applause." He accused them of being

6. Usher F. Linder, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 344; *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, pp. 82-83.

7. *Ibid.,* 83. The allusion to his own charges are those made in the Illinois state legislature in 1857 against Governor William Bissell.

8. *New-York Times,* Dec. 10, 1859; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), II: 118; *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, p. 83.

There have been accounts that Logan drew a pistol during his altercation, but this author has been able to find no other contemporary or secondary account that mentions the pistol.

9. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, p. 83.

ungrateful to Douglas, whose efforts had always been in their behalf. When asked his position on slavery in the territories, he defended popular sovereignty and received applause from Democratic benches.

He then turned to Republican violations of federal law and defended the Fugitive Slave Act, calling for rigid enforcement of that statute. Continuing on the same subject, he used a phrase that was to become a nickname:

> Every fugitive slave that has been arrested in Illinois, or in any of the western States – and I call Illinois a western State, for I [am] ashamed longer to call it a northern State – has been made by Democrats. In Illinois the Democrats have all that work to do. You call it the dirty work of the Democratic party to catch fugitive slaves for the southern people. We are willing to perform that dirty work. I do not consider it disgraceful to perform any work, dirty or not dirty, which is in accordance with the laws of the land and the Constitution of the country.[10]

From that day, Illinois' Republican press called him "Dirty Work" Logan.[11]

Logan concluded with a plea for Democrats to bury the hatchet and elect a Democratic speaker so as to "snatch the power" from the "anti-Constitution, anti-Union, and anti-everything" Republicans. When asked if he would support a Democratic nominee in 1860 whose slavery views did not agree with those of Douglas, he answered:

> I am now about twenty-eight years of age. I was born a Democrat; and, all my life, I have learned to believe that the Democratic party, in national convention, never do wrong. (Applause and laughter from the Democratic benches and galleries.) I have never known the Democratic party, in national convention, to indorse a platform that was not consistent with my views. . . . I came here as a Democrat, and I expect to support a Democrat. I may have differed with gentlemen upon this side of the House in reference

10. *Ibid.*, 85. Compare this speech with his postwar writings which attack the brutality of the law, calling it "unnecessarily cruel and harsh." John A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy: Its Origin and History* (New York, 1886), 40.

11. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Jan. 10, 1860. The *Chicago Press and Tribune* usually referred to him as "John A. Logan (d.w.)."

to issues that are passed; but God knows that I have differed with the other side from my childhood, and with that side I will never affiliate so long as I have breath in my body.[12]

Logan's maiden speech, full of violence, wild charges and obvious "doughfacism," rang with demagogic appeals for preservation of the Union at all costs. He exhibited an ability to turn embarrassing questions to his own advantage, and showed an intense loyalty to Douglas.[13]

Illinois took notice of the interchange between its two sons. Democrats greeted Logan's speech with joy, while Republicans denounced it. One paper, commenting on Logan's giving his age at twenty-eight, when he was actually thirty-three, called the statement "a kind of spread-eagle flourish to attract attention to . . . [his] youth."[14]

Yet some Democrats had begun to ask themselves if this young congressman from Egypt were not too pro-southern. Charles Lanphier, Democratic editor of the *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), wrote McClernand deploring the fact that Logan and Fouke had declared their intention of supporting any platform or nominee of the Charleston convention. Lanphier called the position "peculiar." He added that he had little fear that the Democrats would nominate anyone other than Douglas, but "let us not anticipate the adoption of such heresies by pledging our support to *any* such, should they, by possibility be adopted. As I said before, the expressions mentioned are ill received at home." "The real meaning of course we appreciate, but it makes awkward record for us."[15]

Logan was pleased with his first effort, and told his wife

12. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, p. 86. The slip in age (Logan was thirty-three) could have been unintentional, but it was probably done purposely to draw attention to his youth, which he was fond of emphasizing.

13. For Douglas's reaction to the support he received in the House, see his letter to McClernand, Dec. 8, 1859, McClernand Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

14. *Illinois State Journal,* Jan. 10, 1860.

15. Lanphier to McClernand, Dec. 29, 1859, McClernand Coll.

the speech had given him a reputation of which she could be proud. He added that he and McClernand had become "warm friends," and that he had called on Douglas. Glowing with pride, he wrote, "I think I have more standing today in Congress than any new member in it. I think that I am regarded as the best debater in the House, of my age, on all sides."[16]

On the following day Kellogg and Logan rose to apologize for offending the dignity of the House. Logan hoped the exchange had done nothing to inflame relations between members.

The House deadlock continued. Many ballots were taken, with Sherman usually just short of a majority, but Logan wrote his wife that the Republicans would probably organize the House sooner or later. He also told her of a practical problem which plagued all freshmen, the difficulty of getting the floor, but Logan, undaunted, closed with the statement, "It is not a hard matter for a man of ordinary mind to become a considerable man in Washington City."[17]

Mary Logan's December letters overflowed with pride at her husband's success. But she did exhibit some fright at the difficulty with Kellogg. She assured Logan that his actions met with solid support in Egypt and that "everyone admired your bravery."[18] When she asked him to come home for Christmas, he replied that if he left before a speaker had been chosen, neglect of duty would make a "sweet morsel" for his enemies. Once, Mary mentioned the possibility of national disunion, and Logan replied, "I hope and pray that such may never be the case, I don't as yet apprehend danger of such a thing at any time soon, but if these troubles continue the destruction at some day is inevitable."[19]

The troubles did continue. Heated exchanges occurred

16. Logan to Mary Logan, Dec. 10, 13, 1859, Logan MSS.
17. Logan to Mary Logan, Dec. 17, 1859, Logan MSS.
18. Mary Logan to Logan, Dec. 21, 1859, Logan MSS.
19. Logan to Mary Logan, Dec. 31, 1859, Logan MSS.

daily, and many legislators carried firearms in the House. On December 23 and 24, Illinois members monopolized the floor in an intrastate battle. Farnsworth began the exchange by condemning the return of runaway slaves from southern Illinois, or Egypt. Logan replied that the people of southern Illinois were obeying federal law, and that he saw nothing wrong with advertising for fugitives. On the twenty-fourth Fouke and Logan joined forces in the counterattack, pointing out that Farnsworth was showing contempt for federal law when he endorsed John Brown's raid and refused to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act. Argument concluded over another bone of contention, the Kansas-Nebraska Act. When Logan stoutly defended Douglas, Farnsworth replied that while the Democratic Party worshiped Douglas, the Republicans were a party of principle. This brought Fouke to his feet, snarling, "We worship Stephen A. Douglas and you worship Fred Douglass." To which the Republican answered, "I am inclined to think that Fred is the likelier [more admirable] man of the two."[20]

While Illinois members snapped at each other, sporadic votes were taken, all inconclusive. McClernand felt that Illinois House Democrats were acting wisely in the battle and wrote Charles Lanphier, "Douglas is gaining ground. The example of his friends in the House from Illinois, has done much to knock off the edge and rancor of the opposition to him in the South."[21]

The new year brought little change. By January 27, thirty-eight ballots had been taken, and the end seemed near. Democrats were supporting William N. H. Smith, of North Carolina, and his vote was climbing near a majority. When he pledged support of popular sovereignty, Logan and the Illinois Democrats changed to Smith on the

20. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, pp. 229-40. Fred Douglass was a well-known Negro leader. There is some evidence that Logan, as a young man, had taken part in captures of fugitive slaves. Daniel Brush, *Growing Up with Southern Illinois, 1820 to 1861* (Chicago, 1944), 125.

21. McClernand to Lanphier, Jan. 3, 14, 1860, Lanphier Papers, Illinois State Historical Library (quotation from the letter of Jan. 14).

thirty-ninth ballot. But there was still a drawback. He was rumored to have been a Know-Nothing, and some spurned him for that reason. Logan announced, on changing his ballot, that Smith himself had assured him that he was a Whig, and had never belonged to the American Party. This brought a few more ballots, and the announced total gave the southerner a one-vote majority. Then John Sherman rose to cast his first vote of the session. Amid hisses, he voted for Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, and after a wild vote reshuffling the clerk announced the total: Smith 112, Sherman 106, scattering 10. Still no majority.[22]

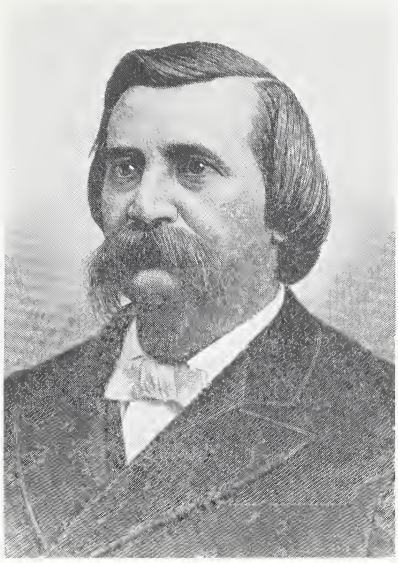
On the following day, a Saturday, the Republicans caucused and Sherman withdrew. Since it was rumored that three eastern anti-Lecompton Democrats would vote for William Pennington, of New Jersey, and since Pennington had not endorsed the Helper book, his selection seemed possible. Sunday night Logan wrote his wife, "My opinion is that the Republicans will elect a speaker, Pennington of New Jersey."[23]

Stop-Pennington forces united on McClernand, and Logan voted for his fellow Illinoisan to the last. But McClernand could not command widespread support from the South, and on the forty-fourth ballot, taken on February 1, the bitter contest ended, with Pennington speaker. Logan had voted on all forty-four ballots and supported the general choice of the party. He agreed with a constituent who wrote, "The defeat of Sherman has afforded us some satisfaction, but we would have been better pleased if in addition we could have had a Democratic speaker." The same correspondent lauded the actions of the Illinois Democrats, telling Logan that his had been "particularly commendable."[24] Logan's actions were attuned to public opinion

22. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, pp. 611-21.

23. Logan to Mary Logan, Jan. 29, 1860, Logan MSS.

24. S. Staats Taylor to Logan, Feb. 8, 1860, Logan MSS. On McClernand's part in this long battle, see Victor Hicken, "John A. McClernand and the House Speakership Struggle of 1859," in the Summer, 1960, issue of this *Journal.*



John A. Logan – as a pre-Civil War freshman congressman he fought the extremists of both sides.

at home, and he lost no time in taking advantage of the fact. He had copies of his December 9 speech printed for distribution in Egypt for the 1860 election.[25]

When committee assignments were made, Logan received an unimportant appointment to the Committee on Revisal and Unfinished Business. Through February the freshman congressman took little part in House deliberations. Yet S. S. Cox, of Ohio, later remembered Logan as one of the moderates who, with McClernand, Clement Vallandigham, and others, besides himself, served as a "breakwater against the contending tides."[26]

March brought Logan to his feet again in defense of Douglas. This speech prompted the *Illinois State Journal* to comment, "Your Grecian orator, dirty-work Logan, and Mons. Fouke . . . seem to feel as though Mr. Douglas was in their especial care."[27] Logan also voted for the Homestead Bill as that historic measure passed the House 115 to 65.[28]

25. Logan to Mary Logan, Dec. 17, 1859, Logan MSS.
26. S. S. Cox, *Union-Disunion-Reunion: Three Decades of Federal Legislation, 1855-1885* (Providence, R.I., 1894), 76.
27. *Illinois State Journal,* March 22, 1860.
28. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 2, p. 1115.

On March 26 Logan introduced a bill reorganizing district courts of southern Illinois. His frustrations at being overlooked by the chair burst forth in debate over Utah Territory. Able momentarily to win recognition, Logan introduced a compromise amendment. He proposed to divide the territory in half, a solution which Logan felt would make the Mormons a minority in each half. After the reading of his proposed amendment, debate was omitted, and for the next week Logan struggled vainly for recognition. Failing to get the floor on April 4, he charged, while his colleagues called for order, "The floor has been farmed out to different persons; and members have not been recognized when they rose and addressed the speaker. Gentlemen who desired to speak have been excluded and prevented." On the following day Logan's amendment was brought to a vote and defeated 159 to 36.[29]

When spring came, the attention of congressional Democrats was divided between legislative affairs and their national convention, scheduled to begin in Charleston, April 23. On the eighteenth, Logan and fellow Illinois Democrats left for South Carolina.

In February, Logan had written S. S. Marshall that Douglas's chances for the nomination looked good. Before he left the capital, Logan's optimism faded, and he confided to his wife, "I am not entirely sanguine of success as there is the most infamous combination against our man and if they find he is about to be nominated they will try to break up the convention."[30]

Logan was not a delegate, nor was any Democratic representative from Illinois. But the Illinois congressmen attended. Led by Logan and McClernand, they worked to nominate the Little Giant. Logan felt that it was his "duty" to "get Illinois a President."[31] When the southern bolt

29. *Ibid.*, 1554.

30. Marshall to Logan, Feb. 18, 1860; Logan to Mary Logan, April 16, 1860, Logan MSS.

31. Logan to Mary Logan, April 6, 1860, Logan MSS.

prevented Douglas's nomination, Logan was completely frustrated at this suicidal action. The day he returned to Washington, tired and disappointed, Logan wrote, "I have worked at Charleston until I am nearly crazy. Our fight there was terrible. Such a combination has never been met by any man on earth as was met at Charleston."[32]

He was back in the House on May 7, in time for several important measures coming to a vote. A bill abrogating New Mexico's slave codes passed 97 to 90, on May 10, as Logan voted "No." On the same day the high tariff bill of the House passed by a large majority, with Logan again in opposition.[33]

In late May, Democrats had Congress to themselves. They kept a wary eye on Chicago, where the Republicans assembled to nominate their presidential candidate. After they had made their choice, Logan wrote, "There is a great desire on the part of everyone to get home soon since the Republicans have nominated Abe Lincoln, they are anxious to commence the fight at home."[34]

At month's end Logan journeyed to New York City to speak for Douglas. The trip was highly successful, and Logan was able to write McClernand, "The New York delegation has given us every assurance that they will stand firm at Baltimore."[35]

When Logan returned to Washington, the House was considering the Senate's amendments to its Homestead Bill. The House voted to substitute its original bill by an overwhelming vote. Logan was paired, but announced that he would have voted "Aye." In the debate over the Pacific Railroad Bill, Logan opposed southern claims for a southern route.[36]

When Republican James McKean, of New York, spoke

32. Logan to Mary Logan, May 7, 1860, Logan MSS.
33. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 3, pp. 2046, 2056.
34. Logan to Mary Logan, May 19, 1860, Logan MSS.
35. Logan to McClernand, June 2, 1860, McClernand Coll.
36. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 3, p. 2222; on the railroad bill, see *ibid.,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 3, pp. 2439-52.

of the "southern masters of the Democratic party," Logan replied, on June 6, that he had no master and suggested that McKean's statement be stricken from the record. Nine days later, during debate over reducing appropriations for lighting Washington streets, a humorous exchange occurred between Logan and Samuel Peyton, of Kentucky. When Peyton proposed the reduction, Logan asked, "I want to know why a gentleman who travels so much at night as the gentleman from Kentucky does, desires to travel in the dark." Peyton replied, "Those with whom I keep company are honest, and it is not necessary to have them guarded; but perhaps in the gentleman's country — for I believe he comes from Egypt — he may want protection at night."[37]

In June, Logan left Washington to go to Baltimore, where the Democratic convention reconvened on the eighteenth. This time, after a party split, Douglas was nominated. When Logan returned to Congress, little business remained. He brought his affairs to a close and answered roll call on adjournment day.

Logan's first session had not been particularly outstanding. He had engaged in several clashes that kept his name in the papers, but as a constructive member of the body his contributions were meager. With the exception of his trips to Charleston, New York, and Baltimore, his attendance record was good, and he seems to have been diligent in securing agricultural and economic reports for distribution in his congressional district. Despite this lackluster record, typical of many House freshmen, he gained in stature with his constituents. Every letter from Egypt told of the hearty support at home. His defense of the Fugitive Slave Act and his attack on Kellogg would serve him well in the fight for reelection. Furthermore, Logan had been a loyal Douglas worker, and his efforts in the Little Giant's behalf made him one of the Senator's most trusted lieutenants.

37. *Ibid.*, Pt. 3, p. 2693; on the exchange with Peyton, see *ibid.*, Pt. 4, p. 3049.

With the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress still ahead, Logan had to run for reelection in 1860. His first session was deemed satisfactory by voters of the Ninth Illinois Congressional District. Logan endorsed Douglas and attacked extremists on all sides, dealing "the sectionalists such blows as made them bite the dust."[38] Despite a New York paper's prediction that "Egypt is almost wiped out as a Democratic stronghold," Logan won in a landslide over Republican David Linegar 20,863 to 5,207.[39]

In November, when Logan left for the opening of the second session, secession hung heavily over the land. Many Democrats agreed with the *Illinois State Register* which proclaimed, "The election of Mr. Lincoln will be a national calamity."[40] For the first time since his marriage, Logan planned to have his family join him for a legislative session. Before he left Illinois he arranged for his wife and daughter to follow him. Excitedly, Mary Logan awaited the departure date, and in late November went by rail to Washington.[41]

When the session began on December 3, "stillness pervaded the capital."[42] Good order in the House, contrasting vividly with the chaotic first session, led observers to hope that secession might be averted. On December 4 Buchanan's message was received in joint session. There is no record of Logan's 1860 opinion of the message, but two decades later he called Buchanan "a weak and feeble old man . . . . well-meaning, doubtless, and a Union man at heart," but lacking in perception, forcefulness, and "nerve."[43] The young congressman probably had mixed feelings in 1860. Like the President, he held secession unconstitutional and opposed coercion. But while Buchanan remained largely

38. *Salem Advocate,* Aug. 9, 1860.

39. *New York Herald,* Aug. 13, 1860; Lusk, *Politics and Politicians,* 103; *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 5, 1860.

40. *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), Nov. 7, 1860.

41. Mary Logan, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife: An Autobiography* (New York, 1913), 71.

42. *New-York Times,* Dec. 4, 1860.

43. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy,* 104.

inactive, Logan felt that swift compromise efforts were necessary to save the Union.[44]

Following the presidential message, the House voted to create a committee to investigate the state of the Union. Logan voted for the Committee of Thirty-three, as it was to be known, and two days later his old adversary Kellogg was named Illinois' representative.[45]

The Illinois House delegation presented an unusual bipartisan front in voting for the Homestead Bill, which passed 132 to 76 despite the opposition of the South.[46] In the following two weeks the activities of the Committee of Thirty-three and speeches on the crisis occupied the House. Logan took little part in these debates. Until December 17 he sat listening to proposals for solving national problems. Like everyone else, he closely watched the South Carolina secession convention.

On the seventeenth Logan voted for a resolution recommending repeal of any statute obstructing the Constitution. The young Illinoisan wanted the bill amended to state that "all men" rather than "all law-abiding citizens" should obey the Constitution, remarking that if the wording were not changed some of the members of Congress would not be included as "law-abiding citizens." The reworded resolution passed 136 to 0.[47]

December 20 began calmly enough. All Washington kept a nervous eye on South Carolina, and compromise proposals generally occupied the House. But some routine measures were considered, among which was Logan's bill which provided that circuit and district courts for the southern district of Illinois be held at Cairo. When Illinois Republican Elihu Washburne objected to the proposal, George Bingham, of Ohio, assured Washburne that the bill was necessary for rapid administration of justice. With

44. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., App., 178-81.
45. *Ibid.,* Pt. 1, pp. 6, 22.
46. *Ibid.,* 15-16.
47. *Ibid.,* 109.

Washburne still unconvinced, Logan defended the bill on grounds that much of the business transacted at Springfield concerned the Cairo area. Washburne then proposed postponement of consideration, and Logan agreed.[48]

Following this exchange, the House returned to the state of the Union. As speakers droned on, the South Carolina convention passed an ordinance of secession. Announcement of the convention's action electrified the capital. In this crisis the Illinois House delegation stood united against secession. In an informal caucus, Logan joined his fellow congressmen in a resolution stating, "The Union must and should be preserved." Beneath this unanimity, Illinois members were bitterly divided as to the best means of preserving the Union.[49]

The rest of the month brought little change to the House. To many the Christmas season presented bleak prospects and fear of war. Illinois Democrats seemed united against secession, but they also condemned force to solve the nation's problems. Douglas voiced the sentiments of his followers when he wrote, "I will not consider the question of force & war until all efforts at peaceful adjustment have been made & have failed."[50]

On New Year's Day the Logans attended the White House reception, and Mrs. Logan was impressed with the President's dignity and the graciousness of his niece as they received their guests. Mary Logan remembered later, however, that the issues of the day were never forgotten, and every social gathering become a heated discussion.[51]

Logan viewed the coming year with alarm. He remained equally opposed to secession and coercion. This opinion harmonized with the feelings of many Egyptians, but after South Carolina seceded, a Cairo journal proclaimed, "Let her in God's name go peacefully. The sympathies of our

48. *Ibid.,* 160.
49. *Illinois State Register,* Dec. 20, 1860.
50. Douglas to Lanphier, Dec. 25, 1860, Lanphier Papers.
51. Mary Logan, *Reminiscences,* 74-76.

people are mainly with the South."[52] In these and other comments from southern Illinois, Logan saw seeds of trouble that might shatter Egypt. A compromise necessary to preserve the Union was just as necessary for the welfare of Egypt, caught as it was in a maelstrom of sectional animosities.

Logan lost no time in making known his feelings. On January 1 he wrote Judge I. N. Haynie a lengthy commentary on the times. Logan began by warning Haynie, "My feeble hand is incompetant [*sic*] to portray that fearful future whose rapid approach is now shaking this vast republic to its very center." He dated the beginning of the trouble from the election of Lincoln, "a strictly sectional candidate." His only hope, he said, was that a moderate majority in each section would prevent extremists from destroying the Union. He saw little evidence, however, that moderates were winning the struggle. "Those who dream that this Confederacy can separate peacefully will wake up to the conviction of their sad error I fear too late," he continued.

Logan's wish was that the "old fire of patriotism from the great heart of the people would command the peace." He was particularly adamant that the North should cease its interference with southern institutions. He attacked both "abolitionist Black Republicans" and southern "fire-eaters" as creators of civil conflict. Of Lincoln he wrote:

> History informs us that Nero, a royal but insane and blood thirsty man fiddled while Rome was burning, and it does seem to me that the President elect and his friends flushed and drunken with victory are plunging deeper into their fanatical orgies, the nearer our beloved country is undone.

Then he turned to the South. "The election of Mr. Lincoln, deplorable as it may be, affords no justification or excuse for overthrowing the republic." But he felt that calm southerners would realize Lincoln was "harmless,"

52. *Cairo City Gazette,* Dec. 6, 1860.

faced by a hostile Congress which would make him a "political puppet."

Logan closed the letter with a plea for union. Speaking for his section, he concluded, "We of the Northwest having as much, if not more, at stake than any other section can not stand silently by while the joint action of extremists are dragging us to ruin."[53]

The Logan-Haynie letter was Logan's only clear statement of policy in the first month of 1861. Through January he took little part in House debates. The first excitement of the new year in the House was a January 7 resolution approving Major Robert Anderson's move from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. The resolution also pledged support of all constitutional measures taken by Buchanan to preserve the Union. When he voted, Logan cried, "As the resolution receives my unqualified approbation, I vote 'aye.' " The resolution carried 124 to 56.[54]

Logan's next business concerned the Cairo court bill. After some discussion on January 9, the bill came up for action two days later. With Washburne no longer in opposition, it passed without a roll call.[55]

On January 14 the report of the compromise committee (the Committee of Thirty-three) emerged, and a long acrimonious debate began. The report called for repeal of personal liberty laws; a guarantee that slavery would be protected in the slave states; and immediate entry of New Mexico, presumably as a slave state. Following the report, each member demanded the floor to comment.[56]

During the fortnight after arguments began, Logan again experienced the frustration of the freshman unable to get the floor. Night sessions were held to provide time for

53. Logan to I. N. Haynie, Jan. 1, 1861, Logan MSS. This letter was written to Haynie for circulation in Logan's constituency. Its contents were reported in the opposition *Illinois State Journal,* Feb. 15, 1861, and elicited the comment that it was evidence of "party pique and partisan hatred."

54. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 1, p. 281.

55. *Ibid.,* 297, 326.

56. *Ibid.,* 378, 389 ff.

oratory. Still the Illinois freshman failed to win recognition. On the evening of January 28, Logan had a sharp exchange with Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, and on the last day of the month, still unrecognized, he lashed out with the fury of his frustration.

When Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, and Edward J. Morris, of Pennsylvania, made a deal by which Adams, who had the floor, agreed to yield to Morris if he would return the favor next evening, Logan rose to object. He angrily roared:

> I have remained here . . . several evenings, for the purpose of obtaining the floor, and I want the Speaker now to tell me how many names are registered as entitled . . . to the floor to speak, so that I may know on what evening I shall come here to obtain the floor, by acting decently and respectfully to the Speaker.

He continued, "I desire to say, that this practice of farming out the floor in advance is infamous."[57]

While Logan was having difficulties in Washington, the Democratic State Convention at Springfield, Illinois, met and adopted resolutions of loyalty to the Union and of opposition to the use of force. These sentiments Logan approved; but they were condemned by the Republican press as "semi-secessionist." Strangely enough, the Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* simultaneously characterized Logan as a "unionist."[58] This writer lauded Logan and Fouke as men who

> have stood bravely up against those who have been their party friends and associates, but are now seeking to ruin the country. The courage and patriotism of these men, who have broken all political and friendly ties for the sake of the Union and justice, is almost universally commended here.[59]

This would seem to indicate that Republicans were not convinced that Logan was a secessionist, as they later charged.

57. *Ibid.*, 656.
58. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 17, 28, 1861.
59. *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1861.

Logan's struggle for recognition continued into February. He finally got the floor on the evening of February 5. Before crowded galleries he delivered his speech on the state of the nation.[60] This was in many ways a reiteration of the Haynie letter, but taken as a whole it affords the most complete view of Logan's position in these days of trial.

He again traced the nation's difficulty to Lincoln's election, which he called a "golden opportunity" for the "disunionists of the South." But the Republicans did not deserve the entire blame. He condemned abolitionists who had "constantly warred upon southern institutions," and "reckless and seditious" southerners who had been "no less industrious in creating a corresponding hatred to northern people." He called both sides more partisan than patriotic and demanded rapid compromise efforts. These efforts were necessary, he maintained, to avoid the unconstitutional use of force, even though secession itself was "unlawful" and "unconstitutional." On the use of force, Logan declared that resort to arms would create permanent hatred between sections. He compared the bitterness felt by the American colonies toward their former masters, the English, after the Revolution, to the situation force would create in 1861. "They are our kinsmen," said he of southerners, "and should be dealt with kindly."

Developing his analogy, he compared Republicans to George III as oppressors and, by inference, the American colonists of 1776 to the South of 1861 as the oppressed. This portion of the speech was unfortunate, since its distortion at the hands of his enemies furnished ammunition for harmful attacks. Their later charges that Logan, in this comment, had been defending the "fire-eaters" were not accurate, for earlier in the same speech he had directly attacked the southern extremists.

Logan next called on members of the House to put aside

60. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., App., 178-81. The entire speech is contained in these four pages.

Mrs. John A. Logan

politics and "satisfy and appease" the South's apprehensions. This could be done by guaranteeing the South its "peculiar institutions." Such guarantees, he went on, would place weapons in the hands of southern conservatives that they could use to return their states to the Union.

Getting down to specifics, Logan wanted assurances that slavery would not be abolished in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and Virginia, that slaves would not be emancipated at some future day, that the interstate slave trade would not be abolished, and that prohibition of slavery in the territories would not be enforced.

> It has been said on this floor, by Republicans, that the God of nature has so arranged the soil and climate of those Territories that slavery cannot go there. . . . why . . . if by the soil and climate slavery is excluded from the Territories, in God's name, why insist on this impracticable legislation by Congress?

Logan doubted that southerners would ever enter the new territory since it would be economically unprofitable to them; but "it is the denial of a right under the Constitution . . . that annoys and chafes them."

He next dealt with several compromise proposals before the country. Mentioning the Crittenden Compromise, the

report of the House Committee of Thirty-three, and several other proposals, Logan indicated that he would be willing to support any of them.

He concluded his long oration with a fervent appeal in the name of southern and border-state conservatives. He likened them to "noble Spartans standing in the breach" who would be immortalized for their "noble stand." He forecast lasting infamy for extremists. With another plea to calm men everywhere, Logan closed amid applause from the galleries.

This address defined Logan's position for the days ahead. (From February 5 until mid-June, he did not further clarify his position despite the rapidly changing situation.) There is little doubt that the speech pleased his constituents; former Congressman S. S. Marshall, of McLeansboro, praised it as "highly commendable."[61] In the main it echoed sentiments of a section deeply concerned with possible civil war, and it clearly placed Logan in the compromise camp. He recoiled at the prospects of war, and demanded promises to the South necessary to end the danger. Because of the speech he was both condemned as a secessionist and praised as a unionist.

Logan's strong compromise stand increasingly moved him away from fellow Illinois Democrats. He had been very close to Douglas and McClernand in the early days of crisis, but a gap was beginning to appear. McClernand, voicing the thoughts of many northwestern Democrats, wrote:

> *If we become entangled with disunion we will be lost as a party.* . . . Any compromise which would enable them [southern seceders] to come back into the party as its leaders will doom the democratic party to a repetition of its late convulsions and overthrow.[62]

After Logan's speech, McClernand wrote Lanphier that he had talked to Logan and found him a "compromiser."[63]

61. Marshall to Logan, Feb. 26, 1861, Logan MSS.
62. McClernand to Lanphier, Feb. 4, 1861, Lanphier Papers.
63. McClernand to Lanphier, Feb. 8, 1861, Lanphier Papers.

As his friends hardened their attitudes toward the South, Logan remained open to compromise.

Logan said little more in Congress. He rose to defend S. S. Cox's right to speak, and voted for Sherman's resolutions guaranteeing that the federal government would not interfere with slavery where it existed. He opposed a militia bill called by Bocock a "declaration of war." This proposal, for calling out state militia to defend the Union, was held by many to be evidence of the North's determination to use force. Opponents of the measure were unable to table it, but finally succeeded in postponing debate until adjournment. Logan voted for postponement as the motion carried 100 to 74.[64]

The month's final business was the showdown on compromise committee recommendations. Items were voted on singly. The first resolution, for effective enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act, passed 137 to 53, with Logan voting "Aye." He also voted for a resolution promising no interference with domestic institutions of the states.[65]

On Monday, March 1, votes turned against the compromisers. The move to admit New Mexico failed 71 to 115. Logan voted for passage and was disappointed by defeat. A final item providing for easier extradition procedures, which Logan also supported, was decisively defeated.[66] Little of a constructive nature seemed to have been accomplished by the House. However, when the body adjourned on March 4, Logan could take heart from the fact that the border states remained in the Union.

On March 4 these problems became the concern of the new President. When Lincoln arrived in Washington in late February, Logan and Illinois abolitionist Republican Owen Lovejoy, a strange combination, visited him at Willard's Hotel. Logan's report of the meeting, written years later, when he had become a Republican, invites specula-

64. *New-York Times,* Feb. 27, 1861.
65. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 2, pp. 1284-85.
66. *Ibid.,* 1327.

tion. Logan stated that he and Lovejoy urged Lincoln to "go right along, protect the property of the Country, and put down the Rebellion, no matter at what cost in men and money."[67] In the light of prior statements, and subsequent actions, this is difficult to believe. Logan had called Lincoln's election "deplorable," and likened the President-elect to Nero. Logan's comment that he demanded suppression of the rebellion regardless of cost is distortion. Political considerations, not accurate reporting, guided his pen in writing *The Great Conspiracy*. Though there is no evidence to substantiate it, Logan's visit was probably made for the purpose of urging compromise on Lincoln.[68]

With the session at an end, Logan hurried home to Illinois. The time was at hand when Egypt, with its split personality – economic and social ties with the South, and reluctance to see the Union destroyed – would be forced to make a choice. With Logan as Egypt's spokesman, it was inevitable that the section's problems would fall heavily upon him in the days of tension.

His freshman term in Congress had come in troubled times, and his record reflected the forces at work on the tyro legislator. Though his contributions were meager, he persisted in clinging to the cause of compromise, Union, and peace. If he leaned to the South, it was because his family was southern in origin, he represented a basically pro-southern section, and he believed some of the South's constitutional guarantees had been violated. Though he opposed southern radicals, he reserved his special hatred for abolitionists. Despite his rough tirades and violent outbursts, the young Democrat sometimes cut through the myriad of emotional arguments that often bore no resem-

67. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy,* 142.

68. *Ibid.,* 110. Here he states that there were Republicans in the Thirty-sixth Congress who courageously expressed their belief that "concessions could not be made and that compromises were mere waste paper." He had earlier called these Republicans "drunken with power," and demanded that all possible compromise efforts be made. *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 2 Sess., App., 178-81.

blance to realities, and begged for reason as the last hope in preserving the Union.

When John A. Logan abandoned the Democratic Party at war's end, his record in the Thirty-sixth Congress became a political liability. Running as a Unionist Republican, it was uncomfortable to have voters reminded that he, among other things, had once voted for Clement Vallandigham, the arch-Copperhead, for speaker. Consequently, Logan and his biographers said little about his prewar record. Yet the fact remains that John A. Logan, that most partisan postwar Republican, was an equally partisan Democrat as a freshman in the Thirty-sixth Congress.

ERNEST G. HILDNER

Higher Education In Transition, 1850-1870

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THE FINANCIAL panic of 1837 was a severe blow to the West, and it was not until the end of the following decade that full recovery was attained. The boom of the early fifties, along with the rapidly increasing population, especially in the northern half of the state, led to a multiplication of educational institutions on all levels. This is reflected in the private laws passed by the legislatures of the period, chartering colleges, seminaries, and academies. Although a general incorporation act had been adopted in 1848, the legislature continued to charter educational institutions until 1870. Because of the vague wording, it is impossible to tell exactly what level of education some of the charters contemplated.[1] Not infrequently an academy was authorized to confer degrees. One rather common restriction appears in most of the charters of the decade of the fifties. It limited the amount of land these institutions could hold to not more than 160 acres; if they acquired more, it had to be disposed

1. Paul E. Belting, "The Development of the Free Public High School in Illinois to 1860," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XI (Oct., 1918): 290.

of in a period of three years. This may reflect a continuing distrust of higher education as expressed in the charters granted to the earlier colleges.

The legislature of 1855 chartered thirteen new distinctly collegiate institutions, the largest number by any General Assembly. These charters went to Chicago Theological Seminary; Peoria University, Peoria; Northwestern Masonic University, Keithsburg, Mercer County; North Illinois University, Henry, Marshall County; Marengo Collegiate Institute of the Presbytery of Chicago; Illinois Institute, Wheaton; Illinois Military Institute, Springfield; Garrett Biblical Institute, Cook County; Berean College, Jacksonville; Southern Illinois Female College, Salem; Hahnemann Medical College, Chicago; Abingdon College; Eureka College.[2] In contrast, the legislature of 1853 had incorporated only three educational institutions.

The granting of these charters cannot be regarded as representing the actual establishment of institutions. In some cases the colleges that were chartered were already operating as academies; in others the beginnings antedate the actual chartering. In still others the charters represented hopes rather than real beginnings. It is sometimes impossible to discover what happened after the issuance of the charter, for no other records of the institution or its founders seem to exist.

Nearly all of the charters of the 1850-1870 period were sought and secured under the sponsorship of some religious body, but the period did see the beginning of state participation in higher education. This step had been advocated by Professor Jonathan B. Turner, of Jacksonville, who in 1850 proposed an industrial and agricultural university.[3]

2. *Private Laws of Illinois,* 19 G.A., 375, 484, 519, 486, 500, 503, 507, 509, 511, 513, 517, 530, 536, 540. The original incorporation act for Northwestern University (of Jan. 28, 1851) was also amended by this General Assembly; *ibid.,* 483.

3. The development of this plan can be found in detail in Paul Selby, "The Part of Illinoisans in the National Education Movement, 1851-1862," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* IX (1904): 218. See also

His plan was enunciated as the Granville Plan in 1851 and more fully developed in the months that followed. In February, 1853, the Illinois legislature memorialized Congress, asking that such institutions be endowed by the public lands of the nation.[4] It had been the intent of Turner and other like-minded men that the proposed institution in Illinois contain a teacher-training department, but the enactment of laws for free common schools in 1855 and the establishment of the office of superintendent of public instruction in 1854 made action on this phase of the plan imperative immediately if teachers were to be obtained. Consequently, the state educational organizations pressed for the establishment of a normal school independent of the university. Turner hoped it would have industrial and agricultural departments but reluctantly agreed not to oppose, if he could not support, a normal school chartered independently. The result was the creation of Illinois State Normal University in 1857.[5]

The act creating the university also named a state board of education which was to locate the university. Competition for the school was intense but finally simmered down to a contest between Bloomington and Peoria. Through the influence and political maneuvering of Jesse Fell and

Mary Turner Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1911), Chaps. XI-XXIV, valuable for copies of letters and lengthy quotations.

4. Donald R. Brown, "Jonathan Baldwin Turner and the Land-Grant Idea," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* LV (Winter, 1962): 370-84.

5. William L. Pillsbury, "The Influence of Government Land Grants for Educational Purposes upon the Educational System of the State: Jonathan Baldwin Turner," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* VI (1901): 33, 38-39; *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University, 1857-1907* (Normal, 1907). Chap. I gives an account of the founding. The course of study is listed on pp. 54-58.

See additional material in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. L, Nos. 2 and 3 (Summer and Autumn, 1957). Especially valuable are the articles by Robert Gehlmann Bone, "Education in Illinois before 1857," 119-40; Helen E. Marshall, "The Town and the Gown," 141-67, and "Charles E. Hovey: Educator and Soldier," 243-76. On Turner's role in the creation of the normal school, see esp. p. 137.

others, it was finally secured for Bloomington. The state turned over to the school all the funds in the seminary and college accounts of the state treasury to be used as an endowment, with the proviso that none of the monies be used for the construction of buildings or the purchase of land. That part of the cost was to be borne by the area in which it was located. The financial panic made for difficulties and delay in the construction of a physical plant, but instruction began in the fall of 1857 in rented quarters. The curriculum was largely patterned after that of the arts colleges with the emphasis on composition, the classics, and mathematics. In strong contrast to later emphasis, it was then believed that students should have a sound academic training and that the method of imparting knowledge to pupils in the schools would naturally follow: in short, learning something to teach before learning how to teach.

During this same period another state institution was chartered which had a short but interesting career. In 1855 a bill to incorporate the Illinois University was passed by the senate but failed in the house. The sponsors of this college kept agitation alive and in 1861 succeeded in securing a charter for the Illinois Agricultural College,[6] to be financed by the sale of all unsold lands granted the state in the seminary tracts. These amounted to four and a half sections, which were sold for approximately $58,000. In addition, sale of stock in the institution was authorized to the amount of $50,000, which might later be increased to $200,000. The trustees were to select the location, and as the chairman was a resident of Centralia, he prevailed upon the board to pick Irvington, on the Illinois Central Railroad, just south of Centralia, as the site.

Although the college was chartered in 1861, it did not open its doors until 1866. Difficulties were encountered at once. The proceeds from the sale of lands were lost in a bank failure, and as the treasurer was not bonded, the

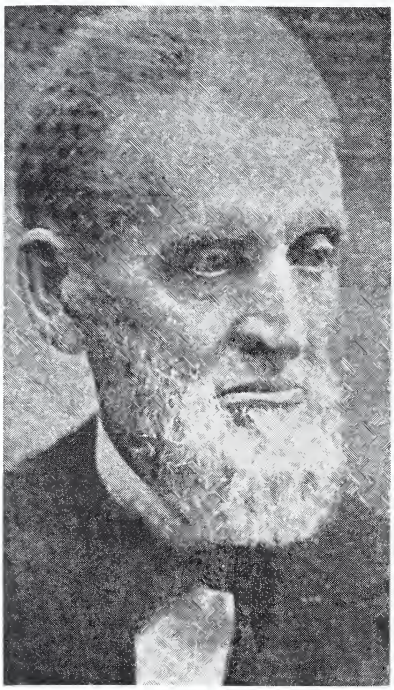
6. Act of Feb. 21, 1861, *Laws of Illinois*, 22 G.A., 9-11.

money could not be recovered. Funds from the sale of stock were slow to come in, and there was difficulty in financing operations. The General Assembly of 1869 therefore passed an act providing that if the treasurer did not report on the lands sold and money received, the attorney general should take steps to recover the money from the college. Seemingly, the treasurer did fail to make the required reports, for the state entered suits to recover the seminary funds. The assets of the college, chiefly a farm of 560 acres, were awarded to the state; the farm was sold, and after necessary expenses were paid, about $9,000 remained for the educational fund, all of which was later turned over to Southern Illinois Normal.

While in operation, the Irvington school seems to have been a successful educational institution. At its peak, about three hundred students were enrolled. As was common in that day, there was a preparatory department. All students, by charter provision, were permitted to work on the college farm in order to help defray their expenses. A large dormitory was constructed, but many students had to live in town since accommodations were not sufficient for the numbers enrolled.[7]

Meanwhile, Turner and others interested in the establishment of an agricultural and industrial university continued to urge their claims. They achieved success when the Morrill Land-Grant Act was passed and signed into law by President Lincoln, July 2, 1862. Under the provisions of the act, each state was granted thirty thousand acres of the public domain for each representative and senator in the Congress to be used as an endowment for agricultural and industrial higher education, the states to determine just how the income should be spent. On account of the war no immediate moves were taken to establish a university in Illinois, but by 1864 the matter had come to be quite controversial. The presidents of the old-line liberal arts col-

7. George W. Smith, "The Old Illinois Agricultural College," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* V (Jan., 1913): 476-80.



Julian M. Sturtevant, president of Illinois College.

leges urged that the funds be divided among the already existing institutions; only President Julian M. Sturtevant of Illinois College refused to support this proposal, and seconded the efforts of Turner and others to insure the establishment of a single institution supported from the land grants. Fortunately for Illinois, these men were successful and the General Assembly of 1867 authorized the establishment of an industrial university.[8]

Citizens of Champaign had been working to have the new school located in that city, but the legislature, under pressure from the state agricultural, horticultural, and educational societies, opened selection of a site to competitive bidding of towns, cities, and corporations. The most active bidders for the university were Champaign, Logan, McLean, and Morgan counties. A bitter contest ensued with the following offers: Champaign County, $285,000; McLean

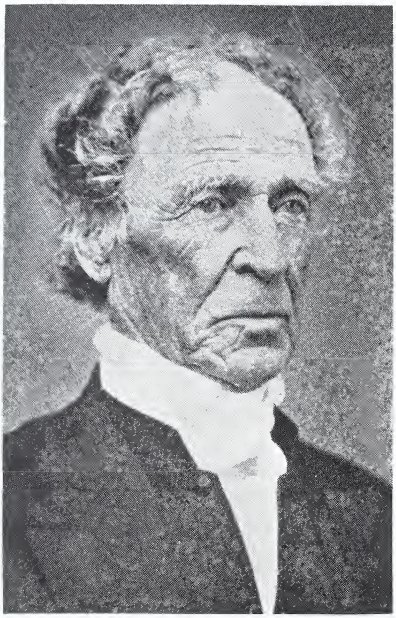
8. Edmund J. James, "The Life and Labors of Jonathan B. Turner," *ibid.*, VIII (April, 1915): 7-22, and "The Services of Richard Yates to Public Education," *ibid.*, V (Jan., 1913): 481-85. See also Donald R. Brown, "Jonathan Baldwin Turner," 370-84.

County, $470,000; Logan County, $385,000; Morgan County, $491,000. Although Champaign County made the lowest bid, it had the most effective political wire-pulling, and the legislature established the university there in an act of February 28, 1867. The opponents of the bill were not sure of the good faith of the Champaign County bid, however, and secured passage of an additional act, of March 8, providing that if the pledged funds were not paid in full to the trustees by June 1, 1867, the university was to be located in one of the other three counties. Champaign County fulfilled its obligations, and the university opened classes in March, 1868, in the building provided by the county. Less than three years later, on September 13, 1871, when construction began on the new University Building, one of the most fitting ceremonies was the laying of the cornerstone by Professor Turner.[9]

With the inauguration of the state university, one era in higher education in Illinois ended and another began. Nearly all of the private colleges and universities in Illinois at that time were on the model of the classical colleges founded before 1850.[10] Greek, Latin, and mathematics were the core of the curriculum. Nonetheless, the effects of discoveries in the fields of both the natural and physical sciences were beginning to manifest themselves in the colleges, and more attention was paid to the sciences than formerly. Likewise, the private schools had begun to offer instruction in the modern languages, especially German and

9. *Laws of Illinois,* 25 G.A., 122-30; *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 14, 1871. By far the best summary account of the struggle for the location of the university is Fred H. Turner's "Misconceptions Concerning the Early History of the University of Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXIX (1932): 63-90.

10. Pillsbury, "Government Land Grants for Educational Purposes," 36, states that twenty-six chartered colleges and universities were in existence when the University of Illinois opened in 1868. I have been unable to account for this number; in fact, the exact number would be very hard to verify. Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* . . . (New York, 1932), 31, shows twelve permanent establishments by 1861.



Peter Akers – Illinois Wesleyan could not raise the required endowment.

French. The student was given an opportunity to make some choice between courses, but his choice was extremely limited (not until the following decade was the revolutionary proposal of the free elective system to emerge). Faculties were also changing. At the beginning of the period not only were the colleges under the domination of churches but the faculties were largely composed of clergymen, many of whom regarded their college appointments as missionary activity. But by the end of the sixties men without theological training composed a much greater proportion of the instructional staff.

Financially most of the colleges were in an extremely precarious state. The wave of optimism for the founding of new colleges engendered by the boom of the early fifties was turned to discouragement by the depression of the latter part of the decade. Peter Akers, president of McKendree College, was offered the presidency of Illinois Wesleyan in 1854 (it had been founded in 1850) but refused the post unless a sufficient endowment could be secured. He stipu-

lated the amount, and when it was not raised, did not accept.[11] Other newly founded colleges had equal difficulty in raising funds. The older colleges, however, were able to recover the ground lost in the panic of 1837 and increase their assets slightly prior to the panic of 1857. But times were hard for all these institutions. Perhaps the extreme case was that of the Illinois Conference Female College, which in 1861 was ordered sold to satisfy its debts (the school was purchased by three of its trustees and thus saved).[12]

All colleges of the period felt the effects of the Civil War. During the decade of the fifties, college campuses, as well as the rest of the nation, had been agitated by the slavery question, which was debated vigorously in the college literary societies. At times the differences between students and faculty or between student and student erupted into fistfights. Bitter feelings over this issue also resulted in a decline in the enrollment of men from the slave states, especially in the latter part of the decade. With the beginning of hostilities many enlisted, while those remaining on the campus spent much of their time drilling, either under the direction of a faculty member or an undergraduate who had seen service.[13]

Decreased enrollments, which meant less tuition income, multiplied the financial difficulties of the colleges; but even more serious was the inflation of the war period, when gold was at a high premium over paper, and coins practically

11. T. Walter Johnson, "Peter Akers: Methodist Circuit Rider and Educator (1790-1886)," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXII (Dec., 1939): 437; Elmo Scott Watson, *The Illinois Wesleyan Story, 1850-1950* (Bloomington, 1950).

12. J. R. Harker, "Progress in the Illinois Conference, 1824-1924," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XVIII (April, 1925): 164; Mary Watters, *The First Hundred Years of MacMurray College* (Springfield, 1947), 153-58.

13. Not only did this serve as a patriotic outlet but it also furnished a regular means of physical exercise. Charles Henry Rammelkamp, "The Reverberations of the Slavery Conflict in a Pioneer College," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XIV (March, 1928): 447-61.

disappeared from circulation. The financial straits of the colleges were particularly hard on faculties. Most instructors were on modest salaries, and families had difficulty in making ends meet. Faculty members were no doubt motivated as much by financial gain as patriotic fervor in accepting commissions in the army. Hardly a college but furnished one or more of its faculty, usually as commander of an outfit having a large proportion of its members recruited from the student body. The Bloomington Regiment, the Thirty-third Illinois Infantry, was commanded by Charles E. Hovey, the president of Normal, while Company A was entirely composed of faculty and students. In 1864 Professor Rufus C. Crampton recruited all but one member of the senior class of Illinois College for service.[14] Under such circumstances it was difficult for the institutions to continue to operate.

Contrary to our recent experience following World War II, there was no immediate increase in college enrollment after the war, and the rate of income from investments continued to decline. This financial difficulty was reflected in the fact that only two charters were issued from 1861 to 1867, both to state institutions, Illinois Agricultural College and Illinois Industrial University. In the latter year the state granted $25,000 for two years to the Illinois Soldiers' College, Fulton, Whiteside County, an institution about which no other information seems to exist.[15]

The 1850-1870 era marked the beginning of many curricular and social changes on the campuses of Illinois colleges. In 1865, for example, no physical education program was to be found anywhere in the state, and students were left to their own devices in working off surplus animal spirits. Informal games and horseplay, sometimes leading to disci-

14. *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, 20-21; Charles Henry Rammelkamp, *Illinois College: A Centennial History, 1829-1929* (New Haven, Conn., 1928), 213-14; Estelle Frances Ward, *The Story of Northwestern University* (New York, 1924), 95-99.

15. *Laws of Illinois*, 25 G.A., 14-15.

plinary action, were the chief outlets. Following the war, baseball became a popular pastime, but not until after 1870 were collegiate or intercollegiate sports organized. This lack of regular exercise led to a curious revival. The earliest colleges of the state had been founded with manual labor programs designed to assist students in paying their way, but these failed everywhere. Following the war, however, there were proposals from many quarters that the plan be revived and that students, regardless of sex, devote three to five hours daily to manual labor, not so much for the money that might be earned but for the physical well-being of the student. These proposals were especially strong among the advocates of the agricultural and mechanical colleges, and in those schools, provisions were made for such labor.[16] There seems to have been no attempt, however, to adopt such programs in most of the liberal arts colleges.

Another development of the 1850-1870 period was coeducation. Of the older colleges, Illinois College was the only one which did not admit women by 1870 or soon thereafter. Nearly all of the newer institutions admitted them from the beginning. Only one degree-granting institution for women had been in operation during most of this period: the Northwestern Female College, which merged with the new Evanston College for Ladies in 1871 and a few years later was absorbed into Northwestern University.[17] Other "female institutions" in the state, such as Monticello College, Rockford College, and the Illinois Conference Female College, did not yet offer degrees, although they may have had courses on a junior college level. No marked difference

16. Earle D. Ross, "The Manual Labor Experiment in the Land-Grant College," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXI (March, 1935): 513-28.

17. Dwight F. Clark, "A Forgotten Evanston Institution: The Northwestern Female College," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXV (June, 1942): 115-32; Ward, *Northwestern University,* 113-19; Arthur H. Wilde, *Northwestern University: A History, 1855-1905* (New York, 1905), I: 246, 249, 255.

seems to have been made in college curricula as a result of coeducation. Such changes as were foreshadowed in this period were the result of other forces which were to become much more important in the following decade.

In the social life of the students, a new force, the social fraternity, was beginning to take the place of the literary society. The latter continued to function in the time-honored manner, conducting literary programs and furnishing library facilities to its members, but it was drawing toward the end of its usefulness. The appeal of the social fraternity was greater because of the secrecy of meetings, its closer bond of fellowship, and more rigorous and selective choice of members. In addition, most of the fraternities offered as wide a literary program as the societies they were displacing. Although the fraternity system was nearly thirty years old when it reached Illinois, its expansion cannot be considered rapid. First in the field was Beta Theta Pi, with its first Illinois chapter at Knox in 1855, followed by others at Illinois College, 1856; Monmouth, 1865; and the University of Chicago, 1868. Phi Delta Theta soon followed, with chapters at Northwestern, 1859, and Chicago, 1865; Phi Kappa Psi located at Northwestern in 1864, and at the University of Chicago in 1865. Delta Tau Delta went to Monmouth in 1865 and to Lombard in 1869. Phi Gamma Delta located chapters at Monmouth and Illinois Wesleyan in 1866, at Knox and Northwestern in 1867. Psi Upsilon had one chapter at Chicago, started in 1869; and Sigma Chi entered Northwestern the same year. The only sorority chapter to appear before the end of the period was Pi Beta Phi, at Monmouth in 1867; this was the sorority's first chapter.[18] By 1870, seven fraternities had established a total of sixteen chapters in seven Illinois colleges, though not all survived to the end of the period. The Beta chapter at Illinois College became inactive in 1866, and the Phi Gamma Delta group at

18. *Baird's Manual: American College Fraternities* . . . (New York, 1923). Consult the chapter lists and histories under each of the fraternities named.

Northwestern in 1870. In the years 1850-1870 fraternities were most active at Monmouth, a situation which was to lead to the abolition of such organizations there in the next decade. As yet the social fraternities could not be justified on the grounds that they provided housing and meals on campuses where these were difficult to procure. On the contrary, their early history shows that meetings were most often held in the rooms of the members or in a meeting room secured from the college or in the town. Rivalry was extreme, and college administrators and faculties looked upon the organizations with a great deal of suspicion and tended to oppose them.

The two decades following 1850 are of the greatest significance in the development of higher education in the state of Illinois. Liberal arts colleges, generally under the control of a religious body, continued to multiply. But, more important, the state entered the field, establishing a normal school and a state university. For the first time, practical and applied arts and sciences were offered on a collegiate level. Some revision of the standard classical curriculum began toward the end of the period, foreshadowing the greater changes soon to come. College education for women on an equal basis with men was also a landmark of the period. By 1870, then, higher education had passed from the stage of pioneer rigidity to one marked by adaptability and continuous adjustment — characteristics that have continued to our own time.

Lincolniana Notes

Was There an "Eighth Debate"?

Interest periodically revives in an alleged "eighth debate" between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. It purportedly took place in the city of West Chicago, when it was known as Turner Junction, during the course of the renowned Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858. The supposed debate is commemorated by a stone monument erected in 1928 on the site by the Women's Club of West Chicago.

The incident is now so well rooted in community traditions that schoolchildren almost universally believe that such an "eighth debate" actually occurred. Many prominent citizens, moreover, who ought to be more suspicious, seem to have accepted the story as gospel, and intermittently engage in efforts to substantiate and perpetuate the myth. Thus, they lend credence to a legend already grown so large it implies a factual basis. The time is long overdue, therefore, to examine this claim and to determine what validity it has, if any.

This legend is woven, for the most part, of a fabric of highly ambiguous and dubious affidavits testifying to an occurrence of some sixty or seventy years prior to their execution. Such affidavits constitute extremely unreliable historical evidence, if only because they were made so long after the event to which they attest.

The affidavits spin a tale of a chance meeting between Lincoln and Douglas in West Chicago, most probably on August 28, 1858, the day after their Freeport debate. Although three of the four affidavits mentioning a date suggest August *26*, the later date was adopted by the proponents of the "eighth debate" when incontestable evidence was uncovered placing both Lincoln and Douglas elsewhere in the state on August 26 of that memorable year. That Stephen Douglas spoke in Turner Junction (West Chicago) on August 28, 1858, is well established.[1] The claim that Lincoln spoke or debated Douglas on the same date is, however, an unwarranted assertion.

This intriguing yarn, fabricated from the unreliable affidavits, holds that Lincoln spent the night of August 27-28, 1858, with a

1. Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXXIII, Springfield, 1958), 410.

"cousin," Ephalet Moran, at his farm a few miles west of Elburn, Illinois, then known as Blackberry Corners. Elburn is approximately fifteen miles west of West Chicago on U. S. Highway Alternate 30. Title to the property in question at that time has been definitely traced to Moran.

The following day Lincoln traveled to West Chicago (the legend has it) to catch a train in order to continue on his campaign. Having missed a ride to West Chicago with the "Lincoln Truehearts," an Elburn political group, he rode instead with Douglas supporters on a hayrack. Finding on his arrival that he had missed his train, he was invited to the Updike Hickory Grove, a large picnic ground in the town. It was located on the site of the former Anthony residence at the intersection of Illinois Highway 59 and Geneva Road in West Chicago. It was there that Douglas was expected to speak. Lincoln consented, so the story goes, and spoke from the hayrack under an old oak tree on the west side of the grove, where the monument now stands.

So much for the myth. A wealth of available evidence indicates almost conclusively that Lincoln and Douglas could neither have appeared nor debated in West Chicago at the time and place alleged. Not only are the proofs for the legend (that is, the affidavits) unreliable, but four proofs that are reliable quickly refute the possibility of the supposed "eighth debate."

First, it is extremely doubtful that Lincoln had a cousin, or any other relation for that matter, named Ephalet Moran. In neither of the two studies recognized by historians as authoritative and exhaustive on the subject of Lincoln's family,[2] including the Hanks side, can the name Moran be found. Therefore, the belief that Lincoln had a cousin living fifteen miles west of West Chicago, whom he may have visited, would appear to be unfounded. A relative would have supplied a motive for him to stop over during a rigorous political campaign at a point close enough to West Chicago to meet Douglas on the day he was here. Without such a motive, the tale is weak indeed.

Second, the records of the Brewster House in Freeport show that Lincoln spent the night of August 27-28, 1858, following the Freeport debate, in that hotel.[3] Obviously, then, he could not have spent the night before Douglas's arrival in Turner Junction with Moran or anyone else near West Chicago.

2. Waldo Lincoln, *History of the Lincoln Family* (Worcester, Mass., 1923); Adin Baber, *Nancy Hanks* (Kansas, Ill., 1960).

3. Elisabeth Yager, "A Day in History," *The Freeport Debate and Its Centennial Commemoration* (Freeport, Ill., 1959), 188.

Third, the agreement between Lincoln and Douglas to debate formally in only seven places is generally thought to have precluded the possibility of another debate. However, the correspondence between the two men in July, 1858, arranging the debates, reveals that *only Douglas so construed the agreement.*[4] In answer to Douglas's rejection of debates in the second and sixth congressional districts because both men had already spoken there, Lincoln protested that in both Chicago and Springfield, Douglas had delivered the concluding speech, thereby denying Lincoln a rebuttal. He then agreed with Douglas to debate at the seven places suggested, but stipulated: "As to other details, I wish perfect reciprocity and no more." In other words, it seems fair to think that Lincoln did not limit the agreement to only seven debates, but left open the possibility of more. It is fair to assume from their letters that Lincoln would have preferred to debate Douglas in the two largest cities of the state. Furthermore, in this correspondence Lincoln declared his dissatisfaction with the four openings and closings Douglas would have to his three in the proposed debates.

A special significance of this correspondence for West Chicago's "eighth debate" lies in Lincoln's insistence upon "perfect reciprocity." If Douglas and Lincoln *had* debated at West Chicago, Lincoln would have insisted upon an equal amount of time to answer Douglas's speech, variously estimated at from one and a half to two hours in duration. But, according to an article published in the February 1 issue of the *Naperville Sentinel,* uncovered by a local advocate of the "eighth debate," Douglas is reported to have arrived in West Chicago at 2 P.M. on the afternoon of August 28, 1858. For him to have spoken at least an hour and a half after his arrival and for Lincoln to have answered at similar length would have brought the conclusion of the event to about 5 P.M. This time factor, then, creates the fourth proof for the impossibility of an unscheduled "eighth debate" between the two politicians, for it has also been conclusively proved that Lincoln did deliver an impromptu speech at El Paso, Illinois, on August 28, 1858, where he waited an hour while changing trains on his way to Peoria.[5] This was the same day the West Chicago debate is alleged to have occurred. It is extremely unlikely that Lincoln could have debated Douglas in West Chicago until 5 P.M., departed for Mendota, Illinois (where he would have changed trains and boarded the Illinois

4. Angle, ed., *Created Equal?,* 83-88.
5. *Ibid.,* 410; *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 3, 1858.

Central Railroad for El Paso), waited in El Paso an hour while a crowd grew before he spoke, and then have continued to Peoria, all in one day.

In the light of this final improbability, it is unnecessary to consider how Lincoln might have traveled to West Chicago in the first place, though there are newspaper reports of special trains which ran from Chicago to Freeport for the debate there on the twenty-seventh.[6] Doubtless the trains stopped at Turner Junction, both going and coming, for the town was a major rail terminal in that period of the state's history.

An oft-cited piece of evidence supporting the purported debate is a so-called missing issue of the *Chicago Times* for August 30, 1858. Its importance is based on an earlier issue of that paper which contained a promise to publish an account of the political meeting at "The Junction," as West Chicago was sometimes called then, scheduled for August 28. August 30, 1858, however, was a Monday, and the *Daily Chicago Times* did not publish on Mondays. Its publishing week ran from Tuesday through Sunday. The numbering of the issues for August 29 and August 31 is consecutive, and there is no report of an impromptu debate at Turner Junction in any of the issues after the twenty-eighth.[7] A meeting of these two men would have merited some mention, had it taken place, particularly in view of the paper's promise to report the event.

In conclusion, then, it is difficult to understand how any serious consideration could have been given this tale. In light of the apparently irrefutable evidence available concerning the events of August 28, 1858, it seems grossly unfair to Illinois' Lincoln tradition and to honest scholarship to perpetuate this groundless legend as is currently being done in the old railroad junction of West Chicago.

Thomas C. Kelleghan
West Chicago, Illinois

6. Yager, "A Day in History," 178-79.
7. *Daily Chicago Times* files in Chicago Historical Society.

Family Histories

The genealogical source material in the Illinois State Historical Library constitutes one of the most important collections in the state. The Library purchases standard reference works and periodicals, but many of its most valuable acquisitions are gifts of public-spirited citizens. The eighty-three books and pamphlets listed below were received as gifts between July 1, 1961, and January 15, 1963. The titles are arranged alphabetically by major subject.

Andrews. Charles Morrison Andrews, *Our Early Parents and Their Descendants . . . ,* from the author, Washington, D. C.

Angell. George N. Angell, "Genealogy of Some Descendants of William Angell . . . ," from the author, Portland, Ore.

Applegarth. Janet Flower, "Descendants of Joseph Applegarth (1819 Resident of Wanborough and Albion, Illinois)," from the author, Gresham, Ore.

Arlington Cemetery, Elmhurst. See *Champaign County.*

Baker. Harry J. Baker, "Baker and Allied Families," from the author, Crawfordsville, Ind.

Barekman. June B. Barekman, "The Barrackman-Barrickman Families of West Virginia," from the author, Chicago, Ill.

———. June B. Barekman, "The Barrackman-Barkman-Barekman Family of Knox County, Indiana," from the author, Chicago, Ill.

———. June B. Barekman, "Barrackman-Bergmann: Germany to the Colonies," from the author, Chicago, Ill.

Barlow. Evlyn A. Barlow, "Genealogy of the Barlow Family: The Quincy, Illinois and St. Louis, Missouri Branch," from the author, Kansas City, Mo.

Barnes. Richard C. Barnes, "Barnes-King and Related Families of Chenango County, New York," from the author, San Antonio, Tex.

Barrickman. Mrs. Vivian Barrickman Shoemaker, "The Genealogy of the Barrickman Families of Franklin, Ripley, and Marion Counties, of Indiana," from June B. Barekman, Chicago, Ill.

Bartlett. See *Pearce.*

Bayse. Otto Bayse, *The Bayse Family in the United States,* from Paul E. Bayse, Burlingame, Calif.

Black. Harry R. Black, "A History of the Black Family," from the author, Kell, Ill.

Boughton. Willis A. Boughton, *An Information Index* [*to*] *the Names*

. . . . *in the Bouton-Boughton Family by James Boughton,* from the author, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Bristow. Julia J. Bristow, "Bristow-Douglas . . . 1640-1961," from the author, Lincoln, Neb.

Buckingham. Margaret W. Coola and Ruth K. Hanneman, "The William Buckingham Family and Allied Families," from the Illinois Society, DAR.

Bunting. Janet Flower, "Some Genealogical Records of the Bunting Family," from the author, Gresham, Ore.

Burbank. James Walter Burbank, "Descendants of John Burbank in the Jacob Durgin Burbank Line . . . ," from George N. Angell, Portland, Ore.

Carson. Thomas Carson McCormick, "Carson-McCormick Family Memorials," from Mrs. Greggor P. Sletteland, Glenview, Ill.

Cerza. Agostino Cerza, *The Cerza Family in Chicago,* from Alphonse Cerza, Riverside, Ill.

Champaign County. Illinois Society, DAR, "Cemetery Records, Champaign, White, Du Page, and Mercer Counties and Arlington Cemetery, Elmhurst" (5 volumes), from the Illinois Society, DAR.

Clark. William A. Sausaman, "A Hoosier Register: The Descendants of Daniel Clark and Mary (Clark) Noftsger Perry," from the author, Springfield, Ill.

Cole. See *Pierson.*

Colyer. Janet Flower, "American Branch of the Colyer Family of Surrey County, England," from the author, Gresham, Ore.

Danville, Illinois. "Bible and Other Family Records" (family records of the Governor Bradford Chapter, DAR), from the Illinois Society, DAR.

Douglas. See *Bristow.*

Du Mont. John Sanderson du Mont, "Du Mont de Sonmagne and Allied Families," from Mrs. John S. du Mont, Greenfield, Mass.

Du Page County. See *Champaign County.*

Edwards. Colonel Allan R. Edwards, "A Journal of the Edwards Family, East Fork Township, Clinton County, Illinois," from the author, Berryville, Va.

Edwards. William Hopple Edwards, "Genealogical and Ancestral Notes, Series III: Ancestors of William Lemly Edwards and Stella Lee Edwards," from the author, Meriden, Conn.

Elm. See *Johnson.*

Emison. James Wade Emison, *Supplement (1962) to the Emison Families, Revised (1954),* from the author, Vincennes, Ind.

Espenschied. Lloyd Espenschied, *Louis Espenschied and His Family*

(reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin,* January, 1962), from the author, Kew Gardens, N. Y.

Ewers. Dorothy Wood Ewers (Mrs. E. A.), "This is Ewers (Yours)," from the author, Crete, Ill.

Flower. Janet Flower, "Genealogical Records of the Descendants and Kin of Richard Flower of the English Settlement, Albion, Illinois," from the author, Gresham, Ore.

Floyd. Anna Margaret Cartlidge, "Children and Grandchildren of William and Abadiah Davis Floyd," from the author, Baltimore, Md.

Fordham. Sibylla Jane Pickering Flower, "Pedigree of Fordham Family Ancestors of George Flower, Founders of the English Settlement," from Janet Flower, Gresham, Ore.

Fruit. Jane Fruit Wisco (Mrs. E. A.), "The Fruit Families of America," from the author, Middleton, Wis.

Fulton County. See *Marshall County.*

Gentry County, Missouri. See *Marshall County.*

Gleason. Henry Allen Gleason, *Reminiscences of Henry M. Gleason . . . ,* from the author, Berkeley, Calif.

Hadley. Harlan V. Hadley, "The Hadleys of Hendricks County, Indiana," from Mrs. Stewart M. Johnson, Kansas City, Mo.

Halcomb. Isabel Stebbins Giulvezan, "Notes on Hiram H. Halcomb (1789-1869) of Caswell County, North Carolina," from the author, Affton, Mo.

Hall. Janet Flower, "Genealogical Records of the Hall Family (Settlers in the English Colony in 1821)," from the author, Gresham, Ore.

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Ephraim Jackson . . . and His Descendants, 1684-1960, from the author, Carmel, Calif.

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McCormick. See *Carson.*

McKoy. Jesse A. McCoy, "George G. McKoy," from the author, Jacksonville, Fla.

Månson. See *Johnson.*

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Matthews. See *Pearce.*

Mercer County. See *Champaign County.*

Misner. Mildred E. Conklin Jones, "Henry Misner and Descendants," from C. C. Burford Estate, Urbana, Ill.

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Pearce. James Alonzo Matthews, "Pearce, Bartlett, Matthews, Smart and Allied Families," from Mrs. Betty P. Dodson, Greenville, Ill.

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Seeley. Mary Henrietta Chase, "The Saga of the Seeleys from Southern New Jersey to Illinois and Texas," from the author, Dallas, Tex.

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Snoddy. Mrs. Evea Cook Sanders, *Family History and Genealogy of James Snoddy of White Deer Valley, Penn.,* from the author, Rockville, Ind.

Stafford. Ernest N. Stafford, *Taban Stafford: His Ancestors and Descendants,* from the author, Escondido, Calif.

Stark County. See *Knox County.*

Stein. Simon Gerberich Stein III, *The Steins of Muscatine: A Family Chronicle,* from the author, Muscatine, Iowa.

Stucker. Essie Stucker, "Michael Stucker of 1759 and His Kinsmen," from the author, Kansas City, Mo.

Tazewell County. See *Marshall County.*

Tidd. Howard H. Tidd, *A History of the Tidds of Ohio,* from the Rock River (Ill.) Chapter, DAR.

Upshaw. Grace E. Heminger Jared, "Biography of Edwin Upshaw, 1778-1849," from the author, Olney, Ill.

Waddell. Kenneth M. Waddell, "The Waddell Family," from the author, Washington, D. C.

Wagar. Paul W. Prindle, "Progenitors in the Wurttemberg Region, Germany of the New York State Wagar-Wager-Weger Families," from the author, New York, N. Y.

Wall. Juliette Wall Pope, *A George Willard Wall Memorial,* from Marian De Belle, Washington, D. C.

Wassell. Wassell Randolph, "The Wassell Family and Its Several Branches in the United States," from the author, Memphis, Tenn.

Watts. Edith Dougherty Keene (Mrs. Archie T.), "The Richard R. Watts Family," from the author, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Wayland County, Missouri. See *Marshall County.*

Weger. See *Wagar.*

White County. See *Champaign County.*

Wilson. Maud Wilson, "The A. K. Wilson Family," from the author, Corvallis, Ore.

Woodford County. See *Knox County.*

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Lincoln and Civil War scholars and "buffs" will be interested to learn that the Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois has purchased microfilm copies of a number of newspapers and magazines of the Civil War period (1858-1867) to supplement those already in the collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. These films will be available for use either in the Historical Library or on interlibrary loan.

A number of the Southern newspapers contain information about the activities of Illinois troops in the field as well as Southern reaction to secession, the war, and its effects. Many of these papers were forced to suspend during the war either because of inability to obtain paper or because of the capture of their towns by Union forces (some moved their printing offices to other cities but continued to publish under the old name). The Northern newspapers – some Radical Republican, others Union Democrat, and some out-and-out Copperhead – provide an interesting background to the period.

The following list includes the Civil War newspapers now on microfilm in the Historical Library, or on order to be obtained within the year. Those preceded by an asterisk were already in the library; the rest came from the Centennial Commission.

ARKANSAS: *Southern Shield* (Helena); *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock); *Van Buren Press.*

CALIFORNIA: *Alta California* (San Francisco).

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: *National Intelligencer, Washington Star.*

GEORGIA: *Albany Patriot; Southern Watchman* (Athens); *Southern Confederacy* (Atlanta, later Macon); Augusta *Chronicle & Sentinel* and *Constitutionalist;* Columbus *Enquirer* and *Sun & Times; Federal Union* (later *Southern Federal Union* and *Confederate Union*) and *Southern Recorder* (Milledgeville); *Rome Courier;* Savannah *Herald* and *Morning News.*

ILLINOIS: **Alton Telegraph; *Aurora Beacon;* Belleville *Advocate* and **Zeitung; *Belvidere Standard;* *Bloomington *Pantagraph;* Cairo **City Gazette* and **War Eagle; **Henry County Chronicle* (Cambridge); Canton **Register* and **Fulton County Ledger; *Carlinville Free Democrat; *Carrollton Gazette; *Carthage Republican; *Centralia Sentinel; Central Illinois Gazette* (Champaign and Urbana); Chicago **Journal, *Times,* and **Tribune; *Central Transcript* (later *Public*) (Clinton); **Madison Intelligencer* (Edwardsville); Freeport *Bulletin, *Deutscher Anzeiger, Journal,* and *Northwest;* Galena **Advertiser* and **Northwestern Gazette; Hemlandet* (Gales-

burg, later Chicago); **Geneseo Republic; *Greenville Advocate; *Joliet Signal; *Kankakee Gazette; *Keithsburg Observer; *Illinois Gazette* (Lacon); **Lincoln Herald;* Litchfield **Journal* and **Union Monitor;* Macomb **Eagle* and **Journal; *Mattoon Gazette;* Monmouth *Atlas* and *Review; *Grundy County Herald* (Morris); **Whiteside Sentinel* (Morrison); **Carroll County Mirror* (Mt. Carroll); **Nashville Journal; *Oquawka Spectator;* Ottawa *Free Trader* and **Republican; *Paris Beacon;* Peoria **Democratic Union, *Mail,* and **Transcript; *Menard County Axis* (Petersburg); **Bureau County Republican* (Princeton); Quincy **Herald* and **Whig & Republican; *Robinson Argus;* Rock Island **Argus* and **Union; *Rock River Democrat* and **Republican* (Rockford); **Salem Advocate; *Illinois State Journal* and **Illinois State Register* (Springfield); **Sterling Republican & Gazette; *Stark County News* (Toulon); *Champaign County Democrat, Our Constitution,* and *Union* (Urbana); **Waukegan Gazette; *Woodstock Sentinel.*

INDIANA: *Indianapolis Journal.*

IOWA: *Burlington Hawk-Eye; Iowa State Democrat* (Davenport); *Dubuque Herald; Gate City* (Keokuk).

LOUISIANA: *Louisiana Democrat* (Alexandria); *Baton Rouge Gazette & Comet;* New Orleans *Bee* (also in French, *L'Abeille de la Nouvelle-Orléans*), *Commercial Bulletin,* and *Picayune.*

MARYLAND: Baltimore *Daily Sun.*

MASSACHUSETTS: *The Liberator* (Boston).

MISSISSIPPI: *Natchez Courier; Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond); *Vicksburg Whig.*

MISSOURI: **Anzeiger des Westens, *Missouri Democrat,* and **Missouri Republican* (St. Louis).

NEW YORK: *The Emancipator* (later published in Boston), *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Harper's Weekly, *Herald, *Independent, *Metropolitan Record, *Times, *Tribune,* and *Vanity Fair* (New York).

NORTH CAROLINA: **Wilmington Journal.*

OHIO: *Cincinnati Enquirer; *The Crisis* and *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus); *The Philanthropist* (New Richmond, later Cincinnati).

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia *Bulletin, *Inquirer,* and *Public Ledger.*

SOUTH CAROLINA: *Charleston Courier.*

TENNESSEE: *Chattanooga Rebel* (later published in Marietta and Griffin, Ga., and Selma, Ala.); *The 83rd Illinoisan* and other miscellaneous Clarksville papers; *Fayetteville Observer; Brownlow's Knoxville Whig* (later *Whig & Rebel Ventilator*); Memphis *Appeal* (later published in Grenada and Jackson, Miss., Atlanta, Ga., and Montgomery, Ala.) and *Avalanche; Nashville Union & American.*

TEXAS: *Clarksville Standard; Dallas Herald; Galveston News* (later in Houston); *Indianola Bulletin;* San Antonio *Herald* and *News.*

VIRGINIA: Richmond *Dispatch, Enquirer, Religious Herald, Sentinel, Southern Churchman,* and *Whig & Public Advertiser.*

WISCONSIN: *Slavie* (Racine).

BERNARD WAX

Out in History's Left Field

By Clyde C. Walton

There is a magazine I have found quite interesting that perhaps you do not know about: *Outdoor Illinois*. Published monthly (except January and February), *Outdoor Illinois* is now in its second year. It is a product of the Benton Evening News Company, Inc., 111 East Church Street, Benton, and subscription rates are $3.00 a year or $5.75 for two years; single issues are thirty-five cents each. The magazine is a great booster for our state, specifically for southern Illinois. And each issue has at least one article which is primarily historical. Vol 2, No. 1, which I have before me, has a good article about Grand Tower by Lowell Dearinger. The major focus of the magazine – as the title indicates – is on places of scenic interest, wildlife, conservation, camping, and general outdoor recreation. Ask the publisher for a sample copy. You'll enjoy it and will probably want to subscribe. *Outdoor Illinois* is a publication all of us ought to support.

A number of good books about World War I have been published recently. The first one I read was titled *In Flanders Fields,* by Leon Wolff, and the next *The Guns of August,* by Barbara Tuchman. Now I have finished *The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916,* by Alistair Horne (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1962, $5.95). This one fascinated and repelled me at the same time: such stupid, inhumane generals on both sides, such utter disregard for human life. This fine battle study points out, once again, the insignificance of the individual in modern war, the monumental waste of human beings in modern war, the complete futility of modern war.

Let me mention that our good friend Bell I. Wiley's *Life of Billy Yank* and *Life of Johnny Reb* are now available as paperbacks (Charter Books, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.: Indianapolis, Ind., 1962, $2.45 each). These two volumes are still the best studies of the common soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies and are basic to any collection of Civil War books. You can hardly afford to pass them up at the paperback price.

Want a good, inexpensive collection of American historical maps? Then get a copy of Randall D. Sale and Edwin D. Karn's *American Expansion: A Book of Maps* (Dorsey Press, Inc.: Homewood, Ill., 1963, $2.00). In this slim volume is a concise history of the development of the United States with an excellent text and twelve full-page maps (there is a list of U.S. land offices on the last three pages). Not only the price but the brevity and accuracy of the volume commend it to your attention.

I have been talking for years

about the need for fewer battle studies about the Civil War and more scholarly attention to matters of social, agricultural, administrative, and economic significance. Ralph Andreano's *Economic Impact of the American Civil War* (Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc.: Cambridge, Mass., 1962; paper $2.45, cloth $4.95) is an excellent collection of eleven essays on topics dealing with Civil War economic history; one section is a collection of selected statistics on the development of the American economy, 1850-1880. It is true that little of this is new, but Professor Andreano has done all serious students of the war a service by bringing this material (with bibliographical suggestions added) together in one volume. Certainly we need many more studies which deal, as this one does, with Civil War economic history.

Vernon Sternberg's Southern Illinois University Press has produced a book that should interest all members of the State Historical Society: *Prairie Albion,* by Charles Boewe (Carbondale, 1962, $10), but since we will give this one a full-length review, I only mention it here.

There is a good new book on Spain: Jean Descola, *A History of Spain,* translated by Elaine P. Halperin (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1963, $7.50); and if you are interested in our good neighbor Missouri, let me recommend Edward C. McReynolds's *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State* (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1962, $5.95).

Our fellow society member Carl Hodges has a new book just out titled *Dobie Sturgis and the Dog Soldiers* (Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.: Indianapolis, Ind., 1963, $3.50). Although this book is designed for younger readers, I think many of you will find it as interesting as I did; much of the action takes place in the Fort McPherson–Julesburg locale (an area I became very familiar with while working on the *Indian War of 1864*) and is based on solid historical fact.

John Howell in San Francisco does not publish many books, but those he does publish are always beautifully designed and printed, and are contributions to our knowledge of history. His latest, Fred B. Rogers, *William Brown Ide, Bear Flagger* (John Howell—Books, 1962) is no exception. It is a "critical biographical study of Ide" but has much to do with the revolt of 1846 in California. Our attention was aroused when we remembered that Ide lived just east of Springfield, Illinois, in 1839-1844, and that some of the material in this interesting book comes from the old files of the *Sangamo Journal.* If you want a book which is not only good history but fine printing, I recommend this one.

Book Reviews

THE HODGE SCANDAL: A PATTERN OF AMERICAN POLITICAL CORRUPTION
By George Thiem. (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1963. Pp. 244. $5.95.)

The first book about the biggest news story in the history of Illinois state government appropriately is the work of the investigative reporter who started it all.

Before Orville E. Hodge, a pseudo-rich man, became state auditor and dreamed of becoming governor, Illinois had had other statehouse scandals, among them the canal scrip fraud rumpus of 1859 that blackened former Governor Joel A. Matteson, but never before had an elected public official gone to the penitentiary. That was before the era of modern journalism and communications. This time reportorial initiative was showing the way.

For newsmen the Hodge story had everything. Edition after edition, day after day, for weeks in the hot summer of 1956 competing staffs of reporters monopolized the front pages with fresh details of how the State Auditor had dipped into the till for $1,571,354 and paid the penalty of exposure, confession, and imprisonment.

George Thiem, *Chicago Daily News* correspondent in Springfield for nearly ten years, was a specialist in digging into public payrolls and vouchers, but that May 17 he had no idea that a Pulitzer Prize, his second, was ahead. From the hour he began a routine look at Hodge's spending, Thiem tells a highly personal account of increasing suspicions, official roadblocks, preliminary stories, doubt, worry over libel possibilities, and dogged pursuit of information that hit the jackpot late in the afternoon of June 29 while viewing microfilms in a back room of the state treasurer's office. A week later Thiem was in print with the revelation that on the previous September 12 a sequence of fifteen obviously phony state warrants had been issued and cashed.

In the second part of his book Thiem is at his best. He gives cursory attention to the dramatic unfolding of the Hodge tragedy but devotes chapter after chapter to the first complete account of backroom financial manipulations, among them the use of the fifteen forged warrants to buy secretly a 40 per cent interest in an Elmwood Park bank. Back and forth, laboriously connecting information that editors had printed mostly on the inside pages, Thiem tells of complex transactions in which a former governor was a secondary character.

The Hodge Scandal is not de-

signed as a quick reference source for future historians but is primarily a dissertation on the necessity for a continual watch for political corruption.

In its enormity, the Hodge case was too big for one volume, and after time permits a longer perspective, there is more that should be recorded by historians. Largely neglected is the mystery man, Edward A. Epping, the administrative assistant who did easy time in Menard while Hodge went from despair to rehabilitation. One of the most dramatic scenes took place inside the Executive Mansion when Attorney General Latham Castle and Governor William G. Stratton got the then-penitent Hodge to sign three resignations, as auditor, re-election nominee, and Republican national convention delegate. Already dead without having their personal experiences put in focus are Treasurer Warren Wright, one of several officials who disliked Hodge, and Arthur M. Fitzgerald, the criminal lawyer whom Hodge retained soon after Thiem started digging. Another day of unpublished drama occurred when J. Waldo Ackerman, Jr., young assistant prosecutor from Springfield, uncovered the "brown envelope" fraud evidence in the Southmoor bank while remembering, halfway through the job, that not a person in the world knew where in Chicago he had gone.

Illinois too long has neglected the biographies of its political leaders and the histories of their times. Thiem has broken a trail that should be followed by others.

ROBERT P. HOWARD
Springfield

INDIANS OF THE WOODLANDS: FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO 1725
By George E. Hyde. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1962. Pp. xv, 295. $5.00.)

In *Indians of the Woodlands,* George E. Hyde attempts to present an interpretive story of the eastern Woodlands Indian in terms meaningful to the general reader. His approach is comprehensive, bringing to bear in this enterprise the evidence of archaeology, ethnology, history, and Indian tradition. Source references are more freely used than is often the case in a semipopular book. Unhappily, the end product falls far short of the potentialities for a book of this sort.

One of the author's main themes is the importance of the role played by Siouan-speaking peoples in the prehistory of the eastern United States. He observes, for instance, that "as far as social organization and discipline were concerned, the Dhegiha [Omaha-Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Quapah]

Siouans would have fitted neatly into the Mound Builder way of life," permeated as it probably was by ritual (page 68). I, among others, am sympathetic to this view. Hyde develops this and related topics in a plausible outline of events, but the account is highly personalized, and the reader too often can obtain only an imperfect knowledge of what others think on matters he discusses.

Archaeologists will consider the time element to be utterly disregarded and the usefulness of Indian tradition exaggerated beyond reasonable limits. Intentionally or not, almost no dating of archaeological remains is admitted in evidence for any period earlier than the fifteenth century A.D., which by coincidence falls within the limits Hyde places on the reliability of oral tradition (page 51 and *passim*).

Radiocarbon dating is given a brief mention on one page and its results dismissed as "unacceptable," even "shocking," for the examples reported (page 224). When he discusses points of likeness between a few selected customs of the historic Omaha tribe and those of the Archaic Indian Knoll people in Kentucky (pages 8, 68n), the reader is given no hint that these Indian groups are separated in time by as much as five thousand years. Nor are readers given an awareness of the extent to which archaeological chronology in the eastern United States has changed since the introduction of radiocarbon dating in 1950. They are unexplainably led to believe that the "Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley were in their prime" within a period which could have included the fifty years between A.D. 1400 and 1450 (page 51). Today most archaeologists would not hesitate to put the *climax* of burial mound-building activities in the Ohio Valley before A.D. 500, with the earliest mounds 1000 or more years older. From Hyde we learn only that in the Ohio Valley archaeologists have found village ruins, mounds, and burials, most of which they have given "an impossible dating — at times as far back as the year [A.D.] 1300 — which simply will not fit in with the traditional and historical evidence" as he sees it (page 204).

Furthermore, his revival of *Mound Builder* as a formal group and temporal designation cannot be justified today, even in a popular book, and especially in the restricted sense in which he uses it. Most readers should be nonplussed when told, on pages 26-28 and elsewhere, that the Adena period in Ohio Valley archaeology was succeeded by a Mound Builder period, after previously learning that most of the burial mounds in Ohio and northern Kentucky "are of Adena origin" (pages 19-20).

Hyde's foreshortening of prehistory is not limited to the East. Speaking of work in South Dakota

by the Smithsonian Institution and various universities, Hyde observes (page 255) that "these archaeological reports add many important facts to our previous knowledge, and then make it impossible for us to use these facts by insisting that all the village ruins and other Indian remains are of a time period prior to 1600 and that most of them date before 1500." Without going into detail on the basis for the chronology accepted by specialists, Hyde assures his readers that archaeological dating is, anyway, "mainly conjectural" and "this being admitted, the historian is justified in setting aside the archaeological dating, at least for the purpose of attempting to fit archaeology in with the other materials and attempting to reach a reasonable solution [page 255]."

Hyde draws freely on the field data of modern archaeology but is outspoken in discrediting interpretations running counter to those he does not support. The ecological approach to archaeological interpretation is cut dead in one sentence (page 255). Professional readers will be especially annoyed by editing which permits the author to present the image of present-day archaeologists conjecturing and "grasping at straws" while he himself announces "the verdict of history and tradition" (cf. pages 150, 155, 212, and *passim*).

More sympathetically treated are the ideas of an older generation of archaeologists, among whom were those who had much to say about "sun worship and sun priests and kings among our Indians in early times," a subject about which, we are reminded, modern archaeologists have little to say (pages 22, 49, 71). The author also adds the weight of his reputation to the support of migration theories shelved or modified since a day when migrations were popular means of accounting for cultural similarities between different archaeological areas. Similarities relating Iroquoian and Caddoan languages — an order of relationship of the kind linking English and Russian or Greek and Sanskrit — embolden the author to derive the Iroquoian tribes from a southwestern location, probably west of the Mississippi (pages x, 13, 91), saying that Iroquoians are of the Caddoan stock. Hyde calls the Skidi Pawnee an Iroquoian group, a unique view, bringing them from the Allegheny region to Nebraska after A.D. 1650 (pages 14-15, 49, and *passim*). The villainy of the Iroquois proper causes them to be compared to German Nazis not once but three separate times (pages 87, 108, 123).

Sections more narrowly related to Illinois leave the mistaken impression that prehistorically the Indian occupation was localized in Fulton County and in other areas where the University of Chi-

cago concentrated its archaeological activities in the 1920's and 1930's (pages 12, 38-44, and *passim*). In mentioning the semi-legendary massacre of Illini on Starved Rock he places this event "long before 1680" rather than about 1769, where it is usually put (page 197). After drawing the understandable, if not widely supported, conclusion that the mound center of Cahokia at East St. Louis was built not by Siouan or Algonkian speakers but by Muskogeans, he observes (page 105n) that "the name Cahokia stuck so persistently to the district in which the great mound and population center had been, that it seems probably [*sic*] that Cahokia was the name of the principal tribe of southern Indians here in Illinois." He suggests, in this regard, that of the several tribes of the Illinois Confederacy only the Peoria and Kaskaskia belonged to the Algonkian stock, the Cahokia, Tamaroa, Michigamea, Moingwena, and others being southern in origin, possibly even Muskogean (pages 81n, 104, 105n, 201). Locally oriented readers will expect more corroborating evidence than is offered for this opinion.

More useful are portions of the book based upon historical records, but only relatively so. Hyde is often uncritical in his use of sources, but he is also overly cautious in treating some topics which have not been at issue among historians for years, such as the year of Jean Nicolet's landfall in Wisconsin (page 97n). Beyond this there is a wearying emphasis on intertribal relationships and on answers to the questions *who? what? when?* and *where?*

For anyone purporting to write a book of this nature for a general reading public it is out of place to introduce novel personal interpretations while ignoring or off-handedly dismissing widely accepted views. The reader closes the book without really receiving a balanced picture of the Indians of the Woodlands.

ROBERT L. HALL
Illinois State Museum

MINISTERS OF FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS – 1833-1962

By Charles Foster McElroy. (Bethany Press: St. Louis, Mo., 1962. Pp. 287. $5.00.)

Charles McElroy's sketches of the thirty-two ministers of the First Christian Church of Springfield, and of their wives and the missionaries the church has supported, constitute a unique and readable church history. Although some of the sketches are as short as two pages, each one has a piquant flavor that captures the essence of the

man or his ministry. This flavor is achieved primarily with the use of quotations from contemporary documents, the compilation of which must have taken years.

Five pastors of the church, McElroy says, have been in *Who's Who in America;* and the ministers' friends, whom he quotes, included such luminaries as Abraham Lincoln, Mrs. James A. Garfield, Edwin Markham, and Vachel Lindsay.

In addition to the brief biographical sketches, there is a chapter on the history of the congregation's buildings and a roster of pastors, which is an almost-adequate substitute for an index.

Fortunately, the appeal of this book is not limited to residents of Springfield or communicants of the Disciples of Christ church, and this achievement is what makes it a unique volume. McElroy is now eighty-eight years old, but he is young in heart and mind, and his writing is therefore never dull.

The book is handsomely printed and bound, and copies may be obtained from McElroy at 631 South Fourth Street, Springfield.

E.M.W.

THE STATE UNIVERSITIES AND DEMOCRACY
By Allan Nevins. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1962. Pp. vii, 171, $2.95.)

The University of Illinois Press could not have chosen a more fitting way of observing the centennial of the Morrill Act than by publishing this book. The book consists of four lectures written by a historian who is also a native son. Born at Camp Point, Nevins was subsequently an undergraduate, a graduate student, and an instructor at the University of Illinois. In 1917 he published *Illinois,* a history of his university. Literally he is a living authority on the subject.

To Nevins the histories of land-grant institutions and state universities are inseparable. No true universities existed in the United States until the Morrill Act stimulated their growth. The act, Nevins thinks, was an outgrowth of neither political expediency nor land-grabbing. Rather, it was compounded from basic elements, "rejection of the tyranny of classical and theological studies, championship of science, insistence on attention to agriculture and the mechanic arts, and — most important of all — a demand for greater democracy in education."

Nevins describes dramatically the difficulties encountered by the land-grant colleges: poverty, condescension by the traditional educators, especially those on the Atlantic seaboard, weak faculty, weak courses, ridicule of farmers, and the difficulty of simultaneous-

ly offering traditional courses and new subjects. By recruiting a distinguished faculty and by producing research that was of unquestionable practical value to farmers, the schools had by 1910 overcome much of the early opposition. Farm boys and girls who did not wish to train to become better farmers came to appreciate the Morrill institutions as a means of escape from the farm. The book ends with a discussion of the present-day difficulty of providing an adequate curriculum for the increasing millions who wish to continue their formal education beyond high school. Nevins thinks that California's so-called master plan is the best one yet devised to enable the universities to retain their historic ideal of education for all income classes.

One does not expect, and one does not find, in a book of this kind a full recognition of the contributions that private institutions have made to democracy. Nor is this a substitute for the histories of land-grant schools and state universities written by Eddy, Ross, and others. But for the lay reader in the United States and abroad it offers a distinguished introduction to the lofty philosophy and remarkable achievements of our great public universities.

CLAYTON S. ELLSWORTH
College of Wooster

THE PAGEANT OF THE PRESS: A SURVEY OF 125 YEARS OF IOWA JOURNALISM, 1836-1961

By William J. Petersen. (State Historical Society of Iowa: Iowa City, 1962. Pp. x, 118. $7.50 cloth; $6.00 paper.)

"Steamboat Bill" Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has come in off the river and taken time from his favorite subject to edit this illustrated *Survey* of Iowa newspapers. The illustrations are facsimile reproductions of full pages from about seventy papers (one to four pages each) in some forty communities throughout the state. The size of the book's pages is 16½ by 12½ inches — which means that the newspaper pages are reduced to about 80 per cent of their original size, but all of them are easily legible.

The period covered by these reproductions begins with the first issue of the first paper in the state, the *Du Buque Visitor* of May 11, 1836, and ends with the front page of the December 31, 1961, *Cedar Rapids Gazette.* Except for the *Visitor,* the first issue of the papers selected is passed over in favor of later ones that are more representative or report some historic event, such as the beginning of the Civil War, the victory at Vicksburg, or Lincoln's assassination. The emphasis, how-

ever, is on the early papers, with only a dozen front pages from the twentieth century.

Petersen's ten-page text (each king-size page is equal to six ordinary book pages) is supplemented by listings of the daily and weekly papers published in the state in 1961, winners of the Master Editor-Publisher of Iowa awards, presidents of the Iowa Press Association, the papers "Established before the Civil War and Still Running," an explanatory introduction, and alphabetical and chronological tables of contents.

Half of the text is devoted to a chapter on the "Trials and Pleasures of Pioneer Editors," which makes entertaining reading. That the trials were many and the pleasures few is shown by the statement that "of the 222 newspapers established in Iowa between 1836 and 1860, fully 118 had slipped out of existence before the census of 1860 was taken." This was the period when anyone with a press and a printer's apron full of type could start a paper, but the barefoot farmers could not pay for them with ten-cent corn. The "Printing Office" was the town loafing place, but the editor could not collect rent. These visitors read the out-of-town papers before the editor saw them, the telegraph was not available yet, and local news was practically nonexistent.

By 1870 these conditions had changed, and the state's twenty-two daily papers and 196 weeklies were fairly well established. After telling of the early period Petersen transfers his interest briefly to the *Des Moines Register,* the editor-publisher awards, and the Iowa Press Association.

H.F.R.

THE PRESIDENTS SPEAK: ANNUAL ADDRESSES OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, 1910-1961

Edited by James E. Holton. (American Bar Foundation: Chicago, 1961. Pp. 126, paperbound.)

The editor, a member of the political science department at Washington State University, prepared this publication as a part of the American Bar Foundation's professional development program to "assemble and render accessible to lawyers, scholars and others interested in law, samples of contemporary and past thought on important legal issues confronting both the profession and the public." The justification for the book rests upon the assumption that the annual addresses of the presidents of the American Bar Association from 1910 to 1961 (there are no extracts from addresses delivered in the period from 1878 through 1909) will give

the reader a sense of the historical development of American law and that they are adequate samples of thought on legal issues.

The organization of the book is poor. The space devoted to each address covers from two to three pages. The major portion consists of paraphrases of the important points of the speech followed by two or three direct quotations. In too many cases the reader faces the same material slightly paraphrased and then directly quoted. The editor was committed to including something from each address, even though on one address (page 52) he settled for a list of the points made by the president.

Admittedly there are common themes running through the addresses — calls for higher professional standards, attacks on the growth of the federal government, warnings on the menace of Communism, estimates of the lawyers' public image, and praise for the lawyer as the salvation of the United States — but as condensed they tend to make the book overly repetitious.

It is doubtful that laymen will find this book interesting, that scholars will be satisfied with three pages of condensed and paraphrased words from a twenty-five-page original speech, or that lawyers and law students will be inspired. The cover — a deadening purple on a dull grey background with silver lettering — goes nicely with the rest of the publication.

WILLIAM C. MARTEN

THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON: VOL. 1, 1751-1779; VOL. 2, 1780-1781

Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1962. Vol. I, pp. xlii, 344. $10. Vol. 2, pp. xix, 344. $10.)

Last year Irving Brant brought out the sixth and concluding volume of his monumental study of the Fourth President against his times, a rescue operation for "little Jemmy" who, notwithstanding his great work in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and in the First Congress as author of the Bill of Rights, has had much less than his due in both American history and popular attention.

Now appear the first two volumes of some twenty that will assemble the papers of Madison, much as the papers of Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and other notable Americans are being gathered in multi-volume projects at Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. The handsome new blue-backed Madison is being sponsored jointly by the University of Chicago and the University of Virginia.

The editors, William T. Hutch-

inson and William M. E. Rachal, representing these two institutions respectively, have the assistance of an editorial staff of Jean Schneider, Ralph L. Ketcham, Robert L. Scribner, and Donald O. Dewey. The advisory board is made up of Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., George W. Beadle, Julian P. Boyd, Irving Brant, Colgate W. Darden, Jr., Dumas Malone, and John Cook Wyllie.

An example of Madison's thoughts which will be found in these volumes when completed is this extract from a letter to Edward Everett, March 19, 1823:

> It has been the misfortune of history that a personal knowledge and an impartial judgment of things, can rarely meet in the historian. The best history of our country therefore must be the fruit of contributions bequeathed by contemporary actors and witnesses, to successors who will make an unbiased use of them. And if the abundance and authenticity of the materials which still exist in private as well as in public repositories among us should descend to hands capable of doing justice to them, then American History may be expected to contain more truth, and lessons certainly not less valuable, than that of any country or age whatever.

Madison's connections with the Mississippi Valley are not numerous but they are important. He was Secretary of State when Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from France. He appointed his fellow Virginian Ninian Edwards as governor of Illinois Territory; and on September 14, 1812, Edwards created Madison County to embrace much of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, and named the vast new county for the friend of liberty and freedom in the presidency.

Madison County celebrated its sesquicentennial on September 9-15 last year with a historical pageant, "Our 150 Years," near Edwardsville, and related observances in Alton, Collinsville, Granite City, and other cities of the county.

IRVING DILLIARD
Collinsville

THE OWL'S ROOST

By Helga Sandburg. (Dial Press: New York, 1962. Pp. 308. $4.95.)

Helga Sandburg's third novel, *The Owl's Roost,* may establish her as a major American writer.

In her first two novels, *The Wheel of Earth* (1958) and *Measure My Love* (1959), Miss Sandburg wrote graphically about American farm life in the Midwest of the early 1920's. In her third book she writes as vividly and incisively about life in a modern summer colony on the shores of Lake Michigan.

The locale is one which she knew during girlhood, in the dunes country at Harbert, Michi-

gan. There, in a large frame house which might have been called "the poet's roost," her father, Carl Sandburg, toiled for more than a decade, writing *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years.*

There Helga, youngest of three daughters, became expert in the ways of goats, cows, and other animals, both domesticated and wild; birds, flowers, and other phases of the natural world. Especially did she grow fond of the beautiful, mysterious big lake which is as much the protagonist in *The Owl's Roost* as the land is in the earlier works.

For Miss Sandburg, nature is more than majestic setting. Its throbbing vitalities, beauties, cruelties, and mysteries subtly weave themselves into the drama of human life. There is, for example, the sorceress-like attraction which the lake holds for teen-ager Alan Malraux. He likes to ride it in rough weather; he drowns in a storm. At this point in the novel, as at others, the lake seems to symbolize the womb of time out of which man emerges for his brief while and to which he returns.

No one character dominates *The Owl's Roost* as do Ellen Gaddy and Faith Summers, young farm women of great inner strength and resilience, in Miss Sandburg's preceding books. While much of the narrative revolves about one family — that of plodding Bill Olson, M.D., his restless, amoral wife, Elizabeth, and their two teen-aged children, especially Clara — the book might be subtitled "Portrait of a Summer Colony." The Rev. Boris (a pun, Miss Sandburg?) Thwaite, with his condescending attitude toward the rest of mankind; his long-suffering wife and rebellious daughters; Monk Ardway, proprietor of the colony, who crudely helps Clara discover her womanhood; Philip Malraux, foot-loose and fancy-free writer, who is just a famous name to his son; Alan, full of bright promise never realized; Della Chapman, housekeeper, and her husband, Ernie, who, in that country of shifting dunes, has his "war with the sand" — these and other resorters, as well as the Olsons, come clearly before us.

The resorters are fractional people. None has the integrity and spiritual maturity of an Ellen Gaddy or Faith Summers. When not arrested personalities, like Thwaite (his further growth inhibited by dogma), they are, mostly without knowing it, in search of themselves. Mrs. Olson (thirty-seven years old), whom her maid calls a "poor, dissatisfied thing," unwittingly shares with her children the quest for personal identity and self-assurance. Dr. Olson, never husband enough or father enough, meditates upon how, since frontier days, human troubles have increasingly "moved inside." In their sexual and other social relations, most of Miss Sandburg's people, regardless of age, are, like

fourteen-year-old Gus Olson, "at a clumsy stage." The loneliness and frustration of adolescence persist, half-masked.

The low now-painful, now-joyous maturing of fifteen-year-old Clara Olson helps to give the novel its continuity. Her fondness for reading, lively imagination, writing ambitions, zest for life and what-may-come, and other characteristics, point to the author as her prototype. All writing, as Miss Sandburg has stated to this reviewer, is autobiographical, but some of it is more so, and in Clara there are clear traces of Helga Sandburg.

The writing in *The Owl's Roost* often has an exceptionally luminous quality. Many passages, especially those dealing with nature, invite the reader to hang them up on the walls of his mind like fine etchings. Take this about a flock of herons far out on the lake: "Journeying at sunrise and sunset, like shadows of mythical fowl, they raced low across the horizon. Their broad wings flapped slow, their legs dangled under the slender bodies, their long necks were crooked like umbrella handles; they made no sound" (page 203). Or this passage about a sunrise: "The sun was behind the dune and all the beach in a cold shadow. The rays struck only at the lake, illuminating occasional areas, the light lying like a mirror on the water for an instant before the glass broke. As the pale yellow lamp of sun lifted over the sand hills, the foam broke pinkly, and then iridescent, like a cheap jewel" (page 243).

Yes, Helga Sandburg is a poet, too.

This is a book, like its predecessors, to read, share, then return to. Miss Sandburg's summer colony is, to some extent, society in miniature. You might find yourself, or one of your selves, pictured. Reading it might help you in your search for yourself.

ALAN JENKINS
Royal Oak, Michigan

LETTERS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION WITH RELATED DOCUMENTS, 1783-1854
Edited by Donald Jackson. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1962. Pp. xxi, 728. $10.)

With the publication of this volume, once again the fascinating story of the Lewis and Clark expedition is brought before the public. But this is a different study, one that contains material related to numerous and varied aspects of the exploration party and is not concerned with everyday activities. Thus, it is supplementary to the journals.

The main body of the book

covers the years from 1801 to 1854. Here are the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, Albert Gallatin, Henry Dearborn, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark dealing with the origin, planning, financing, and completion of the exploration. These include information on the status of cartography, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and natural history of the day. They also show the mission to be one of diplomacy, affecting both the Indians and the British, whose traders were put on notice thereby that the United States was now in control of certain fur-trading regions. The numerous problems leading to the publication of Nicholas Biddle's edition of the journals in 1814 are fully presented, as are the later activities of party members such as Patrick Gass, whose attempts to get an increased government pension resulted in a land grant of 320 acres in 1854.

Each letter or document is annotated with its location and an identification of the persons mentioned. In these notes are the editor's interpretations, such as his belief that Lewis did commit suicide in 1809 (pages 574-75) and that Sacagawea was dead by 1825-1828 (page 639).

There are two important appendices. The first is about proposed western explorations before Lewis and Clark, involving George Rogers Clark, John Ledyard, Lieutenant John Armstrong, and André Michaux. The second concerns the Elliot Coues edition of Biddle's work and Coues's marring of the original journals, despite his production of a competent book.

In the foreword the editor explains his editorial procedures. This is followed by a notation on symbols used and a table of contents listing each item with its writer, recipient, and date (whenever possible). Editor Donald Jackson should be commended for compiling such a collection, for more than half of the 428 letters, documents, and memoranda it contains have never before appeared in print.

WILLIAM KELLER

News and Comment

Spring Tour at Galena, May 17-18-19

Historic Galena, "the town that time forgot," and the Galena Historical Society will be hosts to members of the Illinois State Historical Society on May 17, 18, and 19 for their 1963 Spring Tour.

There will be tours — walking and riding — of mines and museums, open houses, receptions, panel discussions, a banquet, a picnic, and even a melodrama. Planning for the occasion was begun well before the first of the year and by mid-February about all that remained to be done was the timing of the events and other details.

The program will begin on Friday evening with an open house at the Old Market House followed by a reception and lamplighted tour of the U. S. Grant Home. On Saturday morning members will be guests of the Galena Historical Society at a breakfast at which Kenneth N. Owens, assistant professor of history at Northern Illinois University, De Kalb, will tell about his new book *Galena, Grant, and the Fortunes of War: A History of Galena, Illinois, during the Civil War Era.* (Each member of his audience will receive a complimentary copy of the book.) Then there will be a tour of the museum of the Galena Historical Society and illustrated talks on mining in the area and on historic preservation in Galena.

Saturday's luncheon will be at Chestnut Mountain Lodge, a newly established ski resort south of the city. On the bus tour in the afternoon the visitors will see the "California Diggings" area, and the Black Jack and Tri-State mines plus half a dozen stops in the city – old pottery site at January's Point, Hughlett's Branch and Furnace, Seminary Hill, Old Galena Cemetery, and Grace Episcopal Church. This will be followed by walking tours of the downtown area. Preceding the annual spring banquet at Turner Hall there will be a reception at the Elks Club. Presentation of an old-fashioned melodrama will follow the banquet – members of the Galena Art Theatre will put on that old favorite "Dirty Work at the Crossroads," with "musical interludes and surprise delights."

The bus tour on Sunday morning will include four houses, each of which represents a different period in Galena's history. The Sunday luncheon will be at Grant Park and will be followed by a band concert. This will conclude the planned program, but those who wish to do so may take a two-hour boat trip on the Mississippi (the

boat will leave East Dubuque at 4 P.M.).

The picture of Galena in 1855 on the front cover of this *Journal* is from an engraving by Edward Wellman.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Members of the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis were guests of the Alton Area Historical Society for an all-day tour of the historic sites, homes, and gardens of the Illinois city last October 20. More than forty stops were made available to the estimated five hundred visitors. Among the historic sites were Lincoln-Douglas Square, Lincoln Hotel, Alton Prison ruins, Mansion House, Confederate Cemetery, Lovejoy Monument, Lyman Trumbull house, and Monticello College. Mrs. Maitland A. Timmermiere, president of the Alton society, served as chairman of the local committee, which included Mrs. William Dittmann, Mrs. Robert R. Anschuetz, Mrs. John F. Lemp, Mrs. Henry McAdams, Mrs. James Hull, Mrs. Robert H. Levis II, and Mrs. John F. Stobbs.

The Aurora Historical Society has made increasing use of teenage historians as volunteer workers in its programs during the past year. Several boys were put in charge of its "Carriage House" museum annex last summer, and in the autumn teams of girls conducted a tag-day campaign for the museum. Many of the volunteers were students in the classes of Mrs. LaVere H. Ross, who teaches at Benjamin Franklin Junior High School and is sponsor of the school's Student Historian Club. Mrs. Ross was the 1958 winner of the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award, which is given annually to the state's teacher who has done most during the year to promote the student historian program.

Recent acquisitions of the Aurora Historical Museum include a collection of sixty-six miniature wood carvings — busts of Abraham Lincoln and Herbert Hoover, and animal figures — by Fred Engwald (a retired power tool patternmaker), and a century-old fire hose cart, which was a gift from the Exchange Club.

Members of the Batavia Historical Society were guests of the Bethany Lutheran Church on Sunday, November 17, for a historical program which was part of the church's observance of its ninetieth anniversary. Much of the historical material was compiled by Mrs. Angeline Schomig and was presented by Rev. Gustav Lund and Frank Olson.

The Bond County Historical Society has begun compiling a listing of all the information available

from public and church cemeteries and family burying grounds of the county. When the work is completed, copies will be deposited with the society, the Greenville Public Library, the Illinois State Historical Library, and the DAR Genealogical Library at Salem.

At the annual meeting of the society in October the following officers were reelected: Evelyne McCracken, president; Charles I. Watson, first vice-president; Mrs. Charles Dawdy, second vice-president; Mrs. Frank V. Davis, secretary; and C. Douglas Hoiles, treasurer.

Dr. Gerhard P. Clausius, Belvidere optometrist and a past president of the Chicago Civil War Round Table, was the speaker at the silver anniversary banquet of the Boone County Historical Society in November. His subject was "Black Hawk and the Black Hawk War."

The society expects to be able to occupy part of its new museum building this spring.

As its 1962 Holiday House the Cairo Historical Association decorated Magnolia Manor as it might have been decorated in 1880 for a Christmas visit by the former President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant. (In 1880 the Grants did visit their friends the Charles Galighers, who then owned the home, but the visit was earlier in the year.) Eleven local organizations, plus a senior Girl Scout troop, cooperated in decorating Magnolia Manor and in providing costumed personnel to give it a lived-in look.

At the association's Thanksgiving eve ball held at the Cairo Armory, Mr. and Mrs. Byron Connell, Sr., impersonated the Grants, and the parts of the Galighers were taken by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Henckell.

The Pullman Band, which was famous throughout the Midwest at the turn of the century, was the discussion subject scheduled for the fall meeting of the Calumet (Chicago) Historical Society, held in the Pullman Branch Library. The band, which was directed by Jacob Hostrawser, was absorbed into the First Infantry Regiment during World War I.

The originals of Cook County's recently adopted flag and seal have been presented to the Chicago Historical Society museum, where they will be exhibited. The first flag, which was handmade, was flown for three months at the entrance to the Cook County Courthouse before duplicates were made. The designs were chosen in a contest among the county's high school students, which was won by eighteen-year-old Frank Wenderski.

Bugles in a Dream — Du Page County in the Civil War, a thirty-two-page pamphlet by Royal J.

Schmidt, professor of history and political science at Elmhurst College, was published in November by the Du Page County Historical Society. The pamphlet is No. 5 in the society's Portfolio Series. Dr. Schmidt, who is a professor of history and political science at Elmhurst College, devoted much of his time over a period of two years to research for the project. In his "acknowledgments" he expresses his appreciation for the help given him by members of the Du Page County Society: Helmut A. Berens and Fred Evers, of Elmhurst; Hugh Dugan, of Hinsdale; and Elbert Rogers, of Downers Grove. The pamphlet itself lists the companies in which Du Page men served and traces the actions in which they took part. Local color is added by quotations from their letters and diaries.

"Regional Indian Lore" was the subject of a slide talk by William Smail of Loogootee at the November meeting of the Effingham Regional Historical Society, held in the Helen Matthes Library, Effingham. He also exhibited several Indian artifacts from his collection and explained their manufacture and use. Other artifacts were shown at the meeting by Eleanor Loy and Don Lewis. Approximately eighty-five members and guests attended.

The Elgin society took an inventory of "changes in the area since 1950" in a discussion led by E. C. Alft at its November meeting. The greatest change noted was a doubling of the Cook County area of the city and that section's 72 per cent population increase. Other changes included the institution of one-way streets downtown; council-manager government; dial telephone service; a city sales tax; and construction of eleven church buildings, eight schools, a new YMCA, half a dozen subdivisions, and as many major highways. Missing from the present-day scene, however, are hundreds of elm trees, the Chicago, Aurora and Elgin interurban railroad, Elgin Watch College, the Rialto Theater, and direct current electricity.

With the enrollment of its four hundred and fifty-sixth member in November, the Evanston Historical Society had doubled the number it had at the beginning of last year. The total passed the 500 mark before the end of the month.

Robert E. Hickman, Benton attorney and veteran of the Spanish-American War, spoke on that conflict at the November meeting of the Franklin County Historical Society, which was held in the Benton Public Library. Much of his talk was about Company F, Ninth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, which was composed principally of Franklin-countians.

Turn-of-the-century newspapers

supplied material for the November meeting of the Geneva Historical Society. Mary Wheeler compiled stories of the habits and customs of "Geneva in 1900" which were read by other members of the society.

Four speakers provided the program for the November meeting of the new Henderson County Historical Society which was held in the Stronghurst Fire Hall auditorium. Vernon F. Barr, of Oquawka, told of early French explorations in the area and continued with an account of steamboating on the upper Mississippi in later years. Society president John Bigger, also of Oquawka, spoke of the early settlements in Warren and Henderson counties, including three that are no longer in existence: Shokokon, Olena, and Warren, which was also known as Hopper. Earle Kloster, of Oquawka, told of the formation of Warren County; and E. M. Pogue, of Media, spoke about some of the early county officials.

"Will somebody please lend me a bustle?" was the plea of Ed B. Moss, chairman of the Jefferson County Historical Society museum committee, who wanted it to complete an exhibit in the display cases recently installed in the Mt. Vernon City Hall. He made the plea at the December meeting of the society, and the next day he had the wanted article — loaned by Mr. and Mrs. Arlington Wier, antique dealers.

Kenneth A. Cope, of Collinsville, was the speaker at the December meeting of the Jersey County Historical Society, held in the Public Library at Jerseyville. A former resident of the county, he addressed the twenty-one members present on the subject of "The Genealogy of Jersey County Families."

The fortieth anniversary dinner of the Kenilworth Historical Society was held at the Kenilworth Club on November 7. John Dix, society president, invited everyone who had been a resident of the village for more than twenty years to attend. Mrs. George Veeder was chairman of the dinner committee.

Plans for the restoration this spring of the old Knox County jail, in Knoxville, were reported at the November meeting of Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., by the building chairman, Carlisle Smith. The group accepted an offer of a twenty-year free lease on the building made by the city of Knoxville. When the rehabilitation is completed, the jail will become the Knox County museum annex.

Officers of the Knox County organization reelected at the same meeting are Mrs. I. G. Garcelon, president; Edwin J. Gumm, first vice-president; Mrs. Ralph Stone,

second vice-president; Mrs. G. F. Hebard, secretary; and Mrs. P. J. Sharples, treasurer.

A file of letters dated in the early 1840's and received by the Graf family of Northville Township, La Salle County, has been presented to the La Salle County Historical Society. The letters, which tell of life in the area more than a century ago, were the gift of Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Hess, of Galesburg.

Edmund B. Thornton, of Ottawa, was elected president of the society at the annual meeting held in October at the parish house of St. Andrews Episcopal Church at Farm Ridge. Other officers elected are Carroll Gunn, of LaSalle, vice-president; Mrs. Walter K. Chapman, of Tonica, corresponding secretary; Jane Mills, of La Salle, recording secretary; and Margaret E. Mills, of Ottawa, treasurer.

Peter B. Ritzma, of Oak Park, president of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Society, was the speaker at the organization's twenty-ninth annual meeting, which was held in October at the John Toman Branch of the Chicago Public Library. Ritzma, former principal of Farragut High School and a member of a pioneer family of the area, spoke on the early history of the community.

The Lawrence County Historical Society, which was organized in 1961, was issued a state charter last autumn as a not-for-profit corporation. Philip H. Lewis was named as the correspondent, and the incorporators included Oran S. Calvert, Ernest Helm, and Winifred K. Armstrong.

Members of the society were guests last October at an open house held at a log cabin on the farm of Mr. and Mrs. E. K. Whittaker, north of the Pleasant Ridge Church. The 104-year-old, two-story home has been rehabilitated and equipped with the furniture, utensils, and tools of a century ago.

Dr. Robert G. Bone, president of Illinois State Normal University and a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, addressed the November meeting of the McLean County Historical Society on "The American Heritage and the Twentieth Century." At the same meeting Elias W. Rolley gave a map talk on "Significant Locations in Historic Old — and Historic New — McLean County."

New fluorescent lighting was installed in the county museum in the McBarnes Memorial Building during November, and a report showed that more than one thousand people had visited the museum between April 1 and December 1.

The Madison County Historical Society received a slightly belated Christmas present on December 28 when the county board of su-

pervisors approved a one-mill tax levy to defray a part of the operating expense of the society's new museum.

The society plans to purchase the "Weir House," a fourteen-room mansion at 715 North Main Street in Edwardsville, as a permanent home and museum. The eleven-room main part of the house was built of brick in 1836 by Dr. John H. Weir, one of the city's early settlers. A three-room frame wing was added later. The house has been occupied by members of the Weir family since it was built. The location is only a few blocks from downtown Edwardsville, and the grounds are large enough to provide ample space for visitor parking. The new museum will replace the crowded quarters now occupied in the Madison County Courthouse, which are much needed for county offices.

A new organization, the Committee for a Madison County Historical Museum, was formed in November to sponsor a drive early in 1963 for funds to purchase and rehabilitate the Weir property. Irving Dilliard, of Collinsville, and Mrs. Stephen R. Stimson, Jr., of Edwardsville, are cochairmen of the committee; and honorary cochairmen are Delyte W. Morris, president of Southern Illinois University; State Historian Clyde C. Walton; Duncan G. Wimpress, president of Monticello College; and George Brooks, director of the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis.

Directors of the Marshall County Historical Society at their meeting on December 2 in the courthouse at Lacon elected the following officers for 1963: Mrs. Myna Swanson, of Toluca, president; John Boose, of Henry, first vice-president; Mrs. Ralph Kimpling, of Henry, second vice-president; Ralph Wier, of Lacon, third vice-president; Leland Monier, of Lacon, treasurer; and Eleanor Bussell, of Lacon, secretary. Wier served as 1962 president, and Monier and Miss Bussell were reelected.

"Mercer County in 1862" was the subject of a talk by Fred Close, president of the Mercer County Historical Society, at that organization's December 3 meeting in the Essley-Noble Museum in Aledo. The speaker related local events to the national scene and the Civil War in 1862. Another feature of the program was the singing by Donald Schroll of several popular songs of 1862.

John W. Allen, of Carbondale, a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was guest speaker at a fund-raising dinner of the Monroe County Historical Society, held in the parish hall of the Waterloo United Church of Christ on October 24. About 150 attended the event, which was for

the benefit of the proposed Monroe County historical museum. Elmer Mund showed color slides of the county's landmarks at the November meeting of the society.

Visitors to the Nauvoo Historical Museum averaged 2,500 a month for the previous six-month period, Mrs. Dorothy Baxter reported at the October 17 meeting of the Nauvoo Historical Society. Slides and movies of historic Nauvoo buildings and sites were shown at the meeting. Mrs. Carroll Swanson exhibited the still pictures, and Bill Ortman, Jr., the movies.

The new Ogle County Historical Museum in the former Ruby Nash home in Oregon was opened for the first time during weekends in October. Featured at that time were the Ella Chaney and Ruby Nash rooms, named for two benefactors of the museum and furnished with former possessions of their families. The opening coincided with the Twelfth Annual Antique and Hobby Show of the Oregon Woman's Club held in the Oregon Coliseum on October 5-7. The museum was closed for the winter.

Russell Poole, of Polo, was elected to a two-year term as president of the Ogle County society at the November 26 meeting held in the Kings Community School. He succeeds C. Merle Hazelton, of Rochelle. Ellery Robbins, of Stillman Valley, was elected vice-president.

The Peoria Historical Society plans to open its new museum in the old Judge Flanagan mansion in May. Originally the public opening had been set for January, but rehabilitation work was delayed.

Members of the society voted at their November meeting to increase the annual dues from $1.00 to $5.00 beginning June 1. The membership was more than doubled — to about four hundred — during the past year.

Five members presented a panel discussion of the Peoria society in programs on radio and television on December 16. They were State Senator Hudson R. Sours, president; Robert J. Crombie, vice-president; Gerald T. Kelsch; Dr. Ralph Cummins; and Mrs. Clifton W. Frazier.

Irvin Peithman, of the Southern Illinois University staff, discussed his studies of Indian history and anthropology in Oklahoma and Florida at the December meeting of the Perry County Historical Society, held at the home of Roger Eaton in Du Quoin. He also played recordings of Indian singing taped at religious ceremonies and burials.

Members of the Randolph County Historical Society, attired in calico dresses and plaid shirts

(by now traditional costumes for special society activities) were served a game stew as the main course at their annual lamp-lighted dinner in the Lions Community Building at Sparta on October 17. The one hundred members and their guests heard a talk by State Historian Clyde C. Walton on "Illinois and the Civil War."

In the brief business session at the dinner Mrs. Katie Fiene, of Steeleville, was elected president of the society to succeed Ebers Schweizer, of Chester. Mrs. E. B. Campbell, of Sparta, was named vice-president; Mrs. Ruby McClure, of Steeleville, secretary; and Sylvan Dial, of Chester, treasurer.

Nearly two hundred seventh-grade students from Randolph County schools went on the society's fourth annual tour of the area's historic sites on October 5. The tour began at Fort Chartres at 10 A.M., included the Fort Kaskaskia area, and ended at the Menard Home at 2 P.M.

The Rock Island County Historical Society opened its new home, the former Burton F. Peek residence at 822 Eleventh Avenue, Moline, for the first time on the last three Sunday afternoons in November. The society plans to make the home a historical museum and library.

The new Rockford Historical Society has been offered space by the J. I. Case Company for a farm implement museum to be operated jointly by the society and the farm machinery manufacturer.

Three communities in the county — Freeburg, Fayetteville, and Mascoutah—were visited by about 125 members of the St. Clair County Historical Society on a tour held on November 18. At Freeburg, Mrs. Howard Davis gave a talk on the history of the community and was the guide for a tour to ten houses. Mrs. Ivanora Stein conducted the tour of Fayetteville, and Mrs. Lela Draser Knight was the guide at Mascoutah, where thirty-two houses were seen.

Robert Webb, superintendent of the Dixon Springs Agricultural Experiment Station, was the speaker at the December 4 meeting of the Saline County Historical Society held in the museum at Harrisburg. He told of his trip to India, where he went to help establish a college for teaching agriculture.

Willard L. King, Chicago attorney and author, addressed the November 12 meeting of the Sangamon County Historical Society, held in the council chamber of Springfield's new Municipal Building. He addressed an audience of approximately 150 on David Davis, the subject of his recent book, *Lincoln's Manager, David Davis.*

Two projects have been adopted by the Shelby County Historical Society for its first year of activity. The new organization voted at its October meeting to urge the establishment of a state park at Williamsburg Hill in southwest Shelby County, and to sponsor an art exhibit honoring the centennial of the birth of Robert Root (1863-1937), Shelbyville artist.

An exhibit titled "Trees and Their Uses" in the Stephenson County Historical Museum last fall presented proof that the pioneers made use of wood "from cradle to grave marker." Among the wooden tools, utensils, and implements in the display were a hanging slat cradle, a carved cross used as a grave marker, hinges, clothes wringer, kraut stomper, rattrap, hinged juicer, pails, kegs, bootjack, washboard, wall match holder, sugar bucket, potato masher, sock darner, spoons, wooden shoes, rolling pin, long-handled applebutter stirrer, candle holders, a wooden leg, and butter bowl, paddle, and molds.

More than two hundred members and their guests attended the annual Christmas tea of the Stephenson County Society which was held in the museum on December 10.

Mrs. Amy Anderson of Morrison told the story of her grandfather, Hezekiah Brink, Sterling's first settler, at the October meeting of the Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society. Brink explored the area on horseback in 1834 and returned with his family in May, 1835, to build his cabin on the site of the present-day city.

"Union County in the Second Year of the Civil War" was the theme of the November 21 meeting of the Union County Historical Society held in the city hall at Anna. Arthur Carter told the story of the 109th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment as it was reported in the *Jonesboro Gazette* from September, 1862, through April, 1863. George E. Parks then presented a collection of color slides on "Restored Ante-Bellum Mansions and Gardens in Mississippi."

Following its practice of holding meetings in the various communities of the county, the White County Historical Society met on November 26 at the Grayville elementary school. Abner Carey, the evening's principal speaker, centered his talk on a "Carnival of Trade" that was staged in 1889 as a benefit for Grayville Post 373, Grand Army of the Republic. He read an article from the *Grayville Independent* of that day which told about the carnival which was held in the opera house with forty young ladies performing as a drill team; each represented a different business firm and recited a poem

describing the business. The only surviving member of this troupe, Mrs. Myrtle Neely, was present and was able to remember her poem from the carnival.

J. Robert Smith, chairman of the society's museum committee, has adopted a plan of changing the displays at the Radcliff Inn museum in Carmi every six weeks or so. During October-November old firearms were featured, and in December a Christmas theme was adopted.

Emancipation Centennial Observance Begins

The American Negro Emancipation Centennial Commission of Illinois held two programs in Springfield early in January to inaugurate the year-long observance of the Emancipation centennial.

The opening ceremony was a religious service in the First Presbyterian Church (which still has the pew where Lincoln sat when he attended services in the predecessor structure) on Sunday afternoon, January 6. Proclamations by Governor Otto Kerner and Springfield Mayor Lester E. Collins naming the period from January 1 through January 9 Emancipation Proclamation Week were read. Principal speaker at this event was Judge Edith S. Sampson, of Chicago. The commission's cosponsors for the meeting were a Springfield citizens' committee and the Springfield Council of Churches.

The second event was an awards program and reception at the Leland Hotel on January 9. At that time the commission granted awards to ten living Negro leaders who have been the first of their race to hold a particular public office. Four of those honored were Illinoisans: Joseph Bibb, former director of public safety, first Negro member of an Illinois governor's cabinet; James B. Parsons, judge of the U.S. District Court of Northern Illinois, first Negro to serve as a district judge in continental United States; Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, first Negro municipal judge of Chicago; and William Sylvester White, first Negro director of registration and education for the state of Illinois. Others to receive these "first" awards were Massachusetts Attorney General Edward Brooke; Georgia State Senator Leroy R. Johnson; Connecticut State Treasurer Gerald Lamb; Judge Scovel Richardson, of New York, former chairman of the United States Parole Board; Michigan Supreme Court Justice Otis N. Smith; and Maryland State Senator Verda F. Welcome.

In addition to these "firsts" the commission granted special awards to Governor Otto Kerner; State Historian Clyde C. Walton; Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier; Attorney General William G.

Clark; James P. Bolinger, manager of the Leland Hotel; and Jack Reilly, director of special events for the city of Chicago. Senator Johnson was the principal speaker on this occasion.

Champaign County Society Honors Late President

Members of the Champaign County Historical Society paid tribute to their late president, Karl B. Lohmann, at their meeting on January 28, with the adoption of a resolution honoring his service to the society and the community. Professor Lohmann had been president of the Champaign County Society since it was founded on October 20, 1958. He also served as a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society in 1961-1962.

He was on the staff of the University of Illinois for thirty-four years and at the time of his retirement in 1955 was head of the Department of City Planning and Landscape Architecture. He died at his home in Urbana on January 17 at the age of seventy-five.

The resolution begins by citing Professor Lohmann's service to the university, the Urbana Park Board, the Champaign County Forest Preserve District, and the historical society. It then details some of his contributions to local history: he prepared a large historical map of the county; he compiled a history of the Main Street business locations of Urbana with details of the changes of ownership and use over the years; he wrote the history and collected pictures of many of the old homes in Urbana; and he actively promoted plans for a local historical museum.

In conclusion the resolution states:

> Those of us who are members of the Champaign County Historical Society will always feel close to this man, not only because he was the first, and, up to this moment, the only president the Society has known, but also because his own wide interest and generous enthusiasm made it possible for anyone with a love of history to feel at home in his presence. . . . His interest in history was a scholar's interest – which . . . accounts for the disciplined direction which our Society has taken under his leadership in its formative years. In the words of one of our members, "No one has contributed more to the making, recording, and preserving of local history than Professor Lohmann."
>
> The warm, positive response, yes, even the delight with which he accepted new responsibilities must always be an inspiration to each of us. Even as we pause to mark his passing, we are thankful for his rich, full life and for his unselfish ministry among us.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Clyde C. Walton
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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, and photographs. The Historical Library specializes in Lincolniana and materials related to the Civil War and has large holdings in these two categories.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL

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Introduction

IT IS POPULAR today to comment on the "flood" of Civil War books that has "poured" from the presses in the last few years. The important national scholarly quarterlies like the *American Historical Review,* the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* and the *Journal of Southern History* review Civil War books in groups, and many of the reviewers remark about the vast quantity of these books and about how unimportant many of them seem to be.

It is true that many books about the Civil War have been published recently, and it is also true that some of these books have been poorly written, inaccurate, and trivial. But the important thing to remember is that the writing and publication of all these current Civil War books have been prompted by some quite good reasons.

First of all, the Civil War is of tremendous interest to all these authors, whether they write military history, biography, or about politics. Second, the publishers, who by necessity are a hard-headed fraternity, believe that there is sufficient interest among the book-buying public to warrant the publication of Civil War books.

It is impossible to know precisely why so many readers are interested. Certainly the basic issues which brought on the war and the results of its aftermath are very much with us today. Perhaps this immediacy accounts for some of the interest. Also, the personal involvement of millions of Americans in two world wars and a Korean crisis has made them more aware of the significance of moral issues and of the necessity for taking a personal stand, and has contributed as well to their fascination with the methods of waging war.

The attention now focused on the Civil War reflects the impact it had — and continues to have — on both our nation and state.

In spite of everything that has been written about the Civil War we believe there is still a great deal to be learned about it. For this reason this special issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published. Here we discuss the Civil War from drummer boy to general officer, from recruit to veteran, from a regiment with a proud record to one whose record was something less than

that, from the governor to the dissident elements in the state, from battlefield to prison, from practical politics to idealistic romanticism, from a stirring song to the basic books about the war. Not all of these articles are of great historical significance, but they are all of interest and they all tell us something about Illinois and its people.

The Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois, established by the General Assembly in 1959, has concentrated its effort on research, publication, and information. To this end it is publishing numerous informative booklets, a study guide for teachers, colorful pamphlets for schoolchildren, and a two-volume scholarly history of the state's participation in the war. The Illinois State Historical Library and the Illinois State Historical Society gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance of the commission which made this triple-size issue of the *Journal* possible. Members of the commission which authorized this project were Senator Hudson R. Sours, Peoria, chairman; Representative J. W. "Bill" Scott, Bloomington, vice-chairman; Ralph G. Newman, Chicago, vice-chairman; Representative Lycurgus J. Conner, Chicago (deceased); Newton C. Farr, Chicago; Representative Walter E. Hill, Canton; George P. Johns, Decatur; Senator Everett E. Laughlin, Freeport; Senator James O. Monroe, Collinsville; Philip D. Sang, River Forest; Glenn H. Seymour, Charleston; Alexander Summers, Mattoon; and Senator Robert E. Cherry, Chicago (*vice* Monroe). The writer of this introductory note is secretary of the commission. Mrs. Helene Levene, director of research for the commission, has been of invaluable assistance to the *Journal's* editorial staff in the preparation of this special issue.

Although the flood of Civil War books may have included those on aspects of the war that were already overwritten and others on subjects too trivial to warrant serious discussion, we can expect great writers and great historians to continue to be fascinated with the era and to produce outstanding books that will further man's knowledge of himself and of his past.

CLYDE C. WALTON

JACK NORTRUP

Richard Yates: A Personal Glimpse Of the Illinois Soldiers' Friend

Jack Nortrup is a native of Scott County, Illinois. He graduated from Illinois College and received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Illinois. He was associate professor of history at Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau, 1960-1963, and will begin teaching this fall at State University College, Oswego, New York.

ALTHOUGH HE employed a faithful coachman and could boast of an elegant carriage and a team of bay horses, Richard Yates, the governor of Illinois, usually walked to work in the mornings alone. His steps took him from the sumptuous new Governor's Mansion up the few blocks north to the statehouse in the public square. His second floor office was in the southeast corner of the building. Entering the room through a private door, he was first concerned that a warm fire be roaring in the Franklin fireplace, which – despite the ministrations of clerks and private secretaries and sometimes even the Governor himself – seldom heated well. He was then ready for the day.

The Governor's regular clerical force consisted of only a few men, although special clerks were often temporarily employed. The day usually began at 8 A.M., and the first thing on the agenda was the pile of commissions and letters which Yates must read and sign. One of his greatest sources of pride was the distinctive quality of his signature, heavy and powerful, which he affixed to documents with a large quill pen and plenty of ink. The page boys took each document after it was signed and placed it carefully upon the

floor until sometimes the entire office was covered with drying parchments.

With this job out of the way, the Governor braced himself for the horde of visitors with which his day was usually plagued. Yates was a handsome man, erect, with wavy brown hair and alert blue eyes. He dressed fastidiously – immaculate linen and a blue swallowtail coat with gleaming brass buttons – and impressed these visitors as an earnest, intent, and sympathetic executive. The sight which greeted the Governor was usually much less distinctive. During the war years his office swarmed with people of every type and description seeking every variety of favor. There came the speculator who hoped to profit from the sacrifice of others; the indolent political supporter, who believed his past service should be rewarded with public preference; the bombastic egotist who thought his advice was the essence of wisdom; and the soldier seeking promotion. With the selfish were also the tragic, who had come only to request the body of a son lost on a battlefield; or a widow seeking help in a newly lonely world; or a wife or mother crying bitterly over a son or husband condemned by a wartime rule which she did not understand.[1]

Governor Yates was a man of quick and noisy public sentiment, who, though he might cut and slash in political warfare, was often reduced to helplessness by such personal crises. An unexpected kind deed, a pitiful story, a kind or appealing word deeply affected the Governor. The wounded public, appearing individually, was a heavy burden for Yates to bear. Among the most unselfish acts of Yates's gubernatorial career were those of devotion to Illinois soldiers and their families. And although such acts were not always free from political overtones and the necessity for making volunteering more attractive, Yates appears, nevertheless, to have had a deep concern for the privations and hardships

1. Newspaper account by W. W. Crane in Richard Yates, Jr., "Serving the Republic" (unpublished biography in the Illinois State Historical Library), 211-19.

Illinois Civil War Governor Richard Yates.

of the troops and sincere sympathy for the families they left behind. In fact, he seems to have felt an almost guilt-ridden sense of responsibility for having sent the flower of Illinois youth to perish at the cannon's mouth.

In order to avoid a military draft, the Governor was compelled throughout the war to make an almost incessant canvass of the state for volunteers. His oratory so charmed the boys that they stepped forward in droves, and Yates, forever after, felt responsible for them. When the long list of casualties poured into the telegraph office following an important battle, the Governor, it was said, walked the halls of the Mansion in the late hours of the night, a nervous, pacing insomniac. "I felt that I had fathered those boys," he is said to have told his son.[2]

Yates spared no effort to see that Illinois troops were properly cared for, and as comfortable and well armed as

2. *Ibid.*, 202-3.

possible. How much of his effort was due to genuine human sympathy, how much to state pride, and how much to concern for his own political welfare cannot be accurately determined. In the minds of the Union troops, however, it was enough to know that their governor was personally interested in their condition. Still regarding themselves as Illinoisans more than "Federals," they looked to Yates to alleviate their hardships. When the War Department, moving with ponderous, impersonal unconcern, failed them (as they always half suspected it would), they looked to their state to remedy the situation. If blankets could not be obtained by requisition from Washington, they could surely be obtained from Springfield.

At the outset of the war the Governor's principal effort was directed toward obtaining the best possible clothing and arms for Illinois troops. In doing so he made purchases at a price above the maximum authorized by the War Department. These expenditures were ultimately settled only with great difficulty, and furnished the Governor's enemies with ammunition to support charges of malfeasance in public office. Yates felt justified, however, in the knowledge that Illinois troops were considered to be among the best equipped in the Union Army.[3]

Throughout the war, soldiers' aid societies, operated largely by women, gathered supplies and forwarded them to troops in camp and field.[4] To give further aid to the wounded, suffering, and neglected, Yates determined upon stationing an Illinois agent with every regiment. He assured commanding officers that he was anxious to avoid interfering with their affairs, but nevertheless he pointedly advised them that he expected cooperation in his efforts.[5] Yates did get some agents into the field to observe condi-

3. Martin H. Cassell to Yates, Feb. 4, 1862, Yates Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.

4. *Journal of the Illinois Senate,* 24 G.A., 47-48.

5. Allen C. Fuller to Yates, Sept. 7, 1861, Yates to Dr. D. H. Whitney, Sept. 18, 1861, both in Yates Papers.

tions among the troops,[6] but there was not sufficient money for stationing an agent with every regiment, and the Governor was forced to curtail the project.[7]

Simultaneously with the appointment of agents to the regiments, emissaries were sent to Washington to impress upon the federal authorities the necessity for better equipment for Illinois troops; as the war progressed and access to high officials became more difficult, Yates himself frequently undertook such missions.[8]

Another problem of the soldiers was the irregularity of paydays. Sometimes they received no compensation for months at a time. "Many of the men are married," one correspondent advised Yates, "and their wives and children need their wages." Yates always urged, sometimes vehemently, that these men be paid immediately.[9]

Typical of the Governor's concept of aid to the troops was his reaction following the first great victory in the West at Fort Donelson. Yates rushed surgeons, nurses, volunteer workers, and medical supplies to the front, and stipulated that Confederate veterans also be generously cared for.[10] The Governor personally visited the site of the battle and saw to the return of the wounded. He certified that if United States authorities should refuse to pay for anything done for the sick and wounded troops, Illinois would stand responsible.[11]

Frequently Yates interceded in behalf of Illinoisans who had been found wanting in skill or bravery. Once, though advising General Henry W. Halleck to remove an officer, he wrote that "under kind influences" he still thought the man might make good. In the Governor's office, almost

6. McClernand to all officers of the 1st Brigade, Nov. 21, 1861, McClernand Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.
7. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention, . . . 1862* (Springfield, Ill., 1862), 202.
8. Martin H. Cassell to Yates, Nov. 16, 1861, Yates Papers; *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Jan. 13, 1862.
9. George W. Stipp to Yates, Jan. 15, 1862, Yates Papers.
10. *Illinois State Journal,* Feb. 10, 1862.
11. *Ibid.,* Feb. 27, 1862.

from the beginning of the war, there was a package of letters marked, "Sufferings of troops."[12]

After the slaughter at Shiloh, it was Yates and the other western governors who set out to minister to the troops. Boats were outfitted with medical supplies and equipment, and immediately sent forward to alleviate the suffering.[13] In company with other officials the Governor visited the battlefield to review personally the relief operation. By this time, however, Yates had lost some of his earlier charity toward the South and other Union troops, and ordered his mercy ships to receive only Illinois casualties. Hospital boats provided by some states had to accept any soldier, but Yates went to the trouble of securing an official order restricting Illinois boats to the use of Illinois men.[14] (The boats bringing the wounded back to Illinois provided ice water – a luxury loved above gold – as well as the unimagined bounty of oranges and lemons.[15])

At the Shiloh boat landing Yates had delivered a rousing oration, in which he recounted to the battle-stunned audience tales of gallant deeds, noble bleeding, and holy principles. In so doing he came close to becoming a war casualty himself, for in the shout that went up following the fiery declamation, a horse tethered on the bank above became excited, broke loose, and crashed down upon Yates, who fortunately was only bruised.[16]

Always when visiting the western armies, Yates and his party were warmly entertained by the generals. John A. McClernand, fellow politician turned general, was especially anxious to produce a display of military pageantry, and it was to McClernand's camp that Yates often repaired. Bands, speeches, flags, and salutes made war seem just what Yates

12. Yates to Brig. Gen. L. Thomas Buckingham, Dec. 18, 1862, Yates to Olney, March 14, 1862, Jacob May to D. L. Good, Jan. 3, 1862, all in the Yates Papers.

13. *Illinois State Journal,* April 28, 1862.

14. *Ibid.,* April 24, 1862.

15. *Ibid.,* May 15, 1862.

16. *Ibid.,* April 19, 1862.

always thought it should be — one glorious panorama of power; a gentlemanly tilt where death didn't really hurt; a place where the wounded gasped out their devotion to sacred principles before they expired.

The Governor's Shiloh speech had been deemed so successful that he determined to add to the war effort by making a regular tour of encampments and addressing the troops. It was reported that in so doing he sometimes interfered with military operations.[17] Governors could not be summarily ordered away from the lines, and the generals had to suffer this "assistance" in silence. Two months after Shiloh (this time at the siege of Corinth) Yates was again in the field, expounding to the soldiers and congratulating them on their "patriotic devotion, the luster they had shed upon Illinois, and their soldierly appearance and expertness."[18] Though the generals might have objected strenuously, the soldiers at least appeared to love every moment of the Governor's visit.

Yates's proficiency as a public speaker was no accident. He worked at it diligently, and it was the most powerful weapon in his political arsenal. Testimony to that effect is available from a variety of sources. One contemporary remembered Yates as a man possessing the "rare facility of stringing beautiful words and sentences together." Another recalls that Yates's manners were as attractive "as those of a woman bent on conquest." Physically Yates made a powerful impression on an audience. Nature had endowed him with "manly carriage, fine presence, cordial manner and happy speech." The combination of determined chin, flashing eye, and powerful voice must have overwhelmed many a country assembly.[19]

17. *Ibid.*

18. Report of Gen. John A. McClernand on the siege of Corinth, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 755; cited hereafter as *O.R.*

19. William Jayne, "Richard Yates' Services to Illinois as War Governor," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* VII (1902): 144;

A Yates speech was not always overwhelming, however. Sometimes he simply humored an audience and flattered his listeners. He obviously understood the unsophisticated groups he most often addressed, and flavored his remarks with an assumed homespun humor. "We know he does not look very handsome," he once said of Lincoln, "and some of the papers say he is positively ugly. Well, if all the ugly men in the United States vote for him, he will surely be elected."

At other times he fired his audience with a blaze of verbal pyrotechnics. Concerning the Democratic Party, he shouted, "The confusion around the tower of Babel affords but a feeble illustration of the confusion worse confounded that reigns in the piebald and ring-streaked and striped, the diverse and conflicting; the slave-driving and polygamy-nursing, the dyed-in-the-wool and sold-to-cotton, Locofoco party."

Sometimes Yates sought to establish a bond of union with his audience by reminiscing about early days in Illinois – times he had shared with many of them. He laughed with them about the early log houses, built like Solomon's temple "without the sound of hammer and nail," there being no iron in them. And always, with a hard tug at the truth, he characterized himself as a man like Lincoln, arriving in Illinois a "poor boy" and struggling upward.[20]

At the beginning of the war the Governor had ordered a book called *Patriotic and Heroic Eloquence,*[21] and he continued to make use of it. A former page boy has left a rare picture of the careful procedure by which Yates composed one of his oratorical efforts:

He was seated at his round center table, with coat and vest off, writing away with much energy. . . . For a while I watched him

"Richard Yates, War Governor of Illinois," *ibid.,* XXX (1923): 184; Usher F. Linder, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 227-28.

20. *Illinois State Journal,* June 9, 1860.

21. Notation dated Nov. 14, 1861, Yates Papers.

working earnestly in his shirt sleeves oblivious to all else save his work, then I did what any other child might have done — went to sleep. How long the slumber continued I do not know. It must have been very late in the night when I was awakened by a shout and quickly sat up, staring where I left him sitting. He was not there. . . . [He was] in the further corner of the room, standing before a full-length mirror, with a manuscript in one hand, while he made gestures with the other. But he was not in his shirt sleeves now; on the contrary, he was in full dress, swallow-tail coat, low vest, collar and necktie, with hair carefully brushed, and as he gracefully posed before the large glass he certainly made a beautiful picture, with the strong glare of the gas light shining upon him. He went on with his discourse, pouring forth his ringing sentences with a fiery earnestness and poetic beauty that was worthy of an audience of kings. Occasionally he would try a sentence over again, with a different modulation of voice, or he would change a word or phrase to suit his fancy. Then he would take a few steps and go on with his eloquent oration. And while the governor was thus absorbed in this past midnight rehearsal, his household, save one watcher, slept serenely on.[22]

Within the borders of his own state Yates spearheaded the move to furnish the troops such items as canned fruits and vegetables, canned meats, warm clothing, and simple luxury items. He set up central collection and forwarding depots for these supplies. In conjunction with his recruiting duties he urged a $100 state bounty, to be made retroactive and to apply to all Illinois volunteers, regardless of their dates of enlistment. For wounded and disabled veterans, he sought appointment to patronage jobs in both the federal and state governments.[23]

In 1863 the Governor asked the legislature to create a war fund ample to care for the sick and wounded soldiers, deeming it the duty of the state to cooperate with private charities in this effort. He warned that "opposition to the Government and to the war it is waging for its integrity and perpetuity should end where the destitution and perils

22. Account by W. W. Crane, who served as a page for Governor Yates, quoted in Yates, Jr., "Serving the Republic," 218-19.

23. *Illinois State Journal,* Aug. 8, 22, 1862; Yates to F. M. H. (illegible), Aug. 28, 1862, and Yates to Stanton, Aug. 14, 1862, Yates Papers.

of our soldiers begin." The United States government did much, he added, but the job was large, and it was inevitable that "neglect, inefficiency, and official abuse, should creep in." Yates established a board of sanitary engineers and sent agents to every hospital to advance money, provide transportation, write letters, secure discharges, and arrange for the care of soldiers' families.[24]

The Governor's actions were hampered, however, by difficulties with a state legislature controlled by the Democrats, and the refusal of the state treasurer to disburse money on an appropriation bill which the Republicans had pushed through by a parliamentary trick. Yates, of course, blamed the Democrats, and they in turn blamed the Governor for the dilemma, and the soldiers suffered.[25]

In the Grant-McClernand quarrel (a clash to determine which of those two generals should head the operation to open the Mississippi River and clear the valley of Rebels) Yates was vehemently and loyally on the side of the latter. He used all his now-diminishing influence with the War Department in an attempt to insure that McClernand should lead the western armies to accomplish this favorite project of the Northwest.[26] Yates's periodic trips to the front lines, designed to support McClernand and to keep the governorship linked to what Yates always considered the Illinois army, led him to Vicksburg in the spring of 1863.[27] His oratorical contributions to the army had now become a set pattern of gubernatorial conduct with him, and he looked forward to them possibly with greater anticipation than did his audience, since the presence of dignitaries always means more parades and polish for those in the ranks. But from

24. *Journal of the Illinois House of Representatives,* 23 G.A., 488; *Illinois State Journal,* Feb. 7, 1863.

25. A. B. Lyman to Yates, March 27, 1863 (Yates notation), Yates Papers; see also John Moses, *Illinois: Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1895), II: 676-77.

26. McClernand to Yates, March 15, 1863, Reavis Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

27. *Illinois State Journal,* April 8, 1863.

the higher echelons of the army, specifically from General Grant's headquarters, Yates's presence this time resulted in the most violent complaints of all.

Grant was intent on a swift movement downriver and a landing below Vicksburg, and success of this movement depended on speed coupled with surprise. As the advance unit in the encirclement of the city, he ordered McClernand forward. But Yates and McClernand, operating like true politicians, deemed that preparations (in particular those having to do with the morale of the troops) were not yet complete. What was needed, they believed, were some resounding words of encouragement from the leaders of Illinois. One of the Governor's favorite views, that confidence was the fundamental tenet of military strategy, was to be put to a severe test. Thus the two gentlemen decided to delay the Vicksburg expedition for a full-dress parade of the troops, where both orators addressed the warriors, complimented them on their soldierly appearance, and avowed their faith in the courage and manhood of Illinois. Yates asserted that he had come to see that his "brave and noble boys" were cared for when the battle was over. Following this the Governor received a fifteen-gun salute (despite a powder shortage), and the men undertook a mock fight, firing blank cartridges. " 'Twas a very pleasant affair," one soldier noted.[28] To add to the holiday atmosphere, the Governor had brought along with him a barrel of whiskey, which he distributed by the canteen or cupful to the troops.[29] In the meantime Generals Grant and Thomas, intent on an advance, were howling with rage at the turn of events. When night came, not a man or cannon had been moved.

28. Edgar Erickson, ed., "With Grant at Vicksburg, from the Civil War Diary of Captain Charles E. Wilcox," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXX (Jan., 1938): 465; Yates to "Dear Governor," April 28, 1863, Chicago Historical Society; C. A. Dana to Stanton, May 2, 1863, *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, p. 81; *Cincinnati Commercial,* quoted in the *Illinois State Journal,* May 13, 1863.

29. Sylvanus Cadwallader, *Three Years with Grant* (Benjamin P. Thomas, ed., New York, 1955), 66.

Yates later reported to the eager folks back home, "I have been side by side with our boys in battle, and can bear witness to the unfaltering courage and prowess of our brave Illinoisans." Appended to his report was a harrowing tale of his narrow escape from a veritable barrage of Confederate musketry.[30]

The substance of Yates's alleged battlefield experience is not borne out by the testimony of contemporaries. Colonel James H. Wilson, who liked Yates and called him "a breezy, picturesque, and gallant gentleman," noted that, like most politicians, Yates was "always on the lookout for an opportunity to attract public attention." As the battle (at Port Gibson) was going overwhelmingly in favor of the Union, it suddenly struck the Governor that this was an opportunity to demonstrate his soldierly faculties to the world. Riding alongside Wilson, Yates said, "Colonel, I believe I'll put myself at the head of one of our Illinois regiments and lead it into action. Don't you think that would be a good thing to do?" Jokingly, Wilson told him to go ahead. But about that time the action up front grew stronger, and Wilson lost sight of Yates.

During a march on the following afternoon a much more discreet Governor Yates rather meekly told Wilson: "Well, Colonel, I am mighty glad I didn't go in with the boys yesterday afternoon, for those devilish rebels might have killed me!"[31]

The Vicksburg expedition saw the eclipse of McClernand's military star and the ascendancy of Grant's. To Yates's credit it must be said that he remained loyal to McClernand, even after his fall from grace, and petitioned Lincoln to give him some type of command. It is doubtful if the Governor's support was altogether altruistic, however, since he saw that with the removal of McClernand the hated West Point

30. Yates to Lt. Gov. Francis Hoffman, May 4, 1863, in *Illinois State Journal,* May 15, 1863.

31. James H. Wilson, *Under the Old Flag* (New York and London, 1912), I: 175-76.

clique would control the military establishment, and he knew that the General's influence was necessary to his own political safety in Illinois.[32]

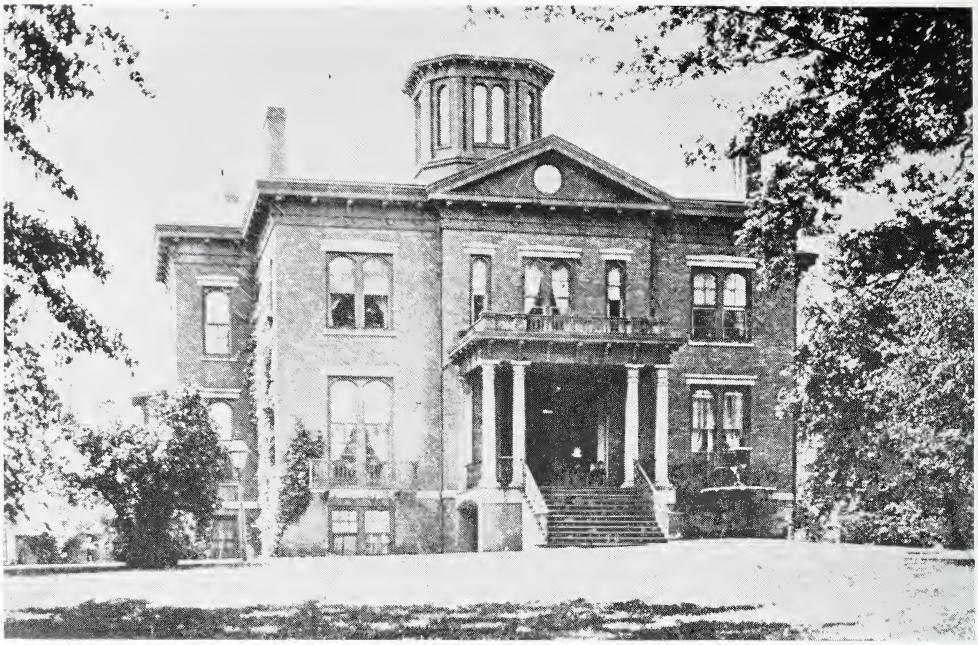
As a champion of McClernand, Yates castigated the President for the rude dismissal, saying there were uniform feelings of dissatisfaction in the West over that event. McClernand, Yates noted, had been among the first in Congress to support the government, and his military record had been superb. For added effect, a mutual friend of long standing, William G. Greene, a noted Union Democrat, delivered the Yates letter to the President.[33] Lincoln sympathized with McClernand (who had recruited thousands, all of whom were led to believe he would be their commander), but complained that he "could do nothing without doing harm," and in an obvious thrust at Yates added that he was "constantly pressed by those who scold before they think." The hapless McClernand's only reward for his services was a hero's welcome (carefully staged by Yates) on his return to Springfield.[34]

Generals aside, acts of individual attention to the common soldiers in the ranks raised Yates in the estimation of Illinois troops. Letters poured into the Governor's office daily, beseeching the Chief Executive to remedy this or that difficulty or abuse. Yates continued to concern himself with such items as raising the pay of enlisted men, seeking to return the wounded to their home states, and providing employment and business opportunities for the permanently disabled. At times the Governor personally determined that

32. Yates to Lincoln, June 30, 1863, *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 167-68. For an excellent biography of McClernand see Victor Hicken, "From Vandalia to Vicksburg: The Political and Military Career of John A. McClernand" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1955).

33. Yates to Lincoln, Aug. 6, 1863, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, National Archives, Washington; see also Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), VI: 383-84n.

34. Lincoln to McClernand, Aug. 12, 1863, *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. LII, Pt. 1, Supplement, pp. 437-38; Hicken, "McClernand," 275.



The Governor's Mansion as it appeared after the Civil War but before the cupola was removed, which was done about 1890.

a soldier's case should receive prompt attention from military authorities.[35]

Often the Governor's attacks on the War Department elicited outraged response from that quarter. On more than one occasion he complained that Illinois was "much neglected." At one point he wrote that "thousands are sleeping on the naked earth without any covering." To this the War Department replied that Illinois was not neglected but that the response to a presidential call for troops had been overwhelming.[36] On other occasions the state administration complained that paroled prisoners of war from Illinois regiments were not receiving proper care and that they should be returned home "where they can receive

35. H. M. Ingalshe to Yates, March 25, 1864, A. J. Mathewson to Yates, Jan. 29, 1864, Edwin Foster to Yates, Jan. 22, 1864, a wounded soldier to Yates, Nov. 1, 1863, C. P. Blake to Yates, Nov. 12, 1863, Joseph B. Brown to Yates, Aug. 5, 1863, G. Blane to Yates, July 4, 1863, all in the Yates Papers.

36. Yates to Buckingham, Aug. 20, 1862, *O.R.*, Ser. III, Vol. II, p. 415; Buckingham to Yates, Aug. 21, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 429.

attentions of friends." Yates wanted a camp established for them at Springfield, reasoning that part of the dissatisfaction was due to the fact that the men were far from home. He was informed that reports of bad treatment had been much exaggerated and that among soldiers generally a "spirit of discontent and fault-finding" prevailed. General Halleck added, a few days later, that Yates's request for a camp near Springfield was denied and wrote, with reference to the troops, "If they know they are to be sent home to their own States when paroled it serves as an inducement to surrender to the enemy."[37] Yates, who had never served in a military capacity, was, of course, inclined to attach too much importance to the fretful words of the soldiers.

Throughout the war years not a single federal program was inaugurated to provide assistance for the families of soldiers. Consequently, many of them – especially those of the poorly paid privates – were in almost destitute circumstances. The Governor believed that private charity was the solution to this problem. He personally raised a small sum of money to be paid to those who were in desperate circumstances, and scrupulously advised the beneficiaries that the money came from contributions and not from his "private purse." During the campaign of 1864 Yates spoke out in favor of raising a fund for educating the orphans of soldiers, and at the end of his term of office he recommended a tax of not less than two mills on the dollar for the relief of destitute families of soldiers and for the care and education of the orphaned. This, said the Governor, was not "charity" but "duty." Under a system of voluntary contributions, Yates noted, the Copperhead escaped, but under taxation all had to bear the burden.[38]

37. Allen C. Fuller to Col. W. Hoffman, Feb. 23, 1863, Yates to Hoffman, March 6, 1863, Hoffman to Yates, March 13, 1863, Gen. H. W. Halleck endorsement to letter of Hoffman to Col. J. C. Kelton, March 20, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. V, pp. 292-93, 321, 352, 373-74.

38. *Illinois State Journal,* July 23, 1862; *Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), quoted in *ibid.,* March 2, 1864; Yates to A. S. Miller, June 21, 1861, Sarah Mason to Yates, Nov. 28, 1863, and Jan. 12, 1864, Martha Harris to Yates,

As a successful politician Yates had both a public role and a private view. That there were two sides to the coin bearing the inscription "Soldiers' Friend," there can be no doubt. The *Illinois State Register* held up the second side to public view. "Glorious Dick Yates is on his travels," it frequently commented, adding that he was always accompanied by a band of "bottle holders" and private correspondents, paid to glorify the Governor and advance his political career.[39] The "Soldiers' Friend," the opposition remarked, was a "tottering old debauchee" who had swindled the very men he purported to help.[40] Another equally unflattering picture was offered by the *Jonesboro Weekly Gazette*: "Yates has been absent from this State some weeks, if not months, traveling up and down the Tennessee River with a crowd of truculent toadies, indulging freely in good liquor and cigars, and electioneering . . . at the expense of the taxpayers of Illinois."[41]

That the Governor did use his influence with Illinois soldiers to further his political career can scarcely be doubted. He also cultivated public notice as the great benefactor of the Illinois boys and the symbol of resistance to disloyal elements at home. The soldiers did, in fact, regard him as a champion of the Lincoln administration – a view hardly justified by the facts. For all the administrative failures that added to the difficulties of army life Yates fixed the blame on the "Copperhead legislature," the Democrats in control of the state constitutional convention of 1862, the Democratic state treasurer, and the Democratic Party in general. He credited the donations of supplies and relief funds to the Union Leagues and other philanthropies, which through their very anonymity concealed the fact that Democrats had taken part in the effort.[42]

July 9, 1864, James M. Rough to Yates, Aug. 1, 1864, all in the Yates Papers; *Journal of the Illinois Senate,* 24 G.A., 50-51.

39. *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), March 10, 1864.

40. *Chester Picket Guard,* Nov. 25, 1863, in Yates Papers.

41. *Jonesboro Weekly Gazette,* May 31, 1862.

42. *Illinois State Journal,* Dec. 14, 19, 1861, April 29, 1862; J. E. Mc-

Near the end of the war Yates greeted the returning regiments with campaign speeches. Such occasions, the Democratic *State Register* charged, were drunken orgies for the Governor. "Let it be remembered," it cautioned, "the governor's condition was no mild excusable form of intoxication, but the last stage of drunkenness prior to absolute unconsciousness." The soldiers, the editor claimed, were humiliated and embarrassed by the spectacle.[43]

Typical of such events was one which took place late in February, 1864, in Chicago, where the Governor journeyed to address the Yates Phalanx. "The night was stormy and the mud and slush in the streets made our march to the hall anything but comfortable," the regimental historian recorded. The hall, nevertheless, was filled to capacity. When Yates appeared, he turned to the battle flags and in emotional tones cried out, "You see them there tattered and torn . . . no blot upon their escutcheon." The applause was deafening. Two great "600 pounder solid shot" – one round, the other conical – had been brought forward to the stage and placed on the platform in front of the Governor. During the course of the speech Yates announced that he favored sending peace commissioners to treat with the Confederate government. The audience sat stunned. The Governor then turned and inquired of the crowd if they knew whom he would send. In answer, he walked first to one of the shot, planted his foot upon it, pointed to the other shot, and stated:

> Yes I am in favor of sending peace commissioners to meet the gentlemen from Richmond. But I would desire to name these commissioners, and do you ask whom I would name? I would name this [placing his foot on one of the shot] for one of them and I would name that [pointing to the conical shot] as the other.[44]

Intire to Yates, Jan. 27, 1864, A. N. Stevens to Yates, April 4, 1864, Yates Papers; *Illinois State Register,* April 10, 1864.

43. *Ibid.,* Jan. 21, 1864.

44. Charles M. Clark, *The History of the 39th Regt. Illinois Volunteer Veteran Infantry (Yates Phalanx) in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (Chicago, 1889), 166-68.

Such stuff was pure political magic, and the crowd went wild with excitement.

As thousands of returned veterans lined up in ranks to greet the Governor, Yates often turned the occasions to political harangues. "There has been a set of scoundrels in the State," he exclaimed, "that would rejoice at your reverses and mourn over your victories."[45] Always Yates painted himself as the soldiers' only friend, the man who had heroically saved the state from dishonor at the hands of Copperhead (Democratic) legislative majorities, the man who had only the welfare of the troops as his guiding principle.

The Governor, early in the war, had unsuccessfully sought a major generalship, and now he glossed over the facts of his "military career," emphasizing instead his common bond of danger shared with the soldiers. He insisted that in his tours he had taken part in battles and undergone hardship and other dangerous experiences. Following the fall of Vicksburg, he had announced with bland innocence, "I have been down in the South with General Grant for six weeks . . . and was in some of his battles."[46]

The soldiers may not have been convinced that their Governor was a seasoned war hero, but they were sure that he was their benefactor. Governor Yates thus joined with nearly every other Union governor as the bearer of that proud appellation, "The Soldiers' Friend."

45. *Illinois State Journal,* Jan. 22, 1864.
46. *Ibid.,* June 13, 1863.

DAVID B. DICK

Resurgence of the Chicago Democracy, April-November, 1861

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A WAR IS not an easy time for any opposition political party, because loyalty to the nation, emotionally generated by the party in power, knows no toleration.

The Chicago Democratic Party, already fragmentized by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Lecompton Constitution intra-party feud, was so shaken by the creation of the Confederacy on February 9, 1861, that it forsook its party label and nominated a mayoral candidate under the name of the Peoples' Union Ticket.[1] Yet even this desperate political maneuver seemed inadequate after the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter, for with Major Anderson's surrender of that fort on the thirteenth, "to vote Republican seemed a patriotic duty."[2] As the *Tribune* said on election day, a vote for the Republican candidate, Julian S. Rumsey, is a vote "to sustain the Government of the United States, *and to retake Fort Sumter*."[3] Needless to say, the Republican Party won the election on a wave of patriotic emotional fervor.

At once it became evident to the Chicago Democrats

1. Bessie Louise Pierce, *History of Chicago,* Vol. II: *From Town to City, 1848-1871* (New York, 1940), 254.
2. *Ibid.*; *Chicago Tribune,* April 15, 1861, *passim.*
3. *Ibid.,* April 16, 1861, p. 1.

that the consequences of the election were more far reaching than Rumsey's victory, for if voting Republican became a habit through loyalty to the Union, the Democratic Party in Chicago would be doomed to eventual extermination. And such a danger seemed imminent. The pre-Sumter platform of the Democrats had been compromise, but compromise aimed at preservation of the Union. What platform should the party now adopt? With Virginia leaving the Union on April 19, there was no time to ponder this difficult problem, yet inaction could prove dangerous to the perpetuation of the party. At this point help came from an unexpected source. From Washington the Chicago Democrats heard their titular leader, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, say that he no longer faced south.[4] He realized, after Sumter, that compromise was dead, and he left at once for Illinois in an attempt to rally the Democrats in support of Lincoln's war policy.[5]

The Chicago Irish, who by 1860 comprised 18.2 per cent of the city's population[6] and were the backbone of the city organization, responded immediately to Douglas's call. On April 20 they held a volunteer recruiting meeting, called by the Democratic Irish political leaders of the city, and by the twenty-fifth they had formed an "Irish Brigade" led by Colonel James A. Mulligan.[7] In the face of such prompt action even the *Tribune* wing of the Republican Party[8] was forced to still, for the moment, its charges of nonsupport and treason.

4. Pierce, *History of Chicago,* II: 260.

5. Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (*The Centennial History of Illinois,* III, Springfield, 1919), 261.

6. Andrew Jack Townshead, "The Germans of Chicago" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1927), 7.

7. Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith, *Chicago: The History of Its Reputation* (New York, 1929), 88-89.

8. Chief adherents of this wing of the party, which assumed absolute leadership of the party during the Civil War, were Dr. Charles H. Ray, influential coeditor of the *Tribune*; Joseph Medill, coeditor and part owner of the *Tribune,* member of the Cook County Central Committee, early leader of the party in Illinois, and by 1862 president of the Union League of America; Norman B. Judd, chairman of the Central Committee and 1860

Then on May 1 Senator Douglas, in Chicago for the first time in months, delivered his last speech in the city at National Hall. This speech not only gave Chicago's Democrats a much-needed platform but was destined eventually to split the organization into War Democrats and Peace Democrats:

The question is, Are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy. . . . There can be no neutrals in this war, *only patriots, — or traitors*. . . .

We must not invade constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will implore my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized.

The Constitution and its guarantees are our birthright, and I am ready to enforce that inalienable right to the last extent. We cannot recognize secession. . . .

campaign manager for Lincoln; William Bross, part owner of the *Tribune* and later lieutenant governor of Illinois; Isaac N. Arnold, Chicago congressman and influential member of the Radical Republicans in Congress; John C. Haines, Fifth Ward alderman, 1852-1858, and mayor of Chicago, 1858-1860; John L. Scripps, part owner of the *Tribune* and postmaster of Chicago during the Civil War; Charles N. Holden, ex-alderman, city treasurer, member of the Cook County Central Committee, and Republican candidate for mayor in 1862; Charles C. P. Holden, alderman, 1861-1872, member of the Cook County Central Committee, and floor manager of the party in the city council; and Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, who was indebted to the *Tribune* for campaign contributions. The unconditional support of these men and others made the *Tribune* wing and its organ the most powerful and influential element in the Republican Party of Chicago. They defeated the Wentworth wing of the party (led by "Long John" Wentworth, popular ex-congressman and mayor of Chicago, 1860-1861) in the municipal nominating convention of 1861. Bessie L. Pierce has written, "After 1852 its strongly anti-slavery bias made the *Tribune* a leader in the movement for a new political party, a leadership in politics which it maintained consistently after the Republican party was founded." See her *History of Chicago*, II: 413, and also 149, 169, 212, 228, 244, 253, 264-68, 275; Franklin William Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, VI, Chicago, 1910), 59-60; Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Chicago Giant* (Madison, Wis., 1957), 161, 169-74; Tracy Elmer Strevey, "Joseph Medill and the *Chicago Tribune* during the Civil War" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago); David B. Dick, "The Chicago Democracy during the Civil War, 1860-1865" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1963), 12-14, 16, 29-33, 34, 39.

Then we have a solemn duty; to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome, from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all criminations. . . . When we shall have again a country . . . it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us. . . .[9]

The essence of the speech, cheered by both the Irish and the *Tribune,* was support of war for the preservation of both the Union *and the Constitution.* But with Douglas's death on June 3,[10] there arose a problem of interpretation. Without Senator Douglas to interpret his speech, the question arose as to what degree the Constitution could be temporarily ignored so that the war might be prosecuted to preserve the Union. And what acts by the Republican Party could be tolerated to preserve the united effort in behalf of the Union and the Constitution? Around such questions the actions of Chicago's Democrats would resolve during the Civil War.

Elsewhere in the nation, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina had joined the Confederacy in May and had sent delegates to the new capital, Richmond. On the day Senator Douglas died General George B. McClellan, a popular hero of the Democrats, had led Union forces to victory at Philippi in western Virginia. And the *Tribune* was saying that Governor Richard Yates might consider appointing a Douglas Democrat to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by Douglas's death. Such action would be an example of Republican goodwill and cooperation, for, the *Tribune* added, 160,000 votes had been cast for Douglas in 1860, and those voters might be helpful in the support of the war.[11]

Indeed, this was looked upon by many Democrats as the first test for the Republican Party. The Governor's ap-

9. *Chicago Tribune,* May 2, 1861, p. 4; see also *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), April 26, 1861, for another similar speech.

10. *Ibid.,* June 4, 1861, p. 4.

11. *Ibid.,* June 6, 1861.

pointment of a Democrat would demonstrate a bipartisan feeling noticeably absent on former occasions. But the Chicago Democratic Party did not have a reliable newspaper in Chicago,[12] and could not effectively express its views – or protestations – when Yates appointed an old Whig-turned-Republican, Orville H. Browning, to fill the vacancy. The moribund *Times* protested against the action as Republican political opportunism,[13] and the *Tribune,* for all its previous noble sentiments, said nothing critical.[14] Governor Yates's response to the mutterings by the opposition was the comment, "I would thank you not to trouble me with your silly advice."[15]

These days of impunity were fast disappearing for the Republican Party in Chicago, however. On June 9 Wilbur Fisk Storey, former editor-owner of the *Detroit Free Press,* took over the *Times* from McCormick.[16] Storey was a Democrat of deep convictions,[17] who "committed himself to the

12. The *Chicago Times* was owned by Cyrus Hall McCormick, former chairman of the Democratic Cook County Central Committee, who had been shelved in March, 1860, when he tried to carry a "peace-at-any-cost" resolution in the committee. McCormick bided his time, supported nobody, praised only Buchanan in November, 1860; he allowed his editor, Elisha W. McComas, to cling to a states' rights policy regardless of the harm it did the Chicago Democratic Party.

The *Daily Chicago Post* was owned and edited by James W. Sheahan, a lifelong admirer and eulogist of Senator Douglas, who had helped Douglas run the city organization until the Lecompton schism in 1858. Out of power, he sold the *Times* to McCormick; but seeing the harm done by the *Times,* he started the *Post.* Since his new paper had not started publication until late in December, 1860, it had a very small circulation. See Scott, *Newspapers of Illinois,* 65, 76; William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick,* Vol. II: *Harvest Time, 1856-1884* (New York, 1935), 44-46, 50; *Chicago Times,* Sept. 12, 1860, Dec. 6, 1860; *Daily Chicago Post,* Dec. 23, 26, 30, 1860.

13. *Chicago Times,* June 14, 1861.

14. *Chicago Tribune,* June 15, 1861.

15. Cited in William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York, 1948), 208.

16. Cecil Clyde Blair, "The Chicago Democratic Press and the Civil War" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1947), 38; Scott, *Newspapers of Illinois,* 65.

17. Helen Elizabeth Breckenridge, "The *Chicago Times* during the Civil War" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1931), 22.

task of giving to the Democracy of Chicago and the Northwest a newspaper organ of great vigor and assertiveness and holding the Democratic party view on politics, objectives and capacities of the President and his administration in connection with their handling of the war."[18] Storey was soon immersed in Chicago politics,[19] and gave the Democrats an effective voice in the city. Before the year was over, the *Times* would become the official interpreter of the May 1 speech of Senator Douglas.

With the disastrous Battle of Bull Run on July 21, followed by Lincoln's call for 500,000 more soldiers,[20] it was apparent that the war would not be over soon, and the slights the Democrats had received at the hands of the Republicans could no longer be ignored. Party members, previously divided,[21] now united behind Storey when he stated on August 16: "The conduct of the war has been partisan in the extreme." The "political Bourbons now in Congress" were by their actions, he said, alienating the Democracy and making it harder to follow Douglas's advice of cooperation.[22] The patriotic unit that had prevailed earlier began to weaken as Chicago Democrats increasingly viewed the actions of the Republican Party as war opportunism.[23]

The increasing dissatisfaction of both Democrats and Republicans led the Union Defense Committee, a joint organization of Chicago Democrats and Republicans for the support of the war, to call a "citizens' rally" for the twenty-fourth in an attempt to settle the difficulties. But the meeting was dominated by Republicans, whose organ

18. Blair, "The Chicago Democratic Press and the Civil War," 324-25.

19. By 1863 Storey had become a member of the Democratic Cook County Central Committee. See *Chicago Times,* Feb. 13, 1864.

20. Frederick Francis Cook, *Bygone Days in Chicago: Recollections of the Garden City of the Sixties* (Chicago, 1910), 28.

21. Storey had earlier complained about Republican partisanship (July 11, 16, *Times*, for example), but the Democrats had largely ignored his charges.

22. *Ibid.,* Aug. 16, 1861, p. 2.

23. *Ibid.,* Aug. 17, 1861.

declared that no other organization but the Union Party existed – "except that of traitors and their abettors."[24]

Even these anti-Democratic pronouncements were not strong enough to satisfy the *Tribune* wing and Chicago's Republican mayor, Julian S. Rumsey, who pushed a loyalty oath through the Common Council meeting on August 27:

> I, AB, do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States; that I will true and faithful allegiance bear to the Government existing, and the laws enacted in pursuance thereof, and that I will not assist, aid or abet, by word or deed, any who are seeking to overthrow the Government, destroy the Constitution, or nullify the laws – so help me God.[25]

All those not willing to swear their allegiance would be asked to leave the city, and if they refused, their names would be made public.

Although some Republicans found even this measure and its penalty inadequate, Democrats saw the oath as a Republican attempt to use kangaroo law.[26] And the use of kangaroo law seemed to these Democrats not only unconstitutional but a partisan attack on the party itself. If this were the case, Storey advised, the party need not be fearful:

> The path of duty of the democracy is plain. It is to do as they have thus far done, – support the government in the most vigorous prosecution of the war, and preserve their separate organization, inviting conservative men of all other parties to join them and establish the supremacy of an organization which will be powerful enough to bring the war to a close and restore the Union.[27]

Two days later, on August 30, General John Charles Frémont issued a proclamation declaring the property of Missourians in rebellion confiscated and their slaves emancipated. Although the proclamation was quickly annulled by Lincoln, many Chicago Germans, the backbone of the

24. *Chicago Tribune,* Aug. 24, 1861; Pierce, *History of Chicago,* II: 261-62.
25. Chicago Common Council Proceedings, Aug. 27, 1861.
26. *Chicago Times,* Aug. 29, 1861.
27. *Ibid.,* Aug. 28, 1861.

city's Republican Party (by 1860 they comprised 40.5 per cent of the city's population[28]), violently protested the President's action. Storey had warned the Democrats, on August 28, that the party should not support abolitionism as an aim of the war.[29] Because of this attitude, which was gaining Democratic support daily, and the constant prodding by Storey that the Democrats should become independent, the last attempt to create a united war effort in Chicago took an entire month's preparation.

The occasion was the nomination of candidates for the November county elections. On October 8 the Republican and Democratic central committees of Cook County called for a Union meeting to be held at Bryan Hall on the twenty-fourth. Among the signers of the announcement were Mayor Rumsey, originator of the city's loyalty oath; Joseph Medill, editor of the *Tribune*; Philip Conley, pro-Buchanan Democratic political leader of the Irish; Jacob Rehm, a leader of the Germans; and S. S. Hayes and Francis Sherman, leaders of the conservative Democrats. The convention would nominate not only candidates for the county but also delegates for the state constitutional convention to be held in 1862.[30]

The meeting, called to order by Charles N. Holden (chairman of the Republican City Committee), tabled a resolution that would have bound those presented to the meeting for nomination to the various offices to support the final choice of candidates by the convention. After this auspicious beginning, however, there commenced what the Democratic *Post* had feared.[31] The delegates broke up into power cliques distinctly resembling Chicago's political groups. With more accredited Democratic delegates than Republicans, it was no surprise that Henry G. Miller, a

28. Townshead, "The Germans of Chicago," 7.

29. Pierce, *History of Chicago,* II: 261; see also Cole, *Era of the Civil War,* 264-65; *Chicago Times,* Oct. 7, 1861.

30. *Ibid.,* Oct. 23, 1861; *Chicago Post,* Oct. 23, 1861; *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 23, 1861, p. 1; Pierce, *History of Chicago,* II: 262.

31. *Chicago Post,* Oct. 23, 1861.

Democrat, was nominated for judge of the superior court, by a vote of 69 to 55 on the second ballot. In this action the convention had ignored the Republican incumbent, Judge John M. Wilson. The Republican delegates, clearly dissatisfied, realized they had been duped when Daniel O'Hara, another Democrat, was nominated for clerk of the superior court, with more votes cast than there were delegates. The convention completed its nominations and adopted a platform endorsing the war, declaring Rebels public enemies, and advising the administration to use every legitimate means to suppress the Rebellion. It adjourned at midnight after a ten-hour continuous session.[32]

The Republican Party recognized that control of county patronage was in danger. After the October 24 meeting the Republican politicians issued a circular signed "Vox Populi," calling for a People's Union meeting on the twenty-ninth at Metropolitan Hall, charging that the Union meeting at Bryan Hall had been "the result of corrupt bargain and sale."[33] This October 29 Union meeting was so disorderly that the *Tribune* reporter could ascertain only that the superior court nomination was given to Judge Wilson. The *Tribune* concluded: "The 'vox populi' was anything but the 'vox Dei' in this instance. . . . What are the *people* going to do?"[34]

The *Times* angrily informed the Chicago Democrats:

> As we anticipated, it [the Metropolitan Hall meeting] was in the hands of a clique of disappointed aspirants for nominations in the Bryan Hall convention. . . . It was emphatically a "sore heads'" meeting.[35]

Before the election several other splinter groups nominated slates of candidates.[36]

32. *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 25, 1861, p. 4; *Chicago Times,* Oct. 25, 1861, p. 1; *Chicago Post,* Oct. 24, 25, 1861.
33. *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 26, 1861, pp. 1, 2, 4; Oct. 27, 1861, p. 4.
34. *Ibid.,* Oct. 30, 1861, p. 4.
35. *Chicago Times,* Oct. 31, 1861, p. 2.
36. The *Chicago Post,* of Oct. 30, 31, 1861, describes one of the splinter conventions.

The *Tribune,* at first trying to display nonpartisanship, said it "tended" to support the Union ticket. But it soon gave unconditional support to Judge Wilson for reelection: "Let us hold fast to that which is good."[37] The Chicago Democratic Party, however, waited for the election results in order to see if running under a nonpartisan label would give it victory.

The result of the election was a complete disaster for the Democrats. The Union label polled only 33.4 per cent of the votes cast. The party was at the lowest ebb in its history. Never, even in the days of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, had it polled so few votes. In fact, one more such election and it might be completely annihilated. Henceforth, party leaders decided, the Democracy would be strictly partisan and run under its own label. As Storey blared out:

> Democrats have tried the experiment of a union with republicans, and *failed.* They [the Democrats] went into the movement in good faith . . . but . . . they have been deceived and betrayed. . . . The patriotic attempt of the democracy to mollify the bitterness of party differences has been defeated — spurned. *Henceforth the two parties must be as distinct as oil and water.* . . . Democrats can never again humiliate themselves to be mocked and rejected as unfit for any position of honor or profit in the county of Cook. Our cry henceforth shall be, RELIGHT THE OLD WATCH-FIRES — NOMINATE STRAIGHT TICKETS — STAND OR FALL BY THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION.[38]

The next day the Douglas Invincible Club was organized. It was to be auxiliary to, but independent of, the party organization, and its members were determined to help the Chicago Democratic Party regain its former political supremacy in the city.[39] Named after a similar Democratic group in the 1860 presidential election,[40] the club at once

37. *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 31, 1861, p. 1; Nov. 4, 1861, p. 1.
38. *Chicago Times,* Nov. 7, 1861, p. 2.
39. *Ibid.,* Nov. 9, 1861.
40. Cole, *Era of the Civil War,* 258.

Buckner S. Morris, who by 1861, had twice been an unsuccessful candidate for governor of Illinois.

received the blessing of the Democracy and the *Times.*[41] Soon it had members like Judge Buckner S. Morris and Melville W. Fuller.

In response to the urgings of Storey and the *Times* and the public support evidenced in the Douglas Invincible Club, the Chicago Democratic Party reorganized as an independent party in the fall of 1861. Like a phoenix, after resurrection it was vigorous and eager to take the offensive.

The *Tribune* wing promptly declared war on the revitalized party and began anew its old charges of treason: "Let it light its secessionist watch-fires, and see how much it will make by its toryism."[42] Thus the bipartisan unity that had flowered in May's warmth vanished before winter's cold winds.

41. *Chicago Times,* Nov. 11, 1861.
42. *Chicago Tribune,* Nov. 8, 1861.

LEO M. KAISER

Letters from the Front

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VAST NUMBERS of letters from Illinois troops in the Civil War remain yet unpublished in libraries, both public and private, throughout the country. But it is not only their quantity that precludes publication; much of what they contain is indifferent and prosaic. From time to time, however, in the course of perusing hundreds and hundreds of letters at the Chicago Historical Society, I found sentences that leaped forth from the yellowing pages by reason of a wry humor, a forceful phrase, or a touching sensitivity. A sampling of these I have collected below.[1] Often they tell more effectively than any other type of writing what men thought and felt in that internecine struggle of a century ago. Here are the men who wrote the letters:

WILLIAM LISTON BROWN (1842-1929), from St. Joseph, Michigan. Company quartermaster sergeant, Chicago Mercantile Battery, Illinois Light Artillery.

ENOCH COLBY (born 1841), from Chicago. Private, later lieutenant, Battery A, First Illinois Light Artillery.

DANIEL B. HOLMES (died 1862), from Princeton, Illinois. Orderly, Company D, 1st Kansas Cavalry. Killed at Columbus, Missouri.

1. The author is indebted to Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, for permission to publish these excerpts from Civil War letters in the society's collections.

EDWARD CLARENCE HUBBARD (1843-1887). Sergeant major, 13th Illinois Infantry.

JAMES LAWRENCE (born 1811), from Chicago. Captain, Company I, 61st Illinois Infantry.

HENRY H. MILLER, from Knoxville, Illinois. Private, Company A, 77th Illinois Infantry.

FLORISON D. PITTS, from Chicago. Bugler, Chicago Mercantile Battery.

RICHARD R. PUFFER, from Mt. Palatine, Illinois. Private, Company E, 8th Illinois Infantry.

MARTIN REUBEN MERRITT WALLACE (1829-1902), from Chicago. Colonel, 4th Illinois Cavalry.

HIRAM H. WELD (1834-1862), from Tonica, Illinois. Corporal, Company K, 8th Illinois Cavalry. Died of typhoid at Alexandria, Virginia.

The excerpts are presented in chronological order. Original spellings have been retained:

It seems to me that I never had in my life before half as much to live for as at present, and no time in my life when my hopes were brighter than when this war broke out.

—HIRAM H. WELD, *Chicago, Illinois, April 28, 1861.*

Col. Stevenson with his command, the 7th Mo., or as it is called, the "Missouri Irish Brigade," arrived here yesterday from Boonville. It is said that there are 800 men, and the first day they came here there were 900 fights.

— EDWARD C. HUBBARD, *Camp Rolla, Missouri, August 9, 1861.*

Mother, I shall strictly abstain from taking anything strong to drink. As for card playing, you know I do not play any more. So I think I shall come out of the war as moral as I went in.

— ENOCH COLBY, *Camp Defiance, Cairo, Illinois, August 25, 1861.*

A good many of the Company have not got any weapons. I have got a revolver and an old cheese knife.

— ENOCH COLBY, *Paducah, Kentucky, September 16, 1861.*

Your fears in regard to my becoming ensnared by designing women need not trouble you in the least. I detest the whole of them and shall *never* associate with them.

— ENOCH COLBY, *Paducah, Kentucky, October 10, 1861.*

I like soldiering first rate. Yesterday we marched to Independence and jayhawked about fifty horses and mules, as many negro

men, women, and children, pillaged two stores, burnt seven or eight dwellings, and one large mill.

— DAN HOLMES, *Kansas City, Missouri, November 11, 1861.*

Soldiering has lost its romance and it is now a mere matter of duty.

— DAN HOLMES, *Kansas City, Missouri, November 27, 1861.*

I don't know how the report of my being killed could of started. *I believe I am alive.*[2]

— DAN HOLMES, *Morristown, Missouri, December 30, 1861.*

America can curse the day that a dutchman joined her army. They rob and steal from every setler all, all they have, to the last ounce.

— EDWARD C. HUBBARD, *Forsyth, Missouri, March 19, 1862.*

It is my opinion that the very next battle we get into, Major Taylor will place us in the most dangerous position he can find, for he is down on us for taking the laurels away from his battery at Fort Donelson.

— ENOCH COLBY, *Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, April 4, 1862.*

Everyone in the whole command had hoped that those *animals,* the G-d-d-d-d-d dutch would go one direction, and the white men another. I used to think any white man was better than a negro, but I had rather sleep or eat with a negro than a dutchman.

— EDWARD C. HUBBARD, *Batesville, Arkansas, May 9, 1862.*

If we have to stay here all summer, somebody must come down and see us. They can help convert these obstanant ladies. We can easily whip the men, but the ladies have the advantage of us decidedly.

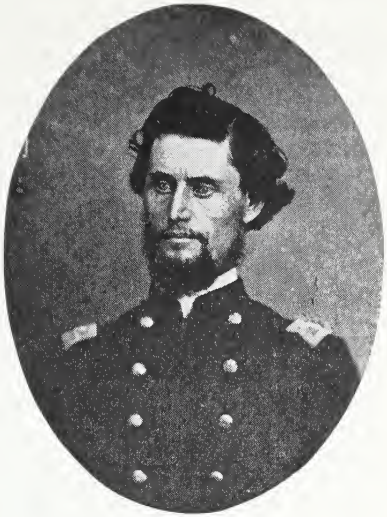
— M. R. M. WALLACE, *Jackson, Tennessee, July 1, 1862.*

I can not see any reason why men can not be religious in the army, for there is no plase in the world whare there is the disaplin there is here. You perceve we are in the very best mode to rise in the scales of morrels. My constant prayers is, "Save us in this dredful war from the morel miasma."

— JAMES LAWRENCE, *Jackson, Tennessee, July 13, 1862.*

It is verry much of a contrass to sleep in the woods on the ground, the same as the horses, with our shoes on. But there is another buty about these marches. Sometimes these little black ants tak the

2. Two weeks later Holmes was reported missing and presumed dead.



Colonel Martin Reuben Merritt Wallace of the 4th Illinois Cavalry.

liberty to house themselvs or tak a recoinnoicence about our person, very much to our inconveneyouncies, and sometimes when in oak timber the woodtick taks libertyes against our wishes.

— James Lawrence, *Bolivar, Tennessee, July 20, 1862.*

Gen. Grant is another negligent fool, and deserves no credit for the taking of Donelson or for the fight at Shiloh.

— Enoch Colby, *Memphis, Tennessee, July 31, 1862.*

I have been a Government mule for about fifteen months. I have been harnessed and driven by all kinds of drivers. I have borne it with all the patience and fortytude at my command. It is no use to kick up, for the harness is strong, and the driver will put on a bigger load and lock the wheel.

— Richard Puffer, *Jackson, Tennessee, October 17, 1862.*

In our night marches when it is very cold the country for miles appears to be one map of fire. The fences are all one map of living fire in all directions, presenting some of the grandest sights I ever saw.

— Florison D. Pitts, *Camp Wyatt, Mississippi, December 3, 1862.*

We are now in the six month and no paymestr. I suppose tha are waiting for a great battle to be fought and thus thare will be less men to pay.

— James Lawrence, *Bolivar, Tennessee, December 12, 1862.*

I will not attempt to discribe my disgust for the army; it is one great swindle, and if I should be so fortunate as to ever get out of

it once, I never will be caught again, unles I can get a position whare I can swindle the Government.

— RICHARD PUFFER, *Springdale, Mississippi, December 20, 1862.*

I have slept on the soft side of a board, in the mud, and every other place that was lousey and dirty; I have drank out of goose ponds, horse tracks, etc., for the last eighteen months, all for the poor nigger; and I have yet to see the first one that I think has been benifited by it.

— RICHARD PUFFER, *Memphis, Tennessee, February 12, 1863.*

I saw General Grant and Frank Blair the other day. Had a first rate look at both of them. Grant is a man about your size, perhaps not quite so heavily built. He looks like a good, natural South Water St. merchant, and is the last man I would take for a chief. But we know that he *can* fight.

— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Louisiana, February 15, 1863.*

About sunrise the Reble Forest with his cavalry made one of the most brilyent charges ever made down the road in 4 rank, write in front twords us. They was coming as fast as their horses could gallop, holloring and screaming like so many deamons from the bottomless pitt, and when within easy range we rose up and fired by file by the write of companys. The horses came rushing by but the riders lay dead in the road, being to strongely dosed with pills from our Astrian rifles.

— JAMES LAWRENCE, *Bolivar, Tennessee, March 9, 1863.*

Rum is permited to be sold to our men, and they get drunk, and the authoraty that might prevent it asks the question, "Why don't you punish your men for geting drunk?" My answer is, "If you would stop it from coming, the men could not get it, and the fire would be put out."

— JAMES LAWRENCE, *Bolivar, Tennessee, March 23, 1863.*

Lieut. Dawes is here and seems to be like a sheep steeler. His money is run out, and now he keeps sober he is very submissive, but he has repented so often that I have no confadence in him. He will be discharged in a few days, and then I shall be clear of the mean, pucelanamous, low bread, nigerdly, unprincupled drinking sot.

— JAMES LAWRENCE, *Bolivar, Tennessee, March 30, 1863.*

It is a Sunday morning and a bright one at that. The drums are beating and music playing, the birds are singing and children crying,

the dogs are barking and rousters crowing, the ladies are chating and the men are lafing.

— JAMES LAWRENCE, *Bolivar, Tennessee, April 12, 1863.*

Adj. Gen. Thomas is at Milliken's Bend, probably to find out whether Gen. Grant has any plan to capture Vicksburg, If he has not, off will come his head.

— EDWARD C. HUBBARD, *Young's Point, Louisiana, April 20, 1863.*

It is a common expression that if Grant would pull a bag over his eyes and let the men go, we should succeed.

— EDWARD C. HUBBARD, *Young's Point, Louisiana, May 18, 1863.*

Gen. Grant came along the line last night. He had on his old clothes and was alone. He sat down on the ground and talked with the boys with less reserve than many a little puppy of a lieutenant. He told us that he had got as good a thing as he wanted here. Said that Pemberton was a Northern man and had got into bad co. and did not like to have us get him.

— RICHARD PUFFER, *Behind Vicksburg, May 28, 1863.*

A rather good story is told about Grant, but as I was not there, cannot vouch for its truthfulness. The other day he rode up to where one of our batteries was in position and watched the firing for a few moments. Just before riding off, one of the battery boys stepped up and said, "General, what will you do if Joe Johnson comes up in our rear?" "Young man," replied the General, "you just attend to my prisoners over there (pointing to Vicksburg) and I will attend to Johnson."

— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Behind Vicksburg, June 7, 1863.*

The grandest sight of the siege is to see the mortar shells thrown into town after nightfall. Away off toward the river you see a flash, then up, up goes what appears to be a shooting star, but now it turns slowly, then down, down, faster, faster, then B-a-n-g! and 220 pounds of iron is sent flying in all directions among the traitors.

— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Behind Vicksburg, June 7, 1863.*

You may think I am rather extravagant in using gilt-edge paper. For the paper, however, I will have to thank Jeff Davis, for one of our boys got it from his private library on his plantation near here. Some of the boys made quite a valuable haul in the way of several fine gold-headed canes, presented to his Satanic Majesty at different times.

— HENRY MILLER, *Jackson, Mississippi, July 13, 1863.*

Admiral Porter was known all over the army as "Paint Pot Porter," and when the gunners came to man some of the land batteries before Vicksburg, the soldiers were very anxious to know if they had brought the "Paint Pot" with them to mark the guns when the forces took the city.[3]

— EDWARD C. HUBBARD, *Camp Sherman, Mississippi, August 20, 1863.*

There is about as much use in trying to fly to the moon as there is in a soldier's trying or thinking of settling down. When *outside* of Vicksburg, I thought I would be satisfied if once *inside,* but no sooner there than I was anxious to go somewhere else.

— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Franklin, Louisiana, November 22, 1863.*

If you could see the men about diner time, or all most any time when off of duty, you would be delited. They jump, they resal, they frisk like lambs or kittons, and have all sorts of fun. I do think it unfair that we should lay heare doing nothing, and our noble commander, Maj. Gen. Grant, on the Cumberland with other trupes, reaping all the glory.

— JAMES LAWRENCE, *Little Rock, Arkansas, December 16, 1863.*

I have been more amused at Gen. A. J. Smith and his doings than any other officer I have ever seen. His favorite speech to his men is, "Go in boys, go in and send them to h——l a-kiting, yes, a-kiting!"

— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Camp Parapet, New Orleans, Louisiana, July 24, 1864.*

While Gen. Banks was doing the *successful* up the Red River this spring, the Mrs. Major Gen. gave a private dinner party to about fifteen ladies at Lake Pontchartrain. The party cost the neat little sum of $1500, or nearly four bales of cotton. Phew!

— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Carrollton, Louisiana, October 23, 1864.*

Written orders will not keep the cavalry in order, and I believe of all the cusses to plunder, they cap the climax. They will steal everything but a red hot stove, and I believe some would even steal that if they could pick up a mule to carry it along.

— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *West Pascagoula, Mississippi, December 19, 1864.*

3. In a letter of June 25, 1863, from Walnut Hills, Vicksburg, Hubbard wrote: "As soon as Gen. Grant forced the Rebs to evacuate Grand Gulf, Miss., Admiral Porter seized a marking brush, rushed franticly into the works, and marked all of the guns, 'Taken at Grand Gulf by the Mississippi Flotilla under Acting Rear Admiral Porter.' This was repeated at Haines Bluff."

Parties of scouts are running all over the country, picking up every able bodied man they can find. I was talking with a German the other day. He had been chased all over the country and was greatly rejoiced at his escape. "Dey is tyfels," said he, "and will hunt you mit de dogs till you are shust dead."
— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Baton Rouge, Louisiana, January 29, 1865.*

I wish you could hear a greaser of the 1st Texas Cavalry sing. His song is a cross between the bray of a jackass and the note of a turkey buzzard, and far excels either in melody.
— WILLIAM L. BROWN, *Baton Rouge, Louisiana, March 12, 1865.*

The Gay Drummer Boy of the 76th Illinois

Ocassionally, among the vast numbers of still unpublished Civil War letters, one comes across a writer like John N. Tallman, drummer in Company I, of the 76th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, who regularly leaves his reader laughing, or at least enormously entertained.

Tallman enlisted in the newly formed 76th at Kankakee on August 15, 1862, and with it saw service in the Vicksburg campaign, on Sherman's raid to Meridian, Mississippi, in February, 1864, and on skirmishes and reconnaissances in Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, and Florida. How many letters this observant lad wrote home to Manteno, Illinois, is unknown, but some two score are preserved at the Chicago Historical Society, and excerpts from them, quoted by permission, show a "Billy Yank" who seemed to have found his stretch in the army pretty congenial, and who charms the reader with a lively slant on the scenes about him.

He had been in service only a month when, on September 18, 1862, from Camp Du Bois at Columbus, Kentucky, where Union forces maintained guard over the partially opened Mississippi River, he dashed off these comments to his brother Jay:

Thare is quite a number in this company rather under the weather from eating so much apples, peaches, watermelons, and

the like, and I am all rite, so I thought I would stand duty. I have been on gard in town twise, on fatigue once, and on picket once. I tell you, when I get my harness on and a gun on my shoulder with a load on it, it is not safe for a comon man to speak to me. I can not think of much to rite now, but I will right more next time. You must tell Amanda to drive the ducks to water regarlarly, and be sure to have Ulysses keep that fiddle a squealing untill I come home.

Amanda was his sister, but before he wrote to her, another letter went off to Jay on October 18, 1862, from Bolivar, Tennessee, where troops of General Stephen A. Hurlbut's command were resting after the Union victory at Corinth, Mississippi:

You say that you have heard that we had the scurvey. I am much oblidged for the information, as I knew nothing about it before, although I am as scaby as ever. We had plenty of potatoes and bread at Columbus, but here untill lately our diet has been principaly, as the boys say, sow belley and magets – bacon and crackers. Some say the crackers have magets in them, but I don't look for them. All I have to say is if they get between my teeth they will get hurt.

Tallman's fascinating spelling is continued in this letter to Amanda written on November 14, 1862, at La Grange, Tennessee, midway between Bolivar and Holly Springs, Mississippi, the general area where Grant and the Confederate Earl Van Dorn were maneuvering with Vicksburg as the prize:

You hain't got all the chickins, for I had some for dinner the other day, but they was Secesh chickins and would not take the oath, so we killed them. We get a pig every little while in the same way, and some times a good fat ox, but General Grant is trying to put a stop to it, so to spite him the other day when we went out on a march the old tropes burnt up all the fences and houses they could. I see two or three miles of fence burning all at once.

Van Dorn burned Grant's supply base at Holly Springs in December, 1862, thus stopping the first thrust toward Vicksburg. There is an echo of this raid in a letter to Amanda of

Cooking facilities at a Civil War camp for Union troops

February 3, 1863, from Moscow, Tennessee, twenty miles north of Holly Springs:

We had allmost as good a time as you did Newyears. We did not have any candy, but we had a big party, and got a big bake kettle and baked a big Joney Cake without any salt or saleratus or grease, and that was all we had, no meat, no crackers, no flower, and no nothing. O cow, the Rebs had all but the joney cake when they took Holley Springs behind us!

Nine days later, from Lafayette, Tennessee, a town ten miles from Moscow, Tallman sent Amanda some lines, the exquisite fun of which neither he nor the girl, of course, appreciated:

I rote you a letter the other day in answer to one that Ulysses coppyed for you, but last Sunday evening I received an other from you in your own hand wrighting whitch was the best of all. I could read every word except one. If you keep trying you will soon get so as to wright first rate. You must learn to spell, to.

Again from Lafayette, on February 20, 1863, he wrote

these engaging paragraphs to her, signing himself, "Yours more than ever":

I wished I was up thare to help you catch rabbets because my legs was long. Now I don't know as I could catch a rabbet, but since I have been in Dixie, I find it don't take long to get a secesh chicken or turkey in my haver sack, if I hain't got any gun.

If Pa can play a tune on John Henry's squeiler, I can beat him on the fife, for I can play five or six tunes, and I don't know but I can beat him on the drum. I can make it rattle to kill.

We came over here, put up our tent, put a flore in it, sat up our stove (which is a big kettle with holes punched in it with a bayonet for the fire to draw), hung up in the middle of the tent, built a fire out of doares with railes (secesh rails burn first rate) to cook by, got supper, and I have the soft side of a board to sleep on.

Further domestic details of camp life at Lafayette are contained in a letter to Amanda of March 1, 1863:

You made a good deal of fun of my washing in a mud pudle, but you had better blieve I can make my clothes look real nice. I put them on to iron them and starch them with dirt, so I guess you had better not come down here, for I can beat you a washing; and cook – why you are no whare. I can fry meat, make coffee, boil potatoes when we have any, build fire, fetch water – in fact, do a right smart sprinkling of things. So when I come home I will learn you how to cook if you want me to, and I am comeing home pretty soone, for I have only thirty months more to stay.

During March, the 76th Illinois moved to Memphis, preparatory to jumping off against Vicksburg in General Jacob G. Lauman's 4th Division of the 16th Corps. But one last letter was sent to Jay from Lafayette, Tennessee, March 3, 1863:

We have enlaerged our band by the addition of a base drum, and the first time it went on dress parade the fellow could not get the step, and he could not drum at all, and the next time he got it on rong, and hammered on the rong head, and stuck his drum stick clear in to it, and then simmered down and run of[f] and hid. A man in Company C shot his fore finger of[f] on his right hand yesterday while on picket, but that occurse so often that no body

Washday at a Union camp during the Civil War

thinks any thing of it any more. I am well as usual, able to take my rations regular, and when a man can do that here he is considered a well man.

From Memphis, the boy addressed these remarks to his brother Ulysses, March 20, 1863:

You wanted me to send home some blankets and coats that the soldiers were throwing away, but I have not seen any thrown away. Bill Gordon sent home two nice blankets. They were stole in the country; he stole one and bought the other. I have been trying to steal a blanket ever since I lost mine at Columbus, but I have not don it yet.

We have got eight new drums and a lot of boys learning to drum, and the Drum Major details me to take them out twice a day and give them lessons. I can do it, you know. O cow, the government drums ain't worth much, so the regiment raised money to get two or three drums made to order. I will have one of them. Then, says I, look out! I have got so I can drum Yanke Dooddele pretty good. Wal, I can, you know.

Tallman found Memphis a charming town, as he told Amanda, March 25, 1863:

I wish you could come down to Memphis and see all the pretty houses and gardens and dore yards with flowers and evergreens

of all kinds in them, and see the drove of pretty little tame darkies playing in the back yard, like a lot of little puppies, with the calves and goates and other propperty. I heard some of the boys say that they sat the goates up on their heads to milk them, but I guess that is all fudge.

From the same place he assured Jay, March 28, 1863, that he was well, adding, "We have got the nicest drill ground in the Southern Skedaderesy." In the months following he dispatched somewhat routine letters, from Vicksburg and Natchez mainly. From the latter place he wrote, November 4, 1863, "We are down here at Natchez yet and haveing all the fun that we can," but the fun must have been limited, for he continued, "When I was at home I thought I could do nothing just as long as any body, but I find it lonesome, after all, to do nothing all the time." In March, 1864, after the regimental doctor took him forcibly from the ranks, he was hospitalized with erysipelas, but the boy's resiliency may be seen in a letter to Amanda from Big Black River Bridge, Mississippi, April 12, 1864, containing one of the most hilarious scribbles ever issuing from a soldier's pen:

Thare is lots of Southarn ladies comeing into this place from the other side of the river to traid at the sutler stores, and they have plenty of green backs to pay for what they get. Thare are some nice looking girls, but they will chew tobaco, sweet little things. Don't you think that *I,* for instance, would *look,* or rather *make* a nice show, rideing along in a carrage with a young lady, me spitting tobacco juce out of one side of the carrage, and she out of the other. Then we would each of us take a cigar and have a real old fashioned smook together. Wall, ain't that nice, Oh Cow!

In another letter to his sister from Vicksburg, May 3, 1864, he caroled:

Thare is lots of pretty girls here and some pretty gardens. The trees have all leved out, lots of flours in blossome, the birds are singing, and today I saw some ripe strawberries. Bully for us!

Three weeks later he assured her:

I allways like to get a letter from you, if it dos bother me to

read them. All I wanted was to have you learn to wright and spell well. It will take hard studding to do it, but it can be done. Nothing speaks better for a lady than a well spelled and well written letter. I want you to keep wrighting so that I can see how fast you improve.

In a letter to his father from Vicksburg, May 25, 1864, after making sundry observations on high-level chicanery, on a general at Vicksburg "known among the boys as the whisky commander from his keeping himself so well soaked in that artical," and after philosophizing, "But then when you come right down to the point, thare is not more than one General out of ten that does not drink whisky," the drummer of Company I concluded, "I am well and all right yet, expecting that Grant will close up this little fuss and let us all go home."

He wrote six more letters home, from Morganza, Louisiana, and from camp at the mouth of the White River in Arkansas, the last dated October 15, 1864. What happened after that, more intensive search may reveal. A regimental account records merely: "John Tallman, Company I, Musician, died at Manteno, Ill., March 19, 1865."

HAROLD F. SMITH

Mulligan and the Irish Brigade

Harold F. Smith is assistant social studies librarian at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, where he is also completing work on his Ph.D. degree in secondary education. He grew up near the Lexington, Missouri, battlefield and there became interested in Colonel James A. Mulligan and the Irish Brigade. The author has M.A. degrees in history and library science from the University of Kansas and the University of Denver, respectively.

UPON THE outbreak of the Civil War in April, 1861, the following announcement appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*:

> Rally! All Irishmen in favor of forming a Regiment of Irish Volunteers to sustain the Government of the United States in and through the present war, will rally at North Market Hall, this evening [April 20] at 7½ o'clock. Come all. For the honor of the Old Land, rally. Rally for the defense of the new.

The notice was signed by James A. Mulligan; Aldermen J. Comiskey and M. C. McDonald; Captains M. Gleason, C. Moore, J. C. Phillips, F. McMurray, and Peter Casey; Daniel McIlroy, Daniel Quirk, John Tully, Philip Conley, T. J. Kinsella, "and three hundred others."[1]

That night Mulligan spoke to a large gathering in North Market Hall. As an orator he was a spellbinder, and within an hour 325 men had enlisted. Committees were appointed to procure equipment and quarters, and word of the recruiting was sent out to neighboring towns. Irish organizations, such as the Irish company from Waukegan, hastily joined the Chicago Irish, and within a few days the organization exceeded one thousand men.[2] This enthusiastic and

1. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 20, 1861, p. 4.
2. *Ibid.,* April 22, 1861, p. 4; April 23, 1861, p. 4; April 24, 1861, p. 4.

eager response was typical of the war fever that was sweeping Chicago, but it was also indicative of Mulligan's influence.

Mulligan was a dynamic and striking man — handsome, colorful, of magnetic personality, a natural leader, an excellent orator, a lawyer and man of affairs rising in prominence in Chicago politics during the 1850's. Those who knew him attested universally to his qualities of courage, nobility, kindness, and strength of character. He had been born in 1830 in Utica, New York, of Irish parents who later settled in Chicago. In 1850 he graduated from the University of St. Mary's-of-the-Lake, Chicago's first institution of higher education, and began the study of law. The following year he interrupted his studies to accompany John Lloyd Stephens on his last expedition to Central America for the Panama Railroad project. When Stephens died and the project collapsed, Mulligan returned to Chicago, where, for the next few years, he edited the *Western Tablet,* a Roman Catholic newspaper, and practiced law. He was a Democrat, and in 1857 received a clerkship in the United States Department of the Interior in Washington.[3] He returned to Chicago a year later, however, and with the commencement of the war he threw his energies into recruitment and training of troops.

Following the organization of the Irishmen, the regiment's services were offered to the government. But it could not be accepted under the Illinois quota, which had already been filled. At a special meeting the officers and men of the unit decided against disbanding and agreed to send Mulligan to Washington to ask that the Irish Brigade be enrolled in Federal service. Mulligan's mission was successful, and on May 17 the War Department accepted the brigade as the first independent Illinois regiment.[4]

3. *Ibid.,* July 30, 1864, p. 4; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1898-1952), V: 329.

4. Actually it was not a brigade but a regiment whose numbers exceeded regulations. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* May 6, 1861, p. 1; May 26, 1861, p. 4.

The business of soldiering now began in earnest. Quartermasters were appointed and went to work, a public meeting was held to request aid for the regiment, and the newspapers urged that the city give financial support to Mulligan's men. The troops were quartered in the Kane brewery on Polk Street.[5] There they trained for several weeks, and on June 15, 1861, the Irish Brigade was sworn into United States service as the 23rd Illinois Infantry, Colonel James A. Mulligan commanding.[6]

For the next month the regiment continued its training in Chicago, and then in the middle of July it received orders to report to St. Louis. With much fanfare the regiment marched down Wabash Street and entrained on the evening of July 15 for Quincy, whence it proceeded to St. Louis.[7] After being armed and outfitted at the St. Louis Arsenal, the regiment was ordered on July 23 to proceed to Jefferson City, Missouri, for the protection of the loyalist legislature of that state which was then in session.[8] There the regiment remained throughout August.

Missouri was nominally neutral, but it was uncertain whether or not it could be kept from falling into the Confederate camp, for Governor Claiborne F. Jackson was strongly secessionist. Sterling Price, commander of the Missouri state home guard forces, was not antiunionist, but as Jackson's appointee he found himself in opposition to the Federal troops. By August, Price had been maneuvered from the state capital and was encamped in southwestern Missouri close to Springfield. In a savage battle at Wilson's Creek, August 9, the Federal troops were thrown into retreat.

The month before, General John C. Frémont had been placed in command of the Department of the West, with

5. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1861, p. 4; May 28, 1861, pp. 1, 4; May 29, 1861, p. 4.
6. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1861, p. 1; June 16, 1861, p. 4.
7. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1861, pp. 1, 4.
8. *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), July 17, 1861, p. 3; July 19, 1861, p. 2; July 23, 1861, p. 3.

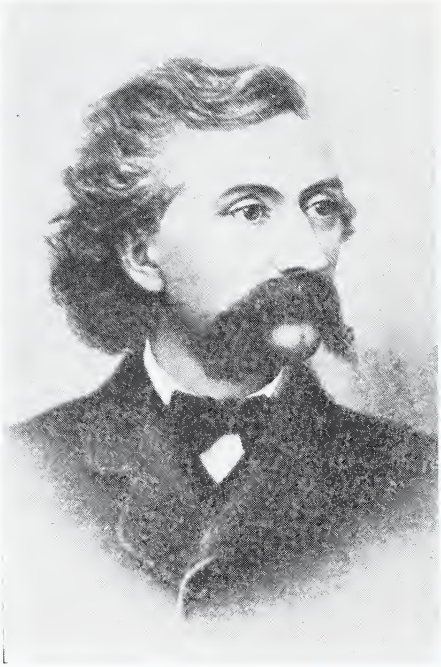
headquarters in St. Louis,[9] but General Nathaniel Lyon's death at Wilson's Creek deprived the district of its only dynamic force, and in the month that followed Federal fortunes took a downturn.

On August 25 Price and his men marched north for the Missouri River, which was controlled by the Federals, with sizable garrisons at St. Louis, Jefferson City, and Kansas City. At Lexington, forty miles down the river from Kansas City, a small force of Federal cavalry and infantry was posted. Frémont became concerned about this position, which he thought might be Price's objective. On the night of August 31 Mulligan received orders to take the Irish Brigade from Jefferson City to reinforce the Lexington garrison. Carrying rations, the brigade marched the one hundred and fifty miles across the countryside, reaching Lexington on the afternoon of September 9.

Lexington was an old and prosperous river town, on the south bank of the curving Missouri. It was then the center of the frontier hemp industry and at one time had been the headquarters for the freighting business of Russell, Majors and Waddell. On the river below the town was a rope-walk where hemp was corded and knotted into rope. A steep hill – almost a bluff – lay to the northeast of the town, and on this eminence was located Masonic College, founded in 1844. There the Irish Brigade set up camp. Mulligan's orders had been to march to Lexington and then await orders and/or relief. The three colonels then at Lexington – Mulligan; Everett Peabody, 13th Missouri Infantry; and Thomas A. Marshall, 1st Illinois Cavalry – compared commissions and found that Mulligan was the senior officer, so he took command of the combined forces.

Price, meantime, was rapidly approaching from the south. He arrived before Lexington on Thursday, September 12, and, after some preliminary skirmishing, retired

9. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 390; cited hereafter as *O.R.*



Colonel James A. Mulligan of the 23rd Illinois Infantry, known as the Irish Brigade.

south of town to rest his men and await arrival of his artillery and supply wagons. With his superiority in numbers, he felt he could take the Federal garrison without too much trouble.

The most prominent feature of the scene of impending hostilities was the college building. A little to the west stood a boardinghouse.[10] Still farther west was the three-story brick home of Dr. Oliver Anderson, which was just outside the Federal trenches but strategically located. From the house the ground sloped sharply to the west and north down to the river and the hemp warehouse, with its shipping wharf. A steamboat and a ferryboat were tied up at the wharf.

On the night of the twelfth Mulligan called a council of war at his headquarters. The subordinate officers favored evacuating the troops to the north bank of the river on the boats at the wharf. Mulligan listened to each officer in

10. Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (New York, 1861-1868), III: 75 (Doc.); cited hereafter as *Rebellion Record.*

the candlelit room in the college building, examined his orders again, and finally announced to the council, "We'll fight 'em!"[11]

During the next few days the Federals threw up fortifications throughout the college grounds, an area of approximately fifteen acres.[12] On the side of the campus toward the town, brush and trees were cut away and a few buildings razed to give a clear field of fire. Desultory skirmishing and cannonading occurred while Price gradually spread his lines around the Federal force.

Sunday, the fifteenth, Chaplain Father Thaddeus J. Butler conducted Mass for the Irish troops. This was the last solace they were to experience for some time. Water soon became scarce, for the wells within the works were depleted or fouled by the teamsters' horses. Provisions began to run short.

By Wednesday, the eighteenth, Price's men were rested, his ordnance and supply train had arrived, and he was ready to make his move. The battle started when he launched a concerted attack on the Federal entrenchments and quickly occupied the Anderson house, which was being used as a Union hospital. This gave the Rebels a commanding position, and some of them were sharpshooting into the Union trenches while others occupied the crest of the hill just north of the house. When Mulligan was informed, about noon, that Price's men had taken the hospital, he ordered the building recaptured. Captain Michael Gleason's company of the Irish Brigade stormed out of the trenches, charged the house, smashed in the door, grappled with the Rebels in savage hand-to-hand fighting, and sent them flying.[13] It was a brief, bloody fight that left the men panting and exhausted. They held the building throughout the afternoon, but Price's men countercharged, recap-

11. *History of Lafayette County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1881), 342-43.
12. *Rebellion Record,* III: 75 (Doc.).
13. R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-1887), III: 311; cited hereafter as *Battles and Leaders.*

tured it, and held on to it for the remainder of the siege.

Thursday, the nineteenth, dawned wet and cloudy. It rained heavily for a couple of hours, during which time the Federals caught water in their hats and their mess kits, or wrung it out of their blankets. To their discomfort was added the odor of now putrefying dead horses inside the lines. Hope for relief forces, which Frémont was believed to have on the way, gradually sank. Neither orders nor relief ever came.

The next day, September 20, was to make Lexington unique in the annals of the war because of Price's method of attack. His men took the bales of hemp they had found in the warehouse up to the crest of the hill. There they soaked the bales with water, and then used them as movable breastworks. Crouching behind a bale, two men would roll it toward the Federal trenches, then lay down a covering fire while other troopers rolled their bales up to the line. Mulligan's men gazed in disbelief as the bobbing line slowly advanced on them. Bullets thudded into the bales without effect. Cannonballs rocked the bales but failed to penetrate them. Hot shot failed to ignite the moistened hemp. Slowly but inexorably the Southerners closed in on Mulligan's command.

After a skirmish early in the afternoon at one of the outworks on the northwest corner of the field, a truce was arranged to remove the dead and wounded outside the works. The flag of truce was observed from other parts of the field, and gradually the firing died down. Apparently neither Price nor Mulligan knew of the truce, for when Price saw the flag, he sent a messenger to Mulligan asking why the firing had ceased. Mulligan turned Price's note over and wrote on the back, "General, I hardly know unless you have surrendered." Price hastily replied that such was not the case. Later it was learned that the flag had been raised by one of Mulligan's majors.[14]

14. *Ibid.*, I: 312; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 187-88.

This break led to negotiations. The Federals were exhausted, hungry, and thirsty. A council of war voted four to two in favor of surrender, and Mulligan reluctantly acceded. He surrendered about 3,500 men, with casualties of 39 killed and 120 wounded. Price's force of nearly 18,000 had lost 25 killed and 72 wounded.[15]

Throughout the Northern states during these mid-September days there had been mounting interest in Mulligan's plight, but little news of what was happening reached the outside. Apprehension increased as the newspapers began to speculate on the fate of Mulligan and Lexington. The luster of Frémont, "the Great Pathfinder," focused attention on any event in his department, and the nation's interest now centered on the besieged garrison.

Finally, on Saturday afternoon, the Federal troops marched out of their trenches with only their personal effects, to surrender to Price and his Missourians. Mulligan had offered his personal sword, presented to him by the City of Chicago, and Price had gallantly refused to accept it from so worthy a foe. With the exception of Mulligan, all Federal officers and men were paroled. They were marched a few miles north, placed on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, and sent east. The first definite news the nation had of the fall of Lexington came when the troops arrived in Quincy, Illinois, on September 23.

The news caused a sensation. It had a depressing effect on the nation, but it catapulted Mulligan and the Irish Brigade to fame. Blame for the disaster was generally attributed to Frémont's failure to relieve the garrison, and no doubt this was a factor in his removal, a month later, from command of the Department of the West. Mulligan, on the other hand, was generally acclaimed a hero for his dramatic defense. In the weeks that followed there was general public concern over his fate. He had refused a parole and had been retained as Price's captive. When the

15. *Battles and Leaders,* I: 273.

siege began, Mrs. Mulligan was at Sedalia, Missouri, en route to visit her husband. On learning of the surrender she made her way through the lines and joined him in Lexington. At the end of September, when Price retreated southward, Colonel and Mrs. Mulligan rode in the General's buggy and slept in his tent at night. They finally were released on October 30, after arrangements were made to exchange Mulligan for General D. M. Frost, who had commanded St. Louis's Camp Jackson the previous May.

Following his release Mulligan returned to Chicago, where he arrived by train on Friday night, November 8. He received a tumultuous reception from hundreds of citizens who escorted him to the Tremont House, where he was called upon for a speech. During the next few days he and his wife and infant daughter were lionized, as were the officers and men of the Irish Brigade.[16]

During the next several weeks Mulligan was widely sought after as a public speaker. He appeared in various cities in the Northern states, and his narration of the events at Lexington was highly popular.[17] Mulligan turned over his fees for these lectures to a benefit fund for the widows of men killed at Lexington.[18]

Toward the end of November, Mulligan, after making a reunion speech to the men, began negotiations for the exchange and restoration of the Irish Brigade to active duty.[19] His efforts were complicated by the anomalous status of the unit: it had been paroled by the state militia of Missouri, and that state was not a member of the Confederacy. Within a few weeks General Henry W. Halleck, then in command at St. Louis, suspended recruiting activities and ordered the abolition of the Irish Brigade because

16. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Nov. 9, 1861, p. 4; Nov. 12, 1861, p. 4.

17. His description of the Battle of Lexington, published posthumously in *Battles and Leaders* (I: 307-13), was adapted from his speeches.

18. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Dec. 11, 1861, p. 4.

19. *Ibid.,* Nov. 13, 1861, p. 4; Nov. 17, 1861, p. 4; Nov. 19, 1861, p. 4; Nov. 21, 1861, p. 4.

of the difficulty he was having in effecting the exchange. Mulligan refused to accept this action as final and left immediately for Washington to appeal his case to President Lincoln. His quest was successful, and on December 10 General McClellan restored the 23rd to United States service and gave Mulligan permission to continue recruiting.[20]

While he was in the East, Mulligan went on to New York City, taking Mrs. Mulligan with him. The Irish Brigade had been patterned after the 69th New York Infantry (the "Fighting Irish"), and on December 16 Mulligan visited its camp, reviewed the troops, and received a warm welcome. He was hailed as a hero in New York City, and the next night, Tuesday, December 17, he spoke at Cooper Union about his experiences at Lexington.[21]

On December 20, in Washington, D.C., Isaac N. Arnold,[22] congressman from Illinois, arose in Congress and presented a joint resolution offering thanks to Mulligan and his men, and authorizing them to bear the word "Lexington" on their colors. The resolution was adopted.[23]

By early 1862 the Irish Brigade was ready to return to service in full strength but had not yet been exchanged. Its activities now shifted to Camp Douglas, just south of Chicago, which had been made a prisoner-of-war camp. There the regiment was assigned to guard duty, and Mulligan was placed in charge of the camp. Up till then the management of prisoners of war had not been satisfactory there, but Mulligan did all he could to improve conditions, giving particular attention to medical care and food.[24] He also set up a system for handling the money of the prisoners. However commendable his efforts, this last action was to result in charges of maladministration after he had left Chicago. He was praised by the Chicago newspapers, but

20. *Ibid.,* Dec. 5, 1861, p. 1; Dec. 14, 1861, p. 4.
21. *New York Times,* Dec. 18, 1861, p. 8; Dec. 19, 1861, p. 4.
22. Mulligan had read law in Arnold's office years before. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* July 30, 1864, p. 4.
23. *The Congressional Globe,* 37 Cong., 2 Sess., Dec. 20, 1861, p. 158.
24. *O.R.,* Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 361 ff.

in a clash with his successor at Camp Douglas, Colonel Joseph H. Tucker, Mulligan was hard pressed to justify his efforts for a more humane prison policy.[25]

On June 14, 1862, the Irish Brigade was once again ready for field service and was ordered to Maryland. There it spent the summer and participated in a minor way in the Antietam campaign. On September 19 the 23rd was ordered to western Virginia to cope with the tough situation created by Rebel guerrillas. The story of Mulligan and the Irish Brigade during the next year and a half was that of mountain guerrilla warfare. Except for one brief moment the glory of the early days of the war did not again touch Mulligan and the Irish. His efforts under General Benjamin F. Kelley to capture the guerrillas, convoy wagon trains, guard rail lines and bridges, and protect ammunition and supplies, appear scores of times in the *Official Records*. Clarksburg, Parkersburg, New Creek, Moorefield, Grafton – in all they had two years of guerrilla warfare at its worst, raids, ambushes, and night fighting against some of the most skilled partisan irregulars of the Confederacy.[26] Mulligan did his work well and merited the confidence of his fellow officers and superiors. He was given increasingly responsible assignments, exercised brigade command, and was recommended for promotion "because of the military ability, energy, and promptitude displayed by him . . . and [because he] in all instances has rendered complete satisfaction. His knowledge of the country, and his ability to command, has in my judgment eminently fitted him for the command of the Second Division."[27] But it must have been an exhausting experience, and the roster of the 23rd Illinois from 1861 to 1864 reflects the attrition of this grim, unremitting, but necessary, warfare.

25. *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, pp. 111 ff.

26. See *O.R.,* Ser. I, especially Vols. XXI, XXV, XXVII, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVII, XLI, LI, and LIII.

27. Brig. Gen. B. F. Kelley to Col. E. D. Townsend, assistant adjutant general, in *ibid.,* Ser. I, Vol. LI, Pt. 1, p. 1141.

In April, 1864, the Irish Brigade was furloughed home to Chicago. Following the furlough and reenlistment it returned east. In July, Mulligan and the 23rd participated in the actions which turned back Jubal Early's raid on Washington. Following this last Confederate thrust north of the Potomac, General Sheridan assembled an army to drive the Rebels out of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Mulligan and the 23rd Illinois were part of this movement. Mulligan was acting divisional commander when part of the Union troops were attacked by Early at Kernstown on July 24, 1864. Mulligan, holding the center of the line, was desperately pressed by the attack which the Confederates vigorously mounted. At the height of the battle he was shot from his horse,[28] hit in the shoulder and the thigh. His men saw him fall, and they gathered around and prepared to carry him from the field. But as they picked him up, he ordered, "Lay me down and save the flag." Later in the day he was captured where he had fallen. He lived for forty-eight hours after he was shot, dying shortly before Mrs. Mulligan could come through the lines under a flag of truce.[29] Sorrowfully she brought her husband's body back to the Union lines.[30]

When the Chicago newspapers reported Mulligan's death, the entire city went into mourning. The Irish Brigade and Mulligan had been the city's own regiment and the toast of the town. Elaborate funeral arrangements were made. Mulligan's remains arrived in Chicago, Sunday night, July 31, accompanied by Mrs. Mulligan and the Colonel's staff. Various organizations, including the Fenian Brotherhood, escorted the body to Bryan Hall, where it lay in state under guard. Funeral services were held Tuesday, August 2, in St. Mary's Church, with interment at Calvary Cemetery.[31]

28. *Ibid.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. 1, pp. 289, 303, 307.
29. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* July 29, 1864, p. 1; July 30, 1864, p. 4.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.,* July 31, 1864, p. 4; Aug. 1, 1864, p. 4; Aug. 2, 1864, p. 4; Aug. 3, 1864, p. 4.

By its long war service and fighting record the 23rd Regiment had been greatly reduced in numbers. On August 29 it was consolidated into five companies, but it continued to participate in the war in the Shenandoah Valley as a battalion. In the spring of 1865 the men of the 23rd Illinois were in the final assault on Petersburg. Following the surrender at Appomattox they were placed on duty near Richmond, where they remained until July, 1865, when they were mustered out of service and returned to Chicago.[32]

After the war the widowed Mrs. Mulligan devoted herself to civic and charitable activities and became prominent in the social life of Chicago.[33] At one time she was also the city's government pension agent.[34]

The memory of Mulligan and "the heroes of Lexington," the first Chicago regiment to spill blood, was cherished by Chicagoans in the post-bellum years. In 1883 the General Assembly of Illinois made an appropriation "to erect a monument over the grave of Colonel James A. Mulligan at Calvary Cemetery, Cook County, Illinois."[35] It was dedicated in impressive ceremonies, May 18, 1885.[36] But today the name of James A. Mulligan, "the hero of Lexington," is scarcely remembered.

32. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois . . . 1861-66* (rev. ed., 8 vols., Springfield, 1900-1901), Vol. II. For rosters and history of the regiment see pp. 244-99.

33. Edwin O. Gale, *Reminiscences of Early Chicago and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1902), 431.

34. Frederick F. Cook, *Bygone Days in Chicago* (Chicago, 1910), 292.

35. *Journal of the Illinois House of Representatives,* 33 G.A., 122 ff.

36. Mulligan Scrapbooks (Vol. II), Chicago Historical Society.

DAVID T. MAUL

Five Butternut Yankees

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THE TRAIN jerked and lurched and bumped its way eastward that June day in 1862. Long ago its blue-clad occupants had lapsed into apathy from their initial excitement over riding the famous Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The pounding of the cars had taken care of that. The inevitable card games were in progress, the devotees huddled intently around the miniature drama of the game. Here and there men slept in impossible positions, the fatigue of travel etched on their begrimed faces. Many more simply sat, more in trance than in reverie.

Many of these men of the 23rd Illinois Infantry Volunteer Regiment had already experienced their baptism of battle. Disillusion had vanished soon enough, and soldiering now stood out in its true light: a monotonous, uncomfortable existence punctuated by moments of fear that gripped one's insides with a relentless hand.

Among these sons of the Prairie State were many of a different background. Now in Union blue were some who had but recently fired in anger at men similarly attired. Butternut had been the color of their uniforms then. But now, through a strange combination of circumstances, they had been "galvanized," as the expression was, and were setting out to fight their former comrades.

What leads men to this course of action? The answers are usually many and varied. Defection is always a shock-

ing thing, but the fact remains that such actions are far from unique in American military history. Indeed, in the American Civil War, defection might be said to have reached epidemic proportions. At least 8,500 Confederates are known to have joined the Federal ranks, and undoubtedly many more were involved. The extensive destruction of Confederate records at the war's end make it impossible to estimate the number of Federal defections, but there is no reason to doubt that desertion was a two-way street.

But still the basic question of why men defect remains unanswered. Typical, perhaps, of such men were five Confederate soldiers who found their way into the ranks of the 23rd Illinois Infantry.[1]

This Illinois unit started out as gaily as any regiment in '61 – perhaps gayer than most, considering that their muster point was Kane's brewery on West Polk Street in Chicago. Ambitious plans accompanied the formation of the regiment, which was intended to be a unit of an "Irish Brigade." A cavalry company was organized in St. Louis and an artillery company in Wisconsin, both doubtless composed of men of the proper ancestry.[2] But for some unexplained reasons, plans went awry and the various components never amalgamated. To the Hibernians of the 23rd, however, any title that had "Irish" in it was acceptable, and, embryo soldiers that they were, they were little inclined to fret about the misnomer "brigade." So "Irish Brigade" the name remained, and with Chicago attorney James A. Mulligan at their head they set out for St. Louis in July, 1861.

The regiment saw service in Missouri, and after its tragic defeat at Lexington on September 20, 1861, Mulligan was

1. History of the 23rd Illinois Infantry, in *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois . . . 1861-66* (rev. ed., 8 vols., Springfield, 1900-1901), 244-80.

The five men were Patrick Carmody, Co. I; John Connor, Co. F; Michael Crane, Co. E; Michael Joyce, Co. G; and Patrick King, Co. K. *Ibid.* and service records in the Illinois State Archives and the National Archives.

2. J. L. Garland, "The Irish Dragoons in the American Civil War," *Irish Sword,* I (1949-1950): 37-39.

made prisoner and his men were paroled to return home. Mulligan was later exchanged, and the regiment was reactivated and assigned to guard duty at Camp Douglas.[3]

Thus, in the last days of February, 1862, after the Battle of Fort Donelson, the 23rd Illinois saw a monstrous tide of ill-kempt, butternut-clad prisoners file within the board fence that enclosed Camp Douglas. They little dreamed that among these dejected and pathetic men were many who would shortly stand beside them as comrades in arms.

No one really knows how it began. Perhaps John Connor, late private of Company A, 10th Tennessee Infantry, walked cautiously to the deadline, that flimsy barrier ten feet from the wall beyond which no Rebel dared advance. To the blue-clad guard whose head and shoulders appeared above the fence, Connor addressed a few casual words in a brogue that revealed his County Kerry birth. The guard's noncommittal reply or harsh rebuff died in his throat, and he leaned forward in eagerness to reply in the same voice of angels.

The information must have spread swiftly through the barracks of the 23rd and then to Mulligan's office that some fine countrymen languished within the prison's confines. On February 27 Mulligan dispatched a letter to Major General Henry W. Halleck in St. Louis, requesting permission to enlist those prisoners who were willing to join the Union cause.[4]

This was a question no department commander dared answer, so on the letter went to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas in Washington.[5] Mulligan was not the only one to raise the question. From Indianapolis hard-shelled Governor Oliver P. Morton asked for instructions on the same

3. See the article, "Mulligan and the Irish Brigade," by Harold F. Smith, in this issue, pp. 164-76, for a detailed account of this part of the regiment's history.

4. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1880-1901), Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 335; cited hereafter as *O.R.*

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 170.

matter.[6] Having received no reply within ten days, "Old Brains," as Halleck was known to his men, took matters into his own hands and gave Mulligan permission to begin enlistments.[7] But the General was premature, for a negative answer came from the War Department only a few days later.

Most likely, Mulligan had begun his enlistment program with enthusiasm. If he stopped enlistments at all when Halleck relayed the War Department's message on March 15,[8] it wasn't for long; and the ranks of the 23rd filled in gratifying fashion – as did those of another guard regiment, the 65th Illinois Infantry. After all, Washington was a great deal farther away than St. Louis, and Halleck had disclosed his feelings in the matter.

Indeed, only three days after Halleck forwarded the War Department's disapproval, short, dark John Connor raised his right hand and became a member of the 23rd Illinois Volunteers. Just what his duties were in the next few months will never be known, but most likely he stood no guard duty at the prison. The testimony of commanders of other Federal prison compounds indicates that their confidence in their new comrades did not stretch quite that far.[9] Curiously, although Connor was enrolled on March 18, he was not mustered in until May 14. During this time he may have been serving as a sort of "ambassador at large" in the compound, extolling the merits of service in Mr. Lincoln's army. Even if Connor or others did act in this capacity, their Irish glibness was probably less effective than the environment in contributing to the defection of other Irish Confederates. Surface drainage in the camp was poor, policing ignored, and sanitary facilities primitive. "Enough to drive a sanitarian to despair," said one visitor.[10] The

6. *Ibid.*, 172.
7. *Ibid.*, 174.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 382.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 106; the visitor was Henry W. Bellows, president of the U.S. Sanitary Commission.

squalor, coupled with the growing boredom and discouragement, undoubtedly brought additional recruits to the 23rd's ranks.

The former first corporal of the 10th Tennessee's Company E, Patrick King, put on Union blue on May 12. Perhaps he was something of a bellwether, because within a few weeks Privates Michael Joyce and Patrick Carmody from the same company also became "galvanized."

These Rebels probably did not cast aside their former allegiance as casually as it may appear here. Powerful influences were at work on the unfortunate Confederates: the gradual erosion of morale under the impact of squalor, the monotony and helplessness of captivity, and, above all, the ever-beckoning promise of freedom that could be obtained with just a word.

As mid-June neared, a new rumor arose to torment already-troubled minds, for news of the imminent departure of the 23rd must have reached the prisoners' ears. Even to those who heretofore had scrupulously ignored the enticements of their Federal guards, it must have been bad news. Helpless as prisoners always are, subject to the whims and humors of their captors, they no doubt found in the familiar faces of their guards some measure of consolation. But now even this small crumb of comfort would be gone.

Michael Crane, who had joined the 10th Tennessee's Company K at Nashville, could resist no longer. On June 10 he, too, joined the Illinoisans, and just in time. Only four days later the regiment entrained for Annapolis and the eastern theater of war.

For those who had enlisted with no further thought than release from prison and a quiet berth in the backwash of war, the order sending them to the front must have been a rude surprise. Rugged soldiering was apparently in prospect, and, quite likely, many would shortly long for the comparative safety of the compound at Camp Douglas. How would they react to this new tour of duty? Or, more

bluntly, had Mulligan erred in accepting turncoats into his ranks?

As the cars bearing the 23rd Illinois rumbled eastward, fate took a hand to alter their destination. Alarmed by the rumor that four thousand Confederates were threatening the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Major General John E. Wool, the commander at Baltimore, ordered the 23rd to garrison the little town of New Creek (written now as one word), Virginia (present West Virginia). The town was the railhead for operations in western Virginia, and of great importance to the Federals, for one thousand carloads of matériel and two thousand mules were at the depot.[11]

The enemy did not appear at New Creek, but the 23rd stayed nevertheless, as part of the Railroad Division of Brigadier General Benjamin F. Kelley. Their task was to protect the railroad from the depredations of John D. Imboden, Harry W. Gilmor, John H. McNeill, and other Rebel leaders. It was a thankless task and one in which only partial success could be expected. The Rebels, regulars and irregulars alike, were as ubiquitous as mosquitoes and fully as persistent. There were days when the B. & O. did not run despite the best efforts of the Railroad Division.

By this time twenty-five–year–old Patrick Carmody had had enough of war and all its associations – after eight months with the 10th Tennessee and the tragic ending at Donelson, the four months of prison, and now the prospect of still more battles. Late in August, when the Rebels under Albert G. Jenkins and William W. Loring swept into western Virginia in strong force, Kelley entrained the Illinoisans and headed them westward to protect the important terminals at Clarksburg and Parkersburg, West Virginia. Jenkins made a sweep into Ohio while other forces wreaked havoc with the railroad, but there was never a conflict of any proportions. It was a week or more of

11. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XII, Pt. 3, pp. 408, 425.

alarms, however, and a clear foretaste of what was to become routine. As far as Carmody was concerned, it was the last straw.

Exactly how he disappeared will never be known, but roll call of Company I on October 2 revealed his absence. His name was put on the descriptive list of deserters, but he was never apprehended. One might surmise that he again changed uniforms and rode with some of the irregulars. If so, it was under an assumed name, for Virginia archives bear no record of his service.[12] More likely, he simply turned his back on the war forever. Whatever the case, Patrick Carmody vanished as completely as if he had walked into the Potomac River.

Winter came whistling down out of the mountains, and sentries bundled themselves against the wind's bite. They stamped their feet as they walked their posts, tried to warm numbed hands, and longed mightily for the comparative comfort of the barracks. The Rebels were suffering, too, but it did not stop their activity, and Kelley resolved to strike a blow in return.

Having received information as to the location of Imboden's camp, Kelley set out on November 8 with a regiment of cavalry and three companies of the 23rd Illinois. Uncomfortably ensconced in one of the wagons with some of his comrades of Company K was Patrick King, riding, to be sure, but exposed to some of the bitterest weather of the winter.

Kelley was a hard marcher and kept the column moving all night. It passed the sleeping village of Moorefield and then, eighteen miles south, arrived at Imboden's camp on the banks of the south fork of the Potomac. The cold early morning peace was shattered by the clatter of charging cavalry and the cheers of the infantry. Up to a point the raid was a success. Kelley easily overran the camp, seized spoils, and took prisoners. But there was the trouble. Im-

12. William J. Van Schreeven, Virginia state archivist, to author, Oct. 26, 1960.

boden wasn't among them. It seems the Rebel leader and most of his force were doing a bit of raiding of their own. So the Federals had to be content with a logistic success, and retrace the weary miles to New Creek.[13]

Patrick King came back a sick man, with a racking cough and a fever, and by November 19 he was a patient in the general hospital at Cumberland, Maryland. Pneumonia was the diagnosis, and he was destined to be off duty until spring. King had been plagued by illness since his return to active duty. Within weeks of his arrival at New Creek, he had been shipped off to the hospital at Harpers Ferry, where the doctors could arrive at no specific diagnosis. Again, in late August, he had been confined to quarters by illness.[14]

The rigors of army life bore heavily on the man from County Galway. But King had a resiliency and vigor that belied his illness record. Although his health had been badly undermined, the critical phase of his illness passed quickly, for before November was over, Patrick King and Margaret Tierney stood before Father McGill in St. Peter's Church in Westernport and became man and wife.[15] Good fortune in the guise of illness and subsequent convalescence gave the newlyweds four months of connubial bliss. When King was released for duty on the feast day of his namesake, he left behind, unbeknown to him, the beginning of his family.

The bridegroom returned to New Creek, where he found many changes. For one, John Connor had died on February 14. Whether King and Connor (or Connors, as he is referred to in prison records) were acquainted cannot be established. They did not serve in the same company in either the 10th Tennessee or the 23rd Illinois, but one would suspect that a special camaraderie existed among the galvanized Yankees. And King probably joined the mourn-

13. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIX, Pt. 2, pp. 158, 164, 165.
14. Report of Record and Pension Office, March 7, 1900.
15. Pension questionnaire, dated March 17, 1915.

ers for their late comrade and cursed the grim specter of illness that constantly stalked the camp.

As spring approached, the pace of guerrilla warfare quickened. The Confederacy's year of high tide was at hand, and their irregular forces were never more active. When Company G marched out of New Creek in the late evening of April 21, 1863, Michael Joyce was with them. The oldest of these five Irishmen, he was then only thirty-three. Joyce had seemingly escaped the sieges of illness that had been the lot of the youngest, twenty-year-old King.[16]

By the next morning Captain Martin Wallace had his fifty-three–man force at Greenland Gap, where he appropriated a stout log church as a fortress. His men knocked the chinking from between the logs to admit rifles, and made the preparations necessary to barricade the doors and windows.

Several days passed without alarm, but late on the twenty-fifth a man rushed into camp to report the approach of a strong force of Confederates. Even so, it looked as if Company G would get off scot-free, for as the Confederates advanced, a company of the 14th West Virginia arrived to relieve the Illinoisans. But the good fortune didn't hold. As Wallace mustered his company for the march back to New Creek, the Rebels attacked like a whirlwind. There was nothing for the Illinoisans to do but rush for the church-fortress while the West Virginians took refuge in nearby log houses.

The Confederates made several charges in the gathering dusk, but the desperate Federals beat them back until 8:30 P.M., when the roof fell in, both literally and figuratively. While some of the attacking Confederates fired between the logs into the church, others clambered to the roof and set it afire. The game was up. Company G flung their arms into the fire and surrendered. Six wounded were carried

16. Extracts from company muster rolls and other records in the Illinois State Archives.

from the burning fortress, and two dead as well. One of the latter was Michael Joyce.[17]

In mid-June, the end of their first year in active Federal service, only two of the five galvanized Yankees were left. They were Michael Crane and Patrick King. Desertion and death by disease and wounds had taken the others. Life in the 23rd Illinois had been no sinecure, but perhaps to King the Federal service had indirectly brought more happiness than he had ever known. Thoughts of his Margaret and their unborn child across the river in Maryland must have brightened his lonely hours, even though the perils of the field were made more agonizing by the knowledge of his new responsibilities. But he was spared on the battlefield, and, for a change, illness passed him by. He grew anxious, however, as the year neared its end and Margaret's confinement drew close. A kind officer took pity on him and granted him leave so that when Mary King made her entry into the world on the day before Christmas, her proud father was at hand to greet her.[18] All too soon, however, he had to return to his regiment, for with a fine unconcern for wintry blasts and blessed events, the Rebels were abroad.

On January 28 a convoy of eighty Union wagons left New Creek bound for Petersburg, where the 23rd was on advanced duty. Before long a message arrived from Petersburg, urging the convoy to hurry: the 23rd was under heavy attack and needed reinforcement. But even this news was out of date. The convoy had just passed the Moorefield turnoff when it encountered the retreating 23rd at the hamlet of Medley. The doubled Federal force made a desperate stand for eighty minutes, but in the end gave way before Tom Rosser's Confederates. At the first fire the teamsters had precipitately abandoned their teams, and in a way this was fortunate, for the Rebels busied them-

17. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXV, Pt. 1, pp. 108-10.

18. The Record and Pension Office report merely notes that King was not present on Dec. 31, 1863; reason not stated. The supposition embodied above seems reasonable, however.

selves with the valuable train, thus allowing the defeated Federals to escape. During the desperate melee around Medley, Michael Crane was taken prisoner and again found himself surrounded by butternut.[19] It was a poor time to begin a second period of captivity because Union prisoners were now being taken to the new prison near Americus, Georgia, and the sandy-haired County Mayo emigrant was to become one of the first inmates of the soon-to-be-notorious stockade known as Andersonville.

The 23rd, meanwhile, had little time to mourn its losses. With the coming of spring the arduous duty along the B. & O. was ended, and the regiment was made a part of Franz Sigel's army for the reduction of the Shenandoah Valley. Like many of that General's plans, this one went awry. On May 15 the Federals were fought to a standstill at New Market, and Patrick King trudged with his comrades back down the valley in defeat. Grant then put David Hunter in command and sent the army back up the valley, this time to defeat at Lynchburg. Again there was a long march back, to a bivouac near Winchester. If things had been bad, they could get worse. Old Jubal Early was determined to demonstrate that the Confederacy was far from dead. On July 2, 1864, the Rebels, on the northward march that would bring them within view of the Capitol, struck the Federals at Winchester. James Mulligan commanded the small Federal force that attempted to bar Early's advance, and was left dying on the field. His troops, which included the 23rd Illinois, were badly battered and pushed back to Harpers Ferry and beyond.

Patrick King survived the battles that had punctured the reputations of Sigel and Hunter and claimed the life of Mulligan, but his health had broken again. By July 26 he was back at the Sandy Hook Hospital, debilitated and suffering from intermittent fever.[20]

Though Patrick King and the 23rd Illinois were ex-

19. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 29, 30.
20. Pension Office report.

periencing hard campaigning, twenty-seven–year–old Michael Crane was suffering another kind of hell at Andersonville. As summer approached, Crane's physical condition worsened. The compound was steadily becoming more crowded, and Sweetwater Creek that flowed through it had become a mockery of its name. Even worse was the meager fare. On a virtually unvaried diet of coarsely ground cornmeal, newly arrived prisoners quickly became emaciated and lethargic. Most to be feared was the appearance of diarrhea, which could drain the last spark of life from the human scarecrows. This misfortune overtook Michael Crane, and day by day he grew more feeble. There was a grim irony to his situation: he had been a Confederate soldier, which could be verified by the records. If the word were passed along to Major Henry Wirz, commandant of the prison, Crane would be freed from the living dead. But, alas, the reprieve would be short, for he had become a deserter when he enlisted in Federal service. The trip through the gate would lead to the firing squad. Between the certainty of death and the possibility of recovery from chronic diarrhea, Crane chose the latter. But he lost the gamble, and on June 2, 1864, the lifeless body of Michael Crane passed through the gate to the deadhouse at the outer stockade.[21]

King, too, came close to death that winter. Furloughed from the hospital on November 4, he was back by the sixteenth, suffering this time from bronchitis. Sheridan had long since laid waste the Shenandoah Valley and destroyed Early's army forever. When King was finally released on April 4, 1865, he hurried eastward to rejoin the 23rd, which was then a part of the noose being drawn inexorably tighter around the dying Army of Northern Virginia.

21. The writer is indebted to Superintendent Carl W. Schaller, Sr., of the Andersonville National Cemetery and Prison Park for information as to the cause of death of Michael Crane. He is buried in Grave No. 2329 in the National Cemetery, according to the muster roll in the Illinois State Archives.

In this fashion the last of these five galvanized Yankees finished his army career. Of the five, one had deserted, one was dead of disease and one of wounds, one a victim of privation in prison, and one – only one – was alive at war's end. In view of his record of illness Patrick King was the one who would have seemed the least likely to survive. He was discharged at Richmond on May 6 and returned to Margaret and baby Mary in Maryland. But now there was the matter of a livelihood for his family, and for this, fittingly enough, King turned to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Having helped protect it in war, he now helped operate it in peace.[22]

The years passed and King's family, living in Piedmont, West Virginia, grew larger until nine little Kings had come to grace the household. In 1880 Patrick King became a foreman and commuted daily from Piedmont to nearby Keyser, but his working days were due to be shortened. Quite likely, the same ill health that had been his lot during his army service led him to retire from the service of the B. & O. in July, 1898, at the early age of fifty-six.[23] But he still retained the vitality that had defied death thirty years earlier, and he was to live many years longer. A pension application of 1912 and a questionnaire of 1915 reveal that Margaret was dead and so were son James and daughter Bridget. The old home at Piedmont had apparently been broken up (probably after Margaret's death), and Patrick was then living in Cumberland, Maryland, where a number of his children resided. Early February, 1930, brought illness, perhaps a recurrence of the respiratory ailments that had plagued him before. Nearing his eighty-eighth birthday, he could fight no more. In the early hours of February 17, 1930, the life of Patrick King ebbed away.[24]

22. The exact date of his employment cannot be established.

23. This must remain surmise, since the railroad's personnel records are incomplete for this period. My thanks are due, however, to B. E. Euler, chief of the Personnel Record Bureau.

24. Obituary notice in the *Cumberland* (Md.) *Evening Times*.

Left unanswered are the questions about his early years and how many of his later associates knew he had served in the Confederate Army. Or did he let his life begin in June, 1862, when he arrived in New Creek with the 23rd Illinois? His pension application shows merely that he had been born in Ireland and had enlisted in Chicago. No prying into the years between. Since he resided in a border area, it is reasonable to assume that no mention of his Confederate service went beyond his home until it didn't matter any more.

From the record of these five galvanized Yankees of the 23rd Illinois one can draw no bold or far-reaching conclusions about the causes of defection in the Civil War. Neither can one make valid speculations about their performance. Yet, based on the meager facts that do exist, a few hypotheses can be drawn about these five with considerable confidence. Most likely, they arrived in the United States in 1846 or 1847 as boys ranging in age from four to sixteen. Conceivably, involvement in the abortive Young Ireland uprising of 1848 might have caused young Joyce (seventeen at the time) to flee his native land. The port of entry for most of these five was probably New Orleans, whence they and their families followed the rivers to Nashville or, in the case of Connor, to nearby McEwen.

Early in their lives they must have become aware of the paradoxical fact that while the United States welcomed immigrants collectively, it mistrusted or even despised them individually. The marginal occupations were therefore generally their lot. All five of the galvanized Yankees listed "laborer" as their occupation, but examination of the 1860 census records leads to the belief that "farmhand" might be a more descriptive term. Yet they took their Tennessee citizenship seriously and were voluntarily in Confederate uniform within a month of the outbreak of war.[25] Sig-

25. The 10th Tennessee was organized at Fort Henry in May, 1861.

nificantly, the 10th Tennessee was informally referred to as the "Irish Regiment,"[26] so the five defectors had no reason to feel isolated or outcast in the Confederate Army. Seven of the ten companies of the 10th Tennessee were raised in Nashville, but the regiment did not represent Irish sweepings of the city's streets. The reputation of the unit's first colonel, Adolphus Heiman, was far from tarnished by his association with the unit. Indeed, at the battles of Forts Henry and Donelson, Heiman was an acting brigade commander. The regiment's excellence was attested in a November report by G. A. Henry to Albert Sidney Johnston: "I now think from a personal inspection it [the 10th Tennessee] is one of the best regiments in the Tennessee line."[27] Johnston's report just prior to the disaster of the river forts echoed the sentiment that Heiman's regiment was well armed and drilled.[28] When Union General John A. McClernand made his ill-advised and premature attack upon Donelson up the valley of Indian Creek, the 10th Tennessee was one of the units that contributed to his repulse. So in reputation and performance the Irish Regiment was a well-regarded and effective unit of the Confederate Army.

Although it is reasonable to assume that the five men discussed above were "bad apples," typical of those to be found in any group, facts do not bear out this assumption. Patrick King had been first corporal of Company E – an indication of at least some military aptitude and zeal. But these five were not the only defectors in the 23rd Illinois. There were at least thirty-eight others, of whom thirty-one were from the 10th Tennessee. There may have been many more, but it is now virtually impossible to ascertain the exact number. When Colonel William Hoffman, commissary general of prisoners, learned in July, 1862, that the Camp Douglas guard regiments had spirited away some of his charges, he could only inform his superiors vaguely that "a

26. Cf. Tilghman's report of Feb. 12, 1862. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. VII, p. 144.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 496.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 131.

number of the prisoners enlisted in . . . the 23rd . . . and . . . 65th Illinois."[29] In the face of this wholesale defection, it does not seem reasonable to judge these five men as very special "bad apples."

How then can their defection be explained? The answer probably lies in the low esteem society granted the Irish immigrant. A society which scorned him generated only superficial loyalty in return. The amazing phenomenon is that there was any loyalty at all. These new citizens of the South responded voluntarily to the call to arms, acclimated themselves to army life (admittedly under the influence of military discipline), and fought capably in their first battle or battles. But in prison, without the influence of their officers and subjected to the rigors of confinement, it is understandable that they found justification for defection in their more basic loyalty of Irish nationality. Secure in a society that accepted them – their Irish comrades of the 23rd Illinois – the ex-Confederates could wear blue as if they had known no other color; they could march, fight, and die like any other American soldier.

29. *Ibid.,* Ser. II, Vol. IV, p. 223.

OTTO EISENSCHIML

The 55th Illinois at Shiloh

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REGIMENTAL HISTORIES of the Civil War era are likely to make tiresome reading. As a rule they are monotonous, inaccurate, badly written, and devoid of interest, except to those who are statistically inclined or personally concerned. There are exceptions, of course, and one of them, I dare say, is that of the 55th Illinois Volunteers. Although the regiment made a splendid showing throughout the war, the unique role it played on the first day at Shiloh, if nothing else, would justify a presentation of its record.

Elijah C. Lawrence, a junior officer of the regiment, in later years made the bold statement that at Shiloh, David Stuart's brigade, of which the 55th Illinois was the core, "saved the [Union] left," and did so "by a resistance almost unparalleled, aided by a combination of favorable accidents."[1] A tall statement this, yet really not quite tall enough, for it may well be argued that this regiment was not only instrumental in saving the Union left, but that it was a prime factor in saving Grant's entire army.

1. Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Massachusetts Commandery, *Civil War Papers* (Boston, 1900), II: 496. Cited hereafter as M.O.L.L. Also quoted in Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, *Eyewitness: The Civil War as We Lived It* [originally titled *The American Iliad*] (New York, 1956), 185.

Unfortunately, no regimental report of the 55th at Shiloh was ever made, nor was there one of its companion regiment, the 54th Ohio Zouaves.[2] As good luck would have it, however, the actions of these two regiments on April 6, 1862, may be pieced together from a brigade report, hastily written by its commander (who had been forced to retire before the fight ended), from various official Confederate reports, and from individual recollections of participants.

The commander of the brigade at Shiloh was David Stuart, colonel of the 55th. His previous career was somewhat out of the ordinary. His father had been an Indian trader and had accompanied the Lewis-Clark expedition as a scout in 1806.[3] He was remembered by his contemporaries as a man who accepted mishaps with intrepidity, a trait which his son apparently had inherited. David, a New Englander by birth, was given a good education in colleges at Utica, Oberlin, and Amherst, where he was graduated. Soon afterward he moved to Michigan and opened a law office. In 1852 he was elected to Congress, but after the expiration of his term decided that he needed wider horizons to gratify his ambition. Selecting Chicago as his next home, he began the practice of criminal law there in 1855. During the next five years he accumulated considerable wealth and became a prominent and popular socialite. Then his fortune took a sudden turn for the worse. He got involved in a nasty divorce suit, from which

2. The 54th Ohio had been recruited in and around Greene County in the southwest part of the state. A brief reference to it appeared in the *Xenia Republican* in 1908, mentioning only the number of casualties and stressing that none had been hit in the back.

The regimental monument on the Shiloh battlefield shows a handsome boy, no more than eighteen years old, in a calm but defiant pose, holding his musket with bayonet attached, facing the enemy.

See *Ohio at Shiloh, Report of the Commission* (Cincinnati, 1903) and *Official Roster of the Soldiers of Ohio in the War of the Rebellion* (Akron, 1887), Vol. V. Much of this information was supplied by Robert Younger of Dayton, Ohio.

3. T. M. Eddy, D.D., *The Patriotism of Illinois* (Chicago, 1865), I: 273. Dr. Eddy was editor of the periodical *The Christian Advocate*.

he emerged with a badly tainted reputation.[4] "The celebrated Burch divorce case," wrote Captain Lucien B. Crooker, "[was] the most notorious affair of its kind in the annals of Western jurisprudence. . . . To a man of Stuart's temperament and ambition the social results were terrible."[5] But Stuart was not the man to take this blow lying down. He resolved to redeem himself by raising and equipping a regiment for the incipient war with the South, hoping that he would lead it into battle and achieve everlasting glory. The governor of the state, however, bowing to the outraged protests of the press, the public, and the Chicago bar, refused his offer. Nothing daunted, Stuart appealed directly to the War Department. This time he volunteered to raise an entire brigade of 2,400 men on the French plan of three battalions to the regiment. The Secretary of War granted him authority to go through with this project, and the recruiting for the "Douglas Brigade" began. Later the Secretary changed his mind and instructed him to raise two regiments of one thousand men each,[6] but recruiting two thousand men proved a slower process than Stuart had anticipated, and he was ordered to complete one regiment as soon as enough recruits had been assembled, and then to

4. Stuart had been named as a corespondent by Isaac H. Burch, a prominent banker, in his suit for divorce. The nineteen-day trial was held in Naperville and resulted in a verdict in favor of Mrs. Burch. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Nov. 27, 1860. The magnitude of the case may be judged by the fact that Burch resisted the payment of alimony on the grounds that he had already spent "nearly $60,000 expenses and attorney's fees accruing on Mrs. Burch's side of the case." *Chicago Daily Tribune,* July 6, 1861.

5. *The Story of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War* (Clinton, Mass., 1887), 22. This history is a compilation of the recollections of several men, each of whom took a certain period in the story. The portion dealing with the Battle of Shiloh (p. 1 of the book) was written by former Capt. Lucien B. Crooker of Mendota, Ill., and is titled "From Chicago to Arkansas Post." This part includes a paper titled "A Section of a Battle," which he gave at the first reunion of the regiment, Oct. 31, 1884.

6. "David Stuart by his own energies and his own purse and talents, persistence and power, raised and put into the field the Douglas Brigade, consisting of two regiments of 1000 men each." *Ibid.; Chicago Daily Tribune,* Aug. 22, 1861.

fill the ranks of the second regiment as rapidly as possible.

One of his regiments, the 42nd Illinois Infantry, left for the front at an early date; the other, the 55th, was mustered in on October 31, 1861. It was the first complete unit to have been trained in Chicago's newly organized Camp Douglas.[7] Although generally spoken of as a Chicago regiment, Chicagoans in it were in the minority; many of the recruits had come from outlying counties, as far off as the northwestern corner of the state. These were sturdy men, who had been inured to danger and hardship in the Galena lead mines. Considerable prowess as soldiers could be expected of them, and this was destined to be demonstrated before long.

Stuart had no military training whatever, but he did possess brains, courage, a pleasing personality, and a stentorian voice, which, when applied in full strength, was said to carry farther than that of any other man the recruits had ever known. Unsophisticated as they were, they became greatly impressed by the strength of his vocal cords, and so, it was reported, a hopeful feeling prevailed among them that the walls of the Confederacy might be as vulnerable to the blare of a voice as had those of Jericho. Curiously, this naïve trust in their colonel's vocal powers was not misplaced, for his voice did prove a vital factor in the regiment's first and most important encounter.

Stuart desperately needed a lieutenant colonel to drill the recruits of his second regiment, of which he was appointed colonel. He was fortunate in finding him in Oscar Malmborg, an official of the Illinois Central Railroad who also functioned as the Swedish and Norwegian consul in Chicago. Born in Sweden, he had been graduated from the Military Academy at Stockholm after six years of study, which were followed by eight years of service in the engineer corps of the Swedish Army. To his regret he had not been able to acquire any fighting experience during that

7. "War Diary of Thaddeus H. Capron, 1861-1865," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XII (Oct., 1919): 330.

period, for Sweden then was at peace with the world. Restless and unhappy, he emigrated to the United States in time to enlist as a private for the Mexican War, where he served for twenty-one months. To his disgust, he was not sent to the front but, because of his special training, was assigned to the engineering department at Fort Brown on the Rio Grande.[8] In 1861 the governor of Illinois offered him a colonelcy, but he preferred to pair up with Stuart. His drilling was done strictly along European lines, and the biggest part of it was devoted to the formation of hollow squares, the time-honored defense used by continental infantry against cavalry attacks.[9] He was a hard taskmaster and not popular with the rank and file, who made fun of his heavy accent and deprecated his self-asserted military capacity. They ascribed his leaning toward hollow squares to "inordinate fear of cavalry" and called it "the height of absurdity." They scoffed that he tried to embody in his person "the combined martial genius of Gustave Adolphus and Charles XII, but in reality possessed only their infirmities and temper." One of them quipped sarcastically that Malmborg's "suppression" in garrison duty on the Rio Grande had been the reason that the Mexican War had lasted so long.[10] But Stuart had unbounded faith in him, and after the first day's combat even the scoffers conceded that their lieutenant colonel did have considerable tactical talent after all and that his European method of drilling was not without merit.

In December, 1861, the 55th was shipped to Benton Barracks in St. Louis, where it was attached to the 71st and 54th Ohio to make up the Second Brigade of Sherman's division. Stuart was appointed acting brigadier general, and Malmborg took over the command of the regiment. On January 12, 1862, the brigade left by boat for Paducah,

8. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Dec. 10, 1861, quoted in Crooker, "From Chicago to Arkansas Post," 35.

9. Eisenschiml and Newman, *Eyewitness*, 184.

10. Crooker, "From Chicago to Arkansas Post," 36.

Kentucky, which was reached after a difficult ten-day trip. It then marched to Columbus, Kentucky, in an expedition to make sure that the enemy had actually left the area, and on March 8 it embarked on a steamer and headed up the Tennessee River.

After disembarking at Pittsburg Landing the brigade marched about a mile inland, then turned south on the Hamburg Road, circling the heads of numerous gullies, until it reached a point some three miles out, where Locust Grove Creek crossed the road. There the men spent the night, and not far away, near the junction of the Hamburg and Purdy roads, they went into camp. To their right lay the 54th Ohio and beyond it the 71st Ohio. All three camps were located south of the Hamburg Road, about one and three-fourths miles by air and three miles by road from the landing. To the right of Stuart's brigade stretched an undefended terrain, about a mile long, at the end of which General Benjamin M. Prentiss's division had pitched its tents. Fully two miles separated the 55th from the remainder of the division and Sherman's headquarters.

As soon as the regiment was settled, Stuart called his noncommissioned officers together and made them a speech, the like of which probably has never been delivered by a commanding officer to his subordinates. "I am a man of somewhat damaged reputation, as you all well know," he told them, "and I came into the army solely to retrieve that reputation and I depend upon this regiment to do it."[11] It may be presumed that those present unanimously pledged their help.

The camp of the 55th, lying close to the Tennessee River bottoms, formed the extreme left of the army. It was pleasantly located in a peach orchard, whose surrounding scenery abounded in deep ravines, sparkling water, rugged bluffs, and beautiful foliage. One of the soldiers thought that as a health resort the camp was admirably situated,

11. *Ibid.*, 50.

but that its defensibility was atrocious,[12] because from the steep bluffs in front the enemy could throw shells into it at will. What made this possibility more of a menace was that the regiment's battery had been ordered to the rear on April 5, the day before the impending battle.[13] This order, which also extended to other regiments,[14] was never mentioned by Grant and Sherman, nor has the reason for it ever been divulged, although it put all troops affected thereby at a serious disadvantage.

The Battle of Shiloh opened on April 6 a few minutes after 5 A.M., but Stuart's men were only dimly aware of it. The shooting was a long way off, and they may have wondered if it would reach them at all, especially since Prentiss's division stood between them and the enemy, and had to be overcome before they would be involved in the struggle.

This delusion of security was soon rudely shattered. Early in the day General Prentiss was attacked, and at 7:30 A.M. he sent a messenger to Stuart, warning him to be on the lookout.[15] Stuart in turn alerted General John McArthur of Stephen Hurlbut's division, whose camp was the nearest to his own. McArthur sent Stuart the 41st Illinois and Stone's battery as support, but both got lost wandering through the woods,[16] and when they finally lined up next to the 71st Ohio, they could not have chosen a worse time and place.

Having been warned in time, the Union force was not surprised when at 10 A.M. two Confederate brigades, those of Generals James R. Chalmers and John K. Jackson, appeared on the bluffs opposite the camp. Since Stuart had

12. *Ibid.*, 69.
13. M.O.L.L., II: 490.
14. Otto Eisenschiml, *The Story of Shiloh* (Chicago, 1946), 21.
15. Stuart's report, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 257. Cited hereafter as *O.R.*
16. *Ibid.* See also Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard* (New York, 1884), Vol. I. Hurlbut's report does not mention this reinforcement.

no cavalry, he sent out four companies of the 54th Ohio to guard against being outflanked,[17] a maneuver which reduced his brigade to thirteen hundred men. They must have been awed by the vastly superior forces arrayed against them, for Chalmers's brigade consisted of the 5th, 7th, 9th, and 10th Mississippi and the 52nd Tennessee, and Jackson's of the 17th, 18th, and 19th Alabama and the 2nd Texas – together nine regiments totaling over 4,200 men. Moreover, the Confederate brigades were equipped with batteries of six guns each, and were supported by cavalry. These one-sided odds would have shaken even hardened veterans, let alone raw recruits who scarcely had yet mastered the proper handling of their weapons.

Skirmishing went on for some time, gradually increasing until at 11:30 A.M. the Confederates attacked in full force. Stuart had lined up his three regiments some distance in front of his camps on a ridge faced by a ravine,[18] but at the first salvo the 71st Ohio broke, its corpulent colonel, Rodney Mason, leading the regiment on horseback at gallop speed into temporary oblivion.[19] Adding to this calamity, their flight swept with it the 41st Illinois and Stone's battery, who had just arrived and had not yet found their footing. Like the 71st Ohio, neither unit was heard of again that day.[20] This left about 500 infantry of the 55th Illinois and 300 of the 54th Ohio to carry on the fight. On the Confederate side about 300 men of the 52nd Tennessee had fled during the skirmishing, so that the forces now stood at 3,900 men against 800. In view of this disparity in numbers and equipment the two Union regiments felt their courage ebbing, especially when the

17. Stuart's report, *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 258. Stuart erroneously stated that two of these companies were detached from the 55th Illinois.

18. M.O.L.L., II: 492-94, quoted in Eisenschiml and Newman, *Eyewitness,* 184.

19. A few months later Colonel Mason surrendered six companies of his regiment at Clarksville, Tenn., and was dismissed from the army. Crooker, "From Chicago to Arkansas Post," 96.

20. M.O.L.L., II: 492.

departure of one half of Stuart's force compelled him to change front to protect his denuded right flank. To execute, while under fire, the difficult command of "wheel to the left by company" was too much for raw troops, and they, too, now decided to seek safety in flight. When Stuart saw the heroic deeds he had envisioned go glimmering, he turned on his stentorian voice in full volume. "Halt, men, halt!" he thundered, "halt, you cowards!" His command, spiced with sulphurous invective, cut through the air like blasts from a giant trumpet, while he, his eyes blazing in fury, drove his horse among the fleeing horde and swung his sword like a medieval knight.[21] The men, more terrified by his voice and threats than by the enemy, froze in their tracks, then returned, shamefacedly, to the fight. The retreat had carried them back no more than five hundred yards.[22]

Hardly had this crisis been overcome when another took its place. A well-aimed bullet struck Stuart's shoulder, and although he did not retire to the landing at once, Malmborg took over the command. At this juncture the men again began to waver, and now it was Malmborg's European training which saved the situation. He called for a hollow square, which was speedily formed, and the men boldly stood their ground. The Southerners, who were about to press forward, looked on in amazement; they had never seen a hollow square, nor ever heard of it. "It's a Yankee trick," they whispered to each other and stopped. They suspected the presence of masked batteries, the bugaboo of both sides at the beginning of the war, or perhaps something even more mysterious and dreadful. When nothing unusual happened, they cautiously resumed their advance, whereupon Malmborg pulled back a short distance and selected his next stand. As soon as the graycoats came near, the order "form square!" sounded again. The attackers slowed down; they could not believe that such a small number of

21. *Ibid.*, 493-94; Crooker, "From Chicago to Arkansas Post," 106.
22. Eisenschiml and Newman, *Eyewitness,* 185.

men would resist so stubbornly unless they possessed some secret weapon. This cat-and-mouse game finally came to an end on the brink of a ravine, from where the Union troops kept up the unequal struggle until 2:15 P.M. By that time they were out of ammunition and ready to give up. But this was more easily said than done. The fragments of the brigade made a rush for the opposite side of the ravine, which was about a hundred feet deep and as many yards across. What happened then was graphically described by the historian of the 55th:

> Almost instantly the ground [we had] left was occupied by swarms of exultant and yelling rebels, who now, without danger to themselves, poured a shower of bullets down upon and among the fugitives. Major Whitfield of the Ninth Mississippi . . . [afterward] said, "We were right on top of you. It was like shooting into a flock of sheep."[23]

But this was not all, for to the fire of infantry was added grape and canister from a Rebel battery.[24] "Through this valley of death went the less than 'six hundred,' " clambering down one steep incline, and clambering up the opposite one. Missiles whirled about them like a cyclone, and it seemed a miracle that there were any survivors left. But some four hundred men did escape, and retreated toward the center of the battlefield. A few hundred yards placed them in comparative safety, for the enemy did not pursue them, giving as the reason that they were completely exhausted, had sustained fearful losses, and were short of ammunition.[25] Perhaps they had no stomach to renew the fight with these wildcats from Illinois and Ohio. But whatever the cause of their conduct, they did not advance. The four hundred men who were left formed a new line, defying with their bayonets a renewal of the attack. When none materialized, they turned into the Hamburg Road, and at about 3:00 P.M. reached the high ground near the landing.

23. Crooker, "From Chicago to Arkansas Post," 110.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*

All along the retreat of over two miles they did not meet a single organized body of Federal troops, which explains why they had received no support in additional men or ammunition.

Captain Lucien B. Crooker, who greatly disliked Malmborg, reluctantly gave him credit for stemming the Confederate onslaughts by his outlandish tactics, although praise and condemnation are strangely intermingled in what he wrote. "It was talked of at the time," he admitted, "and perhaps it was true, that the hollow square exhibition induced extra caution, it being so ridiculous that it was looked upon as a ruse to induce an attack. It was certainly calculated to deceive any one who was inclined to apply the rules of common sense to practical warfare."[26]

That the "Yankee trick" had been effective was confirmed by Confederate officers captured the next day, who related that they had been mortally afraid of the hollow squares. Repeatedly the commanding officer, when urged by those of lower grades to allow them to charge, replied, "No, you will get into a trap." But in the opinion of Stuart's men their most powerful secret weapon had been nothing but plain pluck.[27]

Confederate General Pierre G. T. Beauregard thought so too. Stuart, he wrote twenty-two years later, "made so obstinate a stand that he was not forced from the position until three times his numbers . . . were brought to bear against him."[28] Even the bitter-tongued Colonel William Preston Johnston, son of the commanding Confederate general, paid a handsome tribute to Stuart's brigade. "[It] retreated sullenly," he declared, "not routed, but badly hammered."[29] Corps Commander Braxton Bragg added his encomiums to those of his confreres. "Our right flank . . . had pressed forward ardently . . . ," he reported, "the

26. *Ibid.*, 109.
27. M.O.L.L., II: 495.
28. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1887), I: 588.
29. *Ibid.*, 559.

enemy, fighting hard and causing us to pay dearly for our successes. . . . His left . . . was his strongest ground and position, and was disputed with obstinacy."[30]

Perhaps the report of Captain Isadore P. Girardey, commanding Jackson's artillery, was the most impressive: "I placed four pieces of my battery fronting the enemy at a distance of about 100 yards, and two pieces flanking them on the right. We commenced firing with canister . . . with terrible effect, they resisting us with desperate valor."[31]

Beauregard's magnanimous compliment that it took a superiority of three to one to subdue Stuart's brigade, while correct at the start of the fight, was no longer true after the defection of the 71st Illinois and the partial stampede of the 52nd Tennessee. Then the proportion changed to nearly five to one, 3,900 against 800. After its last stand Stuart's brigade had shrunk to some 400 men. The exact loss of their opponents at this stage is not on record, and, being the attackers, they should have suffered heavier casualties, but they had the advantage of possessing artillery, which should have established a fairly even balance. Assuming therefore that the Confederates also lost 400 men, the same as Stuart's brigade, the proportion had risen to almost nine to one, 3,500 against 400. No wonder Stuart wrote in his official report that the enemy "could easily have overwhelmed us."[32]

One of his officers held the same opinion, but put it into stronger language. "The Confederates . . . claimed that their ammunition was exhausted," he wrote, "[but], of course, they could have overwhelmed us at any time, with or without ammunition, had they determined to do so."[33]

Contrary to their claims, it appears that the Confederates were not out of ammunition. Chalmers had replenished his

30. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 465.
31. *Ibid.*, 565.
32. *Ibid.*, 259.
33. Eisenschiml and Newman, *Eyewitness*, 185.

during a lull in the fight,[34] and Captain Girardey's gunners had helped themselves to ammunition they had found in Stuart's camp, even remarking on its superiority.[35] Whether Jackson's infantry did likewise was not reported by him, but had he been short, he probably would have mentioned it.

After their unmolested retreat in the early afternoon, the remainders of the 55th Illinois and 54th Ohio leisurely made their way to the landing, because they had no other place to go. After filling up with ammunition there, they rested, but not for long. As the afternoon wore on, the plateau above the landing became the center of a military turmoil. Hordes of Union soldiers, in full retreat, began to stream into the small clearing. Colonel Malmborg, realizing that a crisis was approaching, quickly formed the nucleus of a Federal defense force from the men of his own regiment and the 54th Ohio, the latter now strengthened by the return of the four companies which Stuart had sent on special duty in the morning. Some 150 men from the 71st Illinois also had found their way back. Together these 750 men absorbed the stragglers and made it easier for Malmborg to restore discipline among the panic-stricken fugitives, of which accomplishment Grant took due notice. "Grant, passing," one may read in Stuart's report, "ordered Colonel Malmborg to form a line near the batteries. . . . Through . . . [his] efforts a line of over 3,000 was formed."[36] Malmborg himself stated that he "rallied . . . a good portion of the thousands of stragglers, . . . detailed cannoneers," and that his "efforts were greatly facilitated by the appearance of General Grant," who warned him "that the enemy were then coming up the ravine in my front."[37]

That it was the remainder of Stuart's brigade which formed the backbone of Grant's last position was confirmed

34. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, p. 549.
35. *Ibid.*, 565.
36. *Ibid.*, 259.
37. Oscar Malmborg, *Military History of Oscar Malmborg* (privately printed, *ca.* 1868), 2. Cited hereafter as Malmborg.

by Beauregard, who reported that "two of Stuart's regiments" were at the landing in the late afternoon, "reinforced by numbers rallied from the broken commands."[38] It also is noteworthy that the 55th Illinois and 54th Ohio each furnished enough cannoneers to man one battery of Webster's defense line.

When the Confederates belatedly realized the importance of the landing, Jackson's and Chalmers's brigades were ordered to take it by storm. Curiously, the resistance they met came in part from the same two regiments they had met earlier in the day. This time, however, the conditions were reversed. The Federals were well supplied with ammunition and had an over-supply of artillery, while the two Confederate brigades, reduced to a total of eighteen hundred men, were short of ammunition, and their only remaining battery was smashed within a few minutes. Nevertheless, they tried bravely to take the landing with their bayonets, and might have succeeded had not the advance regiment of Buell's army made its appearance.

The 55th Illinois and the 54th Ohio had every right to be proud of their achievements; so did Colonel Stuart and Lieutenant Colonel Malmborg. If Stuart had not stopped the stampede and suppressed the impulse of his men to flee from a conflict which looked hopeless, Grant's left wing would have collapsed, and with it his chances for a final stand at the landing. After Stuart's departure from the field it was Malmborg who contributed largely to the successful resistance of the brigade by his quaint tactics; of course, so did the men in the ranks by their heroic fighting. Nevertheless, the survivors complained bitterly, if not quite rightfully, that they never received full credit from Sherman for their part in Grant's victory, and that all their division commander had written in his official report was this:

> Coloney Stuart was detached near two miles from my headquarters. He had to fight his own battle on Sunday, as the enemy

38. Roman, *General Beauregard,* 299.

interposed between him and Prentiss early in the day. Colonel Stuart was severely wounded, and yet reported for duty on Monday morning, but was compelled to leave during the day, when the command devolved upon Colonel T. Kilby Smith, Fifty-fourth Ohio, who was always in the thickest of the fight, and led the brigade handsomely.[39]

The men in the ranks claimed they had been shortchanged, and pulled no punches in criticizing Sherman's report: "A few general phrases only," wrote Captain Crooker twenty-five years afterward, "which lead up to a compliment for Colonels Stuart and Smith. Not one word of commendation for the two regiments which fought . . . for hours after the two brigades in his [Sherman's] presence had gone to pieces."[40] This was not wholly fair, because Sherman had preceded his report with these words:

> I have not yet received Colonel Stuart's report . . . and must therefore forebear to mention names. . . . Great credit is due the fragments of men of the disordered regiments who kept in the advance. I observed and noticed them, but until the brigadiers and colonels make their reports, I cannot venture to name individuals, but will in due season.[41]

The supplementary report never was written, though, and the dissatisfaction among the survivors of the 55th lingered. Captain Crooker kept repeating the old complaint that Sherman's report said simply that "Stuart was detached near two miles from his headquarters and had to fight his own battle."[42]

In support of his contention Crooker quoted "one writer" who said, "This brigade was doubly let alone, both by the commander of the army [Grant] and its division commander [Sherman]."[43] Sherman further distorted the picture, he

39. Crooker, "From Chicago to Arkansas Post," 87. Colonel Smith yielded the command of the brigade to Malmborg's more experienced hands, but later he did excellent service and was appointed brigadier general in 1863.
40. *Ibid.*, 88.
41. *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman, Written by Himself* (New York, 1891), I: 269.
42. Crooker, "From Chicago to Arkansas Post," 87-88.
43. *Ibid.*, 93.

said, by declaring that the purpose of Stuart's brigade had been to defend the crossing of Lick Creek.[44] The fact was that the brigade was stationed more than half a mile away from the crossing and had never received orders to defend anything.

"A result of this sin of omission," wrote Crooker in his account of the battle, "is that the general historians of the war are nearly silent as to the desperate struggle on the extreme left flank at Shiloh." Crooker was right in 1887, and unfortunately what he wrote then still holds good today. He came closer to the real cause of the neglect, about which he kept complaining, when he mused that the fame of the 55th was "never properly recorded," because "it had no one to blow its trumpet."[45] One reason, he thought, was that the regiment was not the pride of any one city, but had been recruited from all parts of Illinois; another was that its colonel had left Chicago under circumstances which made him decidedly unpopular, and this reflected on the entire regiment.[46]

The only recognition the 55th received was the inscription on the monument erected in its honor on the battlefield. But even these words are strictly factual and miss the salient point – that the 55th Illinois, together with part of the brave 54th Ohio Zouaves, saved Grant twice on that day. The first time was when they delayed two strong Confederate brigades for almost three hours, a resistance which had consequences far transcending anything they could have foreseen; for after Chalmers's and Jackson's brigades had disposed of Stuart, they had no specific orders about what was expected of them – only Beauregard's general order to move where the firing was heaviest. They turned, therefore, toward the Hornet's Nest. But if Stuart's brigade had fled at 11:30 A.M., the presence of the two Confederate brigades would not have been needed then at the Hornet's Nest. It

44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, 91.
46. *Ibid.*

The 55th Illinois Infantry monument at Shiloh, autumn, 1962. The inscription reads: "55th Infantry./ Lieut.-Col. Malmborg./ This position was assumed and defended from 11:30/ a. m., until about 2:00 p. m., April 6, 1862, when the/ regiment was withdrawn across the ravine, thence/ back to the last line at the landing. The regiment/ lost in the battle 51 men killed; 7 officers and/ 190 men wounded; 27 men missing; total 275."

Photo courtesy Bernard T. Campbell,
Superintendent Shiloh National Military Park

is therefore reasonable to assume that they, too, would have marched to Pittsburg Landing since, like their recent opponents, there was no other place for them to go. They could easily have reached the landing by 1:00 P.M. At that time it was devoid of defenders and would have fallen an easy prey to them, together with Grant's base of supplies and line of communication.

The second time the 55th Illinois and 54th Ohio distinguished themselves was by forming the nucleus of the troops which stopped the last Confederate onslaught in the evening. They were a small group, but fighters from the word go, and probably the one which had best preserved its discipline and fighting spirit. They naturally became a

rallying point for all stragglers. A press agent pleading their case might very well have made them famous as "The Rocks of Shiloh."

The story of the 55th Illinois would not be complete without an epilogue.

Stuart recovered from his wound and, although still a colonel, advanced to the position of acting division commander. Then Grant appointed him brigadier general, a position he had filled from the very beginning. The Senate, however, failed to confirm the appointment because of the old scandal in Chicago, which was still being exploited by Stuart's enemies. Angered by this lack of fairness, the usually placid Grant bestowed on him an extraordinary honor. In a special order issued on April 2, 1863, he hit back at the Washington politicians, something he had never before done in his military career. He declared:

> The Senate having adjourned without confirming the appointment of Brig. Gen. David Stuart, made by the President, he is hereby relieved from the command of the Fifth Division, Army of the Tennessee. . . . The General commanding deems it but justice to a brave, intelligent, and patriotic officer to express his deep regret at the loss to the country of his valuable services in the field, where, by meritorious action, he won the right to the position the favor of the President had conferred.[47]

Stuart, distressed and humiliated, resigned from the army, but never again returned to Chicago. Instead he settled in New Orleans, where he practiced law until his death, which occurred shortly after the end of the war.[48]

Malmborg became a full colonel on December 19, 1862, and was wounded at Vicksburg by a slanting bullet, which impaired the sight of his right eye. Before engaging in the Atlanta campaign, Sherman appointed him chief engineer of the 17th Corps, but after the fall of the Georgia city Malmborg resigned. He soon returned to the service, though.

47. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. LII, Pt. 1, p. 346.
48. *Memoirs of Sherman*, I: 341-42.

In January, 1865, he accepted a colonelcy in the 1st Veteran Army Corps, but his eye evidently had been permanently injured; he resigned on May 30, 1865, and a few years later he received a pension.[49]

The 55th Illinois remained with Sherman as a fighting unit throughout the war. It took part in almost all of his campaigns and battles on the western front, and became known as "Sherman's 'pet lambs,' "[50] supposedly because it followed Sherman wherever he went, as the little lamb is said to have followed Mary. But Sherman knew that its men fought not like lambs but like lions, and showed his appreciation in a peculiar manner: he put them in where the chances of success were close to zero — into the suicidal attempt to take Chickasaw Bluffs, the hopeless assault against Vicksburg, and the foredoomed attack on Kenesaw Mountain. During the latter engagement the 55th shone once more, and for the last time. Only a few men from two Union regiments reached the Confederate trenches, where they presumably were killed,[51] but Stuart would have been proud to know that one of the regiments was his old 55th Illinois. After that the regiment had no further chance to distinguish itself as outstandingly as it had one on that memorable day at Shiloh, when "by a resistance almost unparalleled" it had done more than its share in saving the Union Army.

49. Malmborg, 10, 11.
50. Eisenschiml and Newman, *Eyewitness,* 184.
51. Richard McMurry, "The Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," *Georgia Magazine,* February-March, 1962, p. 27. Civil War sources generally spell the name of the mountain with one "n," though the double "n" spelling is now commonly used.

JOHN N. DICKINSON

The Civil War Years Of John Alexander Logan

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THE CITIZENS of Marion, Williamson County, Illinois, did not realize it that hot August 19, 1861, but they had witnessed a notable chapter in the history of southern Illinois and of the Civil War. John Alexander Logan, Democratic congressman from Egypt, had declared for war before an excited crowd. With his jet black hair and swarthy complexion gleaming in the sun, Logan said: "I, for one, shall stand or fall for this Union. . . . I want as many of you as will to come with me. If you say 'No,' and see that your best interests lie . . . in another direction, may God protect you." Before the day had ended, the people of Marion saw the creation of what was to become Company A of the 31st Illinois Infantry.[1]

From his seat in Congress, Logan had previously urged compromise with the seceding states and had exchanged bitter words with the late Senator Stephen A. Douglas. It was not until secession had become an absolute reality and Logan had exchanged shots with Confederate infantry, at Blackburn's Ford on July 19, that he made up his mind. "I was in the fighting for four hours," he wrote his wife,

1. Mary Logan, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife: An Autobiography* (New York, 1913), 96-99.

adding that he was determined to remove "the stain upon our family."[2] The stain he referred to was the public reports of his disloyalty.

The counties of Egypt responded to Logan's appeal, and by the end of August a regiment, untrained and armed with Belgian muskets of dubious reliability, responded to the call of Governor Richard Yates. The officers elected Logan colonel, and the regiment moved to Cairo on Sunday, September 1, 1861, with tearful goodbyes and martial music ringing in their ears. Once in Cairo, five hundred of the warriors promptly came down with measles.[3]

Congressman John A. McClernand of Illinois soon arrived with his new general's star to take command of the 1st Brigade, which included the 22nd, 27th, and 30th infantry regiments as well as Logan's 31st. Both men were in the command assigned to Ulysses S. Grant.[4] By November 1, 1861, Grant had more than twenty thousand men, all partially drilled; and he decided to attack the Confederate positions at Belmont, Missouri. In the brief action of November 7 at Belmont, Logan's men stood up to their first test with considerable success until the Confederates abandoned their camp under the Union barrage. The men then halted their attack and commenced hunting trophies, permitting the Confederates to slip away. Clearly, more work was needed before Grant could begin major operations along the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. In the course of preparations McClernand was advanced to division commander and celebrated his promotion with a petulant letter to Logan on the subject of jealousy of professional officers. Richard Oglesby assumed command of

2. *Ibid.*; John A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy: Its Origin and History* (New York, 1886), 265; John Logan to Mary Logan, July 20, 25, 1861, Logan Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

3. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Sept. 16, 1861; *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), Aug. 31, 1861; Mary Logan, *Reminiscences,* 109.

4. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 277 (cited hereafter as *O. R.*); for Grant's opinion of McClernand and Logan at this time see his *Personal Memoirs* (New York, 1895), I: 196-97.

the 1st Brigade as Grant headed his force toward Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River.[5]

February 6, 1862, was a day of glory for the navy as the guns of the river fleet reduced Fort Henry without the aid of the army. Logan's regiment arrived as the last of the gray infantry scurried out of sight toward Fort Donelson, less than ten miles east, on the Cumberland. Six days later Grant followed.[6]

Meanwhile, a serious defect had appeared in Grant's plan to envelop that fort. He intended to draw a curtain of infantry across the land side of the fort – but to be effective, a curtain must be broad enough to cover the window completely. McClernand led his division *almost* all the way around the enemy fortifications, and Charles Smith's division followed. But there was an opening of several hundred yards to the right of McClernand, and the General did not dare move on to fill it for fear of rendering his line dangerously thin in the middle. It was to McClernand's credit that he recognized the danger in the situation and notified Grant, who ordered a brigade of Illinois infantry under Colonel John McArthur into the gap beyond McClernand. But no one bothered to make sure that the brigade took its proper place.[7]

Freezing rain and sleet made the night of February 14 a miserable one for Logan and his men. Sleep was impossible. Oglesby's brigade (including Logan's regiment) formed the advanced part of Grant's curtain, and Logan knew that his regiment was fourth in line from the end. Somewhere in the dark the 18th Illinois held the end of the brigade's line. McArthur's brigade was supposed to be on guard beyond the 18th, but it did not reach the area until after nightfall. For the second successive night, therefore, the 18th stood to arms.

5. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 287-89, 294; Grant, *Memoirs*, I: 222-26; McClernand to Logan, Jan. 8, 1862, Logan MSS.

6. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. VII, pp. 123, 130; Grant, *Memoirs*, I: 244.

7. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. VII, p. 174.

Shortly before 6 A.M. on February 15 the Confederates made a desperate bid. Logan's men formed battle order in less than ten minutes even as grape and canister took their first toll. For an hour the musket firing was severe. Then suddenly the Confederates charged, and musket balls accompanied by triumphant shouts poured in from the right as well as from the front. McArthur absorbed the first assault but then pulled his brigade out of line without notifying Oglesby. The Illinois men found themselves in serious danger as a result. The Confederates turned their blows on the 18th Illinois, the end regiment of Oglesby's line, and attacked on two fronts. The 18th held firm for an hour before it finally withdrew from the field, its senior officers dead or wounded. Further disaster struck as a Kentucky regiment, hurrying forward in reinforcement, fired into the backs of the 8th and 29th Illinois. This was too much for the men, who naturally assumed that the enemy was in the rear. They fled from the field, taking the 30th Illinois with them.

Oglesby thus had only one regiment of his brigade left on the field, Logan's 31st Illinois. Oglesby desperately rode up to Logan through a torrent of musket balls and ordered him to draw back the companies of his right flank so as to form the letter "L" with his regiment, and try to stand until help arrived. This maneuver, the refusing of a flank, is one of the most difficult for troops to accomplish while under fire. The woods and dense thickets in front of Fort Donelson increased the hazard. Logan spurred forward to shout the necessary orders to his company commanders, but the gray infantry, sensing victory, redoubled its fire. As the 31st made its slow right pivot, something slammed into Logan's left shoulder; another blow hit his pistol, bruising his ribs. Willing hands helped the badly wounded Colonel from his horse, but he refused to leave the field.

Finally the promised help arrived: a brigade of Lew

Wallace's division which Oglesby had found and hurried into action. The Union right flank was secured. Oglesby ordered the 31st Illinois to retire from the action, for its ammunition was now exhausted. Before he would have his wounds dressed, Logan watched his Egyptians march away from the battle.[8]

One Confederate ball had lodged deep in Logan's shoulder muscles and another had struck the pistol in his belt, injuring his ribs. Both wounds were painful, but the former was more serious. Grant ordered him carried aboard his own riverboat for careful attention; it was clear that Logan would be out of action for some time.

The Colonel was taken to Cairo, where he endured many long and painful days of recuperation, even with the skillful nursing of his wife, who had hurried to his side. Complete recovery took months, and he missed the Battle of Shiloh. When news arrived from Washington that the Senate had confirmed his promotion to brigadier general, Logan resigned his seat in the House and abandoned the notion – shared with McClernand and others – that he could fight nine months of the year and legislate the other three. Upon the promotion of McClernand to corps commander, General Henry W. Halleck assigned Logan to the command of the 3rd Division on May 2, 1862. But Logan was unable, physically, to take command of the division and was forced to turn over even the command of his brigade to the senior colonel. Perhaps this was fortunate. Logan needed an opportunity to learn the job of brigade commander before going on to greater responsibility. Later that month, however, he returned to the brigade command and joined the snail-paced advance directed in person by Halleck. His brigade saw little action and had suffered only one casualty when Corinth was occupied on May 30.[9]

8. *Ibid.*, 186, 251, 177.

9. Mary Logan, *Reminiscences,* 123-27; *Illinois State Register,* April 7, 1862; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 1, pp. 758-59; William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of William T. Sherman* (New York, 1875), I: 252.

After the capture of Corinth, Logan's chores were easy and in keeping with the state of his health. Grant ordered him to guard the railroad from Corinth to Jackson, Tennessee, and to rebuild it from Jackson to Columbus, Kentucky. This proved to be a pleasant assignment that lasted for the balance of 1862. Mary Logan joined him, and they spent the winter of 1862-1863 in the comfort of the magnificent Lanier home on the outskirts of Memphis, Tennessee. In January, 1863, while Grant wandered over the swamps and bayous above Vicksburg, Logan's wounds again made it necessary for him to be confined to his quarters in Memphis for nearly a month.[10]

Finally he felt well enough to go into action, and on March 13 he received his commission as major general of volunteers, along with orders to assume command of the 3rd Division of General James B. McPherson's corps. The commission was dated from November 29, 1862. Logan bade his wife farewell and headed toward Lake Providence, Louisiana, and Grant's army.[11]

Grant then controlled the right bank of the Mississippi River, but he needed boats below Vicksburg, still in Confederate hands, to move the army and supplies safely across. Logan arrived to assume command of his division just as Grant decided to risk running the Union fleet by the Vicksburg river batteries. The daring venture succeeded on April 16. Nine days later McPherson's corps, with Logan's division, left camp to begin the 1863 campaign in earnest.

In a punishing march down the right bank of the Mississippi the division covered seventy miles in five days. Both McPherson and Logan recorded that heavy rains had made the roads across the rich alluvial bottoms on the Louisiana side almost impassable. Double teams hauled artillery and supply trains through the muck. Logan's engineer, S. R. Tresilian, performed miracles on the march, as did Peter

10. Byron Andrews, *A Biography of General John A. Logan* (New York, 1891), 418; Mary Logan, *Reminiscences,* 130-31.

11. Andrews, *Biography of Logan,* 417.

C. Hains of McPherson's staff – for which Grant expressed his admiration.

Not all of Logan's men made the march. Grant had realized that the supplies carried by the fleet on April 16 would not be sufficient, and he decided to send a second flotilla past Vicksburg. Here he faced a new problem. Six steamers were available, but four of their civilian captains and five of their crews refused to take the risk. Grant therefore called for volunteers, and most of those who answered the call came from Logan's division. Thus, on April 22, six steamers moved past Vicksburg, four commanded and five manned by Logan's men. Each steamer towed two barges of badly needed supplies. The troops were reunited at Bruinsburg, Mississippi, where the rest of the division crossed the river. No doubt the men of "Logan's Navy" amused their friends by pointing out the advantages that a leisurely river cruise held over a march of seventy miles.[12]

Serious fighting began almost as soon as the first troops crossed the Mississippi. McClernand stumbled into Confederate resistance on May 1, when Sherman's corps was still marching down the right bank of the river. A small force of Southerners under Brigadier General John Bowen attempted to contest the Union crossing and prevent the capture of Port Gibson. Logan pushed his two leading brigades forward to help McClernand. One of these brigades (which included Logan's old 31st Illinois) executed a brilliant front-changing movement to strike the Confederate position on its flank. After two hours of vicious fighting the Confederates withdrew from the field. They had inflicted over 800 casualties on McClernand's forces and almost 50 on Logan's. In a way, this battle was the entire Vicksburg campaign in microcosm. Because of the rapid movements of Grant and the failure of the Confederate high command, the Southerners were never able to

12. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 47, 634, 643; Grant, *Memoirs*, I: 389, 392-93; Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War* (New York, 1895), 38.

present anything near their full available force in battle at any one time.[13]

Grant had every need for haste. He had abandoned his supply line in spite of the vigorous protest of Sherman, who, in 1863, did not think that a war should be fought that way. It would be necessary to strike Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's army at Jackson, Mississippi, before attacking Vicksburg, to prevent Johnston from reinforcing the troops there. Accordingly, Grant pushed McPherson's corps toward Raymond on the road to Jackson. On May 13 the Confederates again foolishly contested the advance with an inferior force. Logan's brigades pushed them aside after a three-hour battle. Ravines and dense undergrowth prevented the effective use of artillery or flanking tactics, and Logan's men were forced to resort to brutal frontal attacks. They suffered over 400 casualties. Confederate General John Gregg reported losses of over 500.[14]

A correspondent for the *Cincinnati Commercial* wrote, "We fought them [the Confederates] with General Logan's division, of McPherson's army corps, between five and six thousand strong. . . . forces were very nearly equal – the rebels having the great advantage of position. . . . General Logan was, as usual, full of zeal, and intoxicated with enthusiasm. His horse was shot twice. If you ever hear that Logan was defeated, make up your mind that he and most of his men have been sacrificed."[15]

The Battle of Raymond was Logan's; the Battle of Jackson, Sherman's – with McPherson's corps in reserve. At sunset on May 14 Sherman's men raised their flag over the capital of Mississippi, and Grant could turn his atten-

13. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 633-34, 643-44, 661-62; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1909), VII: 171-72.

14. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 637, 645-46, 705, 739; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln,* VII: 177-78.

15. Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (New York, 1862-1868), VI: 613 (Doc.). Sylvanus Cadwallader, *Three Years with Grant* (Benjamin Thomas, ed., New York, 1955), 68, described the equally gallant stand of the Confederates.

General John A. Logan — this is one of the few pictures ever made of him with a full beard; usually he wore only a walrus mustache.

tion to Vicksburg and its defender, General J. C. Pemberton. On the morning of May 16 Logan set out in rare good spirits, expecting to have the honor of opening the battle. Correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader rode with him at the head of the division. After two hours of marching they reached a road merging obliquely into their own. It was crowded with Union soldiers. To Logan's disgust Hovey's division of McClernand's corps was already on the road, and Logan would have to wait. Cadwallader reported that he had rarely witnessed such an exhibition of rage, profanity, and disappointment as Logan then gave — the air was blue with oaths and curses.[16]

Hovey shortly ran into Pemberton's army on Champion's Hill and deployed for battle. McPherson, in personal command of the field, sent two of Logan's brigades to the right

16. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, p. 260; Cadwallader, *Three Years with Grant*, 76-77.

of Hovey and ordered the third, Stephenson's, to execute a front-change movement against the Confederate left flank. When Pemberton discovered that his flank was in danger, he ordered a general assault on Hovey's line. For several hours the issue was in doubt, but the arrival of two more of McClernand's divisions ended Southern hopes. In desperation Pemberton ordered General W. W. Loring to cover the retreat with his division while the other two divisions headed back to the fortifications at Vicksburg.

The day's work was not yet ended, however. Loring, who had been holding back Stephenson for four hours, found himself cut off from the line of retreat to Vicksburg. With Hovey and Logan's divisions exhausted and McClernand chasing Pemberton, Loring made an almost incredible escape by marching southeast *behind* the entire Union army. He joined Johnston two days later. A major error, shared by McPherson and Logan, had made the escape possible; for had Logan retained contact with Loring, the latter would have been captured. But Pemberton could find little comfort in the success of the maneuver. The Battle of Champion's Hill reduced his army by one division, and he could no longer risk fighting in the open. Grant was well satisfied, and Hovey counted the price of being in the advance. He lost 1,202 men to Logan's 407.[17]

In the evening Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana rode out to Logan's camp with Colonel John A. Rawlins of Grant's staff. They found the Egyptian in a rare state. He was convinced that the day was lost, and no amount of friendly argument from Dana and Rawlins could change his mind. Dana later recorded: "I found afterward that this was simply a curious idiosyncrasy of Logan's. In the beginning of a fight he was one of the bravest men that could be, saw no danger, went on fighting until after

17. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 640, 648; *ibid.,* Pt. 2, pp. 77-79; Grant, *Memoirs,* I: 434; S. M Bowman and R. B. Irwin, *Sherman and His Campaigns* (New York, 1865), 110; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln,* VII: 190-91.

the battle was over. Then, after the battle was won, his mind gained an immovable conviction that it was lost."[18]

Grant completed the investment of Vicksburg by May 19, with McClernand's corps to the southeast, McPherson's to the east, and Sherman's to the north; and he determined to launch a general assault on May 22. Grant had good reason to hope for success. He had won each of the five battles of the campaign without using more than half of his army at any one time. Now he could use his full force. By noon of May 22 each corps had gained limited objectives in the Confederate works after two hours of fighting. They could go no farther. At McClernand's insistence Grant reluctantly committed his reserves and ordered Sherman and McPherson to renew the bloody contest. Logan hurled his brigades forward. But McClernand's predictions of victory were not to be realized, and additional hundreds of lives were needlessly sacrificed. McPherson's corps lost over 1,000 men, of whom 359 were Logan's soldiers. Grant ordered the army back to its original position. He also ordered McClernand back to *his* original position – Illinois – when McClernand issued a vainglorious statement to the press. Very few of the officers were sorry to see McClernand go after the bloodbath of May 22. Major General E. O. C. Ord assumed command of the 13th Corps.[19]

The siege of Vicksburg then began in earnest. The arrival of four full divisions as reinforcements gave Grant the assurance that he need fear Johnston no longer. Indeed, this Confederate officer did advance his forces toward Grant's rear, but after a study of the Union lines he prudently retired. Gradually Grant's lines converged on Pemberton. A mine explosion and an attack by Leggett's brigade of Logan's division failed to crack the Confederate defenses. In the fighting in the mine crater Colonel John D. Rees, commanding Logan's old 31st Regiment, fell mortally

18. Dana, *Recollections,* 53-54.

19. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 154-65; Sherman, *Memoirs,* I: 326-27; Grant, *Memoirs,* I: 444.

wounded. Counting Logan, Rees was the fifth consecutive commander of the Egyptian regiment to die or receive serious wounds.[20]

Pemberton surrendered on July 4; and before moving out, Grant decided that one Union division should occupy Vicksburg. He designated Logan and his men for the honor. Of all the Union troops they had approached the closest to the citadel during the fighting, and the flag of the 45th Illinois soon flew over the city. Grant also announced that Logan was to become the military governor of Vicksburg. Thus the Egyptian's share of the war in 1863 came to a glorious conclusion.[21]

With his division settled in Vicksburg, Logan applied for, and was granted, leave to visit Illinois. As a war hero he was in great demand as a speaker at public affairs. Illinois politicians were no doubt curious to see if the war had brought about changes in the Logan political philosophy. He soon answered their questions. At Du Quoin, Perry County, on July 31, Logan launched a savage attack against the national and state Democrats. Again and again he equated opposition to the administration with Jefferson Davis's treason. Illinois Republicans grasped the opportunity immediately. State Auditor Jesse K. Dubois rushed a wire to President Lincoln requesting extended leave for Logan to participate in the election campaign. The wire reached Secretary Edwin Stanton's desk with the notation, "Sec. of War, Please give Gen. Logan the extended leave asked for, unless you know of a good reason to the contrary. [Signed] A. Lincoln."[22] Day after day Logan stumped through Illinois repeating his Du Quoin speech

20. Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations* (New York, 1874), 194-97; Grant, *Memoirs,* I: 460-61; *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 293-94, 168.

21. Grant, *Memoirs,* I: 472.

22. John A. Logan, *Speech of Major General John A. Logan on Return to Illinois after the Capture of Vicksburg* (Cincinnati, 1863), 11, 17, 26; Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), VI: 382-83; *Illinois State Journal,* Aug. 1, 1863.

with minor variations. And the Republicans carried the state in November.

After the election Logan returned to the army under the impression that he had been awarded the command of a corps. He bade farewell to the men of the 3rd Division on November 13, with the words, "Remember the bleaching bones of your comrades . . . and swear by these imperishable memories never, while life remains, to prove recreant to the trust high heaven has confided to your charge." But because of War Department confusion Logan was forced to wait three months for his new command, and he missed the great victory at Chattanooga in February, 1864. Finally, on March 4, with Grant in command of all armies, Sherman assigned Logan to the command of the 15th Corps at Huntsville, Alabama. Once again the Egyptian would fight under McPherson.[23]

In the last week of March, 1864, Sherman made an inspection tour of his forces which were aimed at Joseph E. Johnston and Atlanta, Georgia. McPherson, with the Army of the Tennessee, waited at Huntsville; Thomas and the Army of the Cumberland, at Chattanooga; and Schofield and the Army of the Ohio, at Knoxville. Johnston – entrenched at Dalton, Georgia, thirty miles from Chattanooga – waited the onslaught. Sherman ordered his generals to be ready to move by May 1. He intended to throw 100,000 men, including Logan's 13,315, against Johnston's 60,000.[24]

Sherman had no intention of making a direct assault on Johnston's lines in front of Dalton. He knew all too well the fighting abilities of Confederate troops in fortified positions. Rather, he ordered McPherson to march around Johnston's left flank and hold the railroad in the rear of Dalton. He directed Schofield and Thomas to follow Johnston should he retreat. They must not attack Johnston's fortifications. By May 9 McPherson's army had reached

23. Moore, ed., *Rebellion Record,* VIII: 7 (Diary), 18 (Diary); Sherman, *Memoirs,* I: 387.

24. *Ibid.,* II: 7-9, 15, 19.

a point two miles from Resaca, Georgia, and Johnston's railroad. Here McPherson erred, for he ordered Logan back to a defensive position at the intersection of the Dalton, Rome, and Resaca roads.[25]

Johnston, realizing the danger of his position, abandoned Dalton on May 11, and moved his army back along the railroad while Schofield and Thomas followed. By May 14 the Confederates again occupied a fortified position, and again McPherson moved on a flanking operation. Logan, in the van, observed the railroad bridge crossing the Oostenaula River southeast of Resaca. If he could drive the Confederates from Camp Creek hills commanding the bridge, the rest of the army might be able to take the bridge itself. The Egyptian threw the brigades of Generals Charles H. Woods and Giles A. Smith forward in a double line against vicious, destructive fire from the Camp Creek hills. The advance to the hills took the Union troops through one third of a mile of marshy bottom, "nearly clear of standing timber, but full of fallen tree trunks and thickets, and intersected with miry sloughs." By seven in the evening of May 14 Logan's men reached their objectives, only to be met by furious counterattacks. Logan pushed General Joseph A. J. Lightburn's brigade forward to the right of Smith's position, where the Confederates threatened to flank the Union troops. Darkness descended over the embattled hills; and McPherson, guided by the flames of musket fire, fed Logan reinforcements from the 16th Corps. By 10 P.M. the last of the enemy had retired from the field, broken and disheartened. Logan lost 628 men in the battle; Johnston lost Resaca. With the railroad bridge in dire peril, the Confederate commander ordered another retreat.[26]

25. *Ibid.*, 32-34; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 3, pp. 90-91. Sherman contended that if McPherson had pushed Logan into Resaca and reinforced him, Johnston might have been destroyed.

26. Sherman, *Memoirs*, II: 35-36; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 3, pp. 32, 93-94; Moore, ed., *Rebellion Record*, XI: 34 (Doc.).

Men of the Union Army rapidly assumed the airs of conquerors as they observed Johnston twice abandon well-fortified positions without a major battle. Sherman's tactics were simple and devastating. McPherson with 25,000 men could move rapidly against Johnston's communication line with enough force to sustain battle until the other two armies could arrive to help. In the long advance McPherson invariably used Logan's 15th Corps as the "swing" detachment, the one farthest on the flank of the enemy. Logan held a position of trust, honor, and danger. He fought as the end man on Sherman's "crack the whip" line. With no serious battle Sherman's men pushed the Confederates from strong positions at Dalton, Resaca, Cassville, Allatoona, and Dallas. General Frank Blair and his entire 17th Corps arrived, ready for battle, on June 8, bringing the Army of the Tennessee up to full strength for the first time. These veterans had enjoyed reenlistment furloughs and joined McPherson as the Union forces approached the ominous shadows of Georgia's Kenesaw Mountain.[27]

Once again Johnston had selected a powerful defensive position. With Kenesaw and Little Kenesaw mountains in the center of the line, the Confederate flanks were well drawn back to protect Marietta and the railroad. Sherman felt that he had little choice but to attack the fortifications, an operation carefully avoided up to that time. He set June 27 as the date and directed Thomas to take Kenesaw Mountain, and McPherson to attack Little Kenesaw. Again the burden of McPherson's attack fell on Logan, who selected Morgan L. Smith's division and Charles Walcutt's brigade to make the assault. At 8 A.M. on June 27 Logan's men left their works to face the destructive fire of twelve guns throwing canister and shell. Concentrated musket fire from the fortifications added to the hazard. Never-

27. Sherman, *Memoirs,* II: 46, 51. The Army of the Tennessee now consisted of Logan's 15th Corps, Grenville Dodge's 16th, and Blair's 17th — about 45,000 men in all.

theless, Smith's division captured the first two lines of the Confederate defenses.

Further advance was impossible. A steep declivity of rock twenty-five feet high stood in the way. Field officers estimated that it would take two hours to get the division over the obstacle even *without* enemy opposition. Reluctantly Logan ordered his men to return to the last line of captured works. There they dug in and hurled back a Confederate counterattack. Logan soon discovered that Thomas had fared no better. The Army of the Cumberland lost nearly 2,000 men on the slopes of Kenesaw, and Logan lost 603 at Little Kenesaw.[28]

Convinced of the futility of frontal attacks, Sherman decided to abandon his own rail communications and to sweep around the Confederate positions. Thomas objected, since the move might separate the army from the railroad for at least ten days. Sherman overruled him and sent McPherson on another whip-cracking march. Johnston read the signs and abandoned Kenesaw and Marietta on July 2. By July 5 Sherman could see the houses of Atlanta nine miles distant.

Confederate General John B. Hood, the successor to Johnston in the defense of Atlanta, laid his plans well, up to a point. He ordered General William J. Hardee to swing his corps around McPherson's flank in the direction of Decatur and then turn back to hit McPherson in the rear. He directed Benjamin F. Cheatham to advance his corps directly at McPherson as soon as the latter became engaged with Hardee. Finally Hood ordered General A. P. Stewart to keep Schofield and Thomas too busy to help McPherson. In later years Frank Blair said the plan was "a bold and a very brilliant one and was very nearly successful." Hood scheduled the attack for July 22.

28. John M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer* (Cincinnati, 1901), 205-6; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 3, pp. 36, 85, 99; Johnston, *Narrative*, 342-43; Moore, ed., *Rebellion Record*, XI: 225 (Doc.); Sherman, *Memoirs*, II: 60-61.

When three armies converge upon a single city, as the Union forces did upon Atlanta, the front shortens and someone is forced out of line. In this case Grenville Dodge's corps stayed behind while Logan and Blair pushed forward. To Hood's great misfortune Dodge arrived at a point near Blair's rear just as Hardee opened the battle.

At 10 A.M. Sherman and McPherson stood behind Hardee's army discussing Hood's characteristics, as many of the officers remembered them from West Point days. When they heard the sound of heavy artillery on the left, McPherson checked his compass and noted that the sounds came from the direction of Decatur. This could mean trouble, so McPherson hurried off to the danger point. Within a few minutes a staff officer notified Sherman that McPherson was dead. The advanced regiments of Hardee's corps had penetrated behind Blair and met McPherson on his way to the threatened flank. In one volley the Army of the Tennessee lost its commander. Immediately, Sherman notified Logan that, as senior corps commander, he was to assume command of the army. Sherman also ordered Thomas to make a general assault on Atlanta.

Fortunately for the Union cause, Dodge's corps was in an almost perfect position to meet Hardee. A brigade from the 15th Corps hurried into place, filling the small gap between Blair and Dodge. Blair's men, their backs to Atlanta, fought a bitter hand-to-hand battle with the Confederates; and Hardee's infantry, responsible for the death of McPherson, soon fled from the field. Then Cheatham launched his belated attack on Logan's front and succeeded in opening a gap in the 15th Corps line. Logan, sword in hand, spurred forward and personally led the counterattack that restored the line. In the meantime Sherman was organizing help for the embattled Egyptian. Schofield massed the artillery of the Army of the Ohio and sent it to Logan's aid, and prepared to follow with all his infantry if necessary. Thomas lashed at Stewart. By nightfall the exhausted armies had re-

turned to their original positions. Hood saw his great opportunity thwarted by a combination of bad luck, Sherman's alertness, and Logan's ability to act decisively in an emergency.[29]

As both sides recovered from the Battle of Atlanta, there remained the question of the permanent leadership of the Army of the Tennessee. Sherman did not consider Logan to be equal to the command of three corps, and Thomas "remonstrated warmly" against promoting Logan. It seemed that in the past weeks relations between Thomas and Logan had reached a point of complete animosity. The two officers had become estranged over the use of roads and supply depots, and no amount of advice from brother officers could smooth ruffled feelings. Thomas threatened to resign from the army if Logan were given permanent command of the Army of the Tennessee. Meanwhile Thomas and Sherman were searching for a suitable officer and finally settled on General Oliver Otis Howard. An exchange of telegrams with Washington confirmed the choice.[30]

It was to Logan's everlasting credit that he maintained utter silence about the incident then and after the war. To a man of his ego and intense ambition the blow must have been crushing. Neither Sherman nor Howard had any cause to complain about Logan, and both took steps to make amends in the following year. In that era of military prima donnas, when many officers quit their commissions at the slightest provocation, Logan's conduct could only be termed outstanding. General Joseph Hooker, commander of Thomas's 20th Corps, had, for example, quit the army in rage over Howard's promotion.[31]

29. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 3, pp. 631, 102-3, 369-71; Sherman, *Memoirs,* II: 80-81; John B. Hood, *Advance and Retreat* (Richard N. Current, ed., Bloomington, Ind., 1959), 187-91; Oliver Otis Howard, *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard* (New York, 1907), II: 8; John Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army* (New York, 1897), 147; Bowman and Irwin, *Sherman,* 199-201.

30. Sherman, *Memoirs,* II: 85-86; Howard, *Autobiography,* II: 17; Mary Logan, *Reminiscences,* 169-72.

But Logan had no time to sulk or feel sorry for himself. When he reached headquarters of the 15th Corps, after what must have been a long and lonely ride, he found new orders. Sherman had directed Howard's army to move from the left to the right flank of the Union Army; and, as usual, Logan's men had the longest march of all. The 15th Corps arrived on the extreme right of the line on the morning of July 28 and began to construct defenses. They were not a moment too soon. At 11 A.M. the Confederates, with divisions from Hardee's and Stephen Lee's corps, attacked Logan's new position, for Hood intended to prevent the extension of Sherman's lines toward the Atlanta railroad system. This time the Confederate commander eschewed any attempt at finesse, and pushed his divisions six times against Logan's corps. Blair and Dodge hurried needed reinforcements, and the last gray attack fell back in the late evening. Logan estimated the Confederate loss to be six or seven thousand. He reported 562 casulties of his own.[32]

The Battle of Ezra Church was the last of the campaign for Logan. Sherman's successful flanking movements eventually placed Union troops in command of the Atlanta railroad system, and on the night of September 1-2, 1864, Logan's veterans heard the sound of exploding ammunition dumps in the beleaguered city. The next day Sherman wired Lincoln, "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won."

With the 1864 election approaching, Lincoln felt that it was more important for Logan to be on the hustings than in command of the 15th Corps. Accordingly he sent a personal request to the Egyptian at Atlanta. Would Logan go to Illinois? On September 27, 1864, the *Illinois State Journal* announced with unconcealed delight that Logan was on his way home, while Sherman growled, "Logan went home to look after politics."[33]

31. Sherman, *Memoirs,* II: 86-87.

32. *Ibid.,* 87-88; *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 3, pp. 104-5; Howard, *Autobiography,* II: 24. Logan overestimated the Confederate losses at the Battle of Ezra Church. Hood probably lost about 2,000 men.

33. *Illinois State Journal,* Sept. 27, 1864; Sherman, *Memoirs,* II: 130;

In the campaign that followed, Logan spoke to huge crowds throughout Illinois. He made Copperhead Congressman William J. Allen of Egypt his special target, and he flailed the Democrats of Illinois without mercy. At Alton the Egyptian turned his wrath upon the Confederacy: "I am willing to *subjugate, burn,* and I almost said *exterminate* . . .!" When the election clerks finished their count, Lincoln had carried Illinois; and the Republicans ended Allen's congressional career by carrying Egypt.[34]

While Logan fought the Democrats in Illinois, Sherman pushed on through Georgia to the coast. Since it would have been difficult for Logan to join his command after the election, he traveled to Washington to pay his respects to the President, and to City Point, Virginia, to receive his orders from Grant. There was a brief dramatic flurry when Grant became impatient with Thomas's slow movements against Hood at Nashville, and sent Logan with orders to relieve Thomas. But the latter attacked and crushed Hood before Logan could reach the front.[35]

Logan did not realize, as he traveled by sea to join Sherman at Savannah, that he had fought his last battle for the Union. He carried with him Lincoln's letter of thanks to Sherman for a Christmas gift (Savannah). Perhaps Sherman, who did not consider politics a fit occupation for a grown soldier, would feel more kindly toward Logan after gestures of respect for him by both Lincoln and Grant. Following the surrender of Johnston in April, 1865, Sherman did try to make up for Logan's disappointment at Atlanta. Sherman knew that Howard had assumed the direction of the new Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, and asked Howard if he would be willing to step aside as commander of the Army of the Tennessee

Mary Logan, in *Reminiscences,* 178, wrote that the letter from Lincoln had been lost by a historian.

34. *Illinois State Register,* Oct. 5, 6, 7, 1864; *Illinois State Journal,* Oct. 6, 7, 8, 17-21, 26, 1864.

35. Grant, *Memoirs,* II: 256-59.

in Logan's favor. At first Howard balked. But Sherman knew his man. He reminded Howard that the promotion would mean much to Logan, and that it would be the Christian thing to do. Howard agreed.[36]

As a commander of troops Logan must rank at the front of the nonprofessionals. Men who appeared to have superior qualifications by reason of education or leadership experience failed by the dozen. Lincoln's secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, may have given the answer in their analysis of Logan and McClernand. Logan, they noted, exhibited both an increasing aptitude for command and the soldierly qualities, obedience and subordination. McClernand completely lacked the latter assets.[37]

To a considerable degree luck helped Logan. The wound at Donelson that almost cost him his life prevented him from rising too quickly in rank. Had Logan been well in the spring of 1862, he would have assumed division command before he had learned brigade leadership. Had he retained command of the Army of the Tennessee after the Battle of Atlanta, he would not have been able to go home to Illinois, and the political campaign of 1864 all but assured him that he would be the successful Republican congressional candidate in 1866.

In battle Logan's methods resulted in high casualties at times; but if there had been more like him in corps command positions, the war might have ended two years earlier. It is sufficient to say that his troops never failed to hold an assigned position and only twice failed to grasp one from the enemy. On each of the latter occasions, Vicksburg and Kenesaw Mountain, the failure was shared with an entire army, and on each occasion Logan's men advanced farther than any other Northern unit. Could Lincoln have modeled a corps commander of his own design from civilian clay, the result would have been something resembling John Alexander Logan of Illinois.

36. Sherman, *Memoirs,* II: 375; Howard, *Autobiography,* II: 209-11.
37. Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln,* VII: 136.

EDWIN C. BEARSS

Pvt. Charles E. Affeld Describes The Mechanicsburg Expeditions

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THE OPENING months of 1863 had been gloomy ones for the Union. President Abraham Lincoln's three major armies had been checked, and a stalemate, which could give the South victory and its independence, developed. Major General Ulysses S. Grant's powerful Army of the Tennessee was bogged down on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi River. Three campaigns, two by Grant and one by the Union Navy, had failed to give the Federals their goal – the capture of "Fortress" Vicksburg and control of the mighty Mississippi River.

During the winter, while the Army of the Tennessee groped for an opening, thousands of soldiers had sickened and hundreds had died. Finally, at the end of March, Grant found the key which was to give the Federals victory. He marched his army down the west side of the Mississippi to a position well below Vicksburg. Here he rendezvoused with the fleet, which had run past the Vicksburg batteries under the cover of darkness. Crossing the Mississippi at Bruinsburg on April 30, the Army of the Tennessee defeated the Confederates at Port Gibson on the following day. With

this battle Grant had secured his bridgehead in Mississippi. Reinforcements and supplies were brought up.

On May 8 the Union Army broke out of the bridgehead. Grant and his troops, in one of the great campaigns of military history, met and defeated the Confederates in four battles within the next nine days. Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton's defeated soldiers were driven back into Vicksburg. Not only was Vicksburg, the great geographical and psychological objective, within Grant's grasp, but he had bottled up a powerful Confederate army. On May 19 and 22 the Federals assaulted the Vicksburg defenses, only to be hurled back with heavy losses. On May 25 Grant ordered his troops to lay siege to the city.

The days following the failure to storm Vicksburg would be critical ones for Grant and his army. President Jefferson Davis and his advisers could be expected to rush thousands of troops to central Mississippi to try to raise the siege of Vicksburg. Already, it was known that units from as far away as the Atlantic seaboard and middle Tennessee were en route to join General Joseph E. Johnston's army of relief. To fend off Johnston's army while keeping Pemberton's penned up in Vicksburg would be very difficult. Grant called on Washington for heavy reinforcements. But the Confederates, since they were operating on an interior arc, had the immediate advantage in the race to throw additional men into the critical Mississippi theater of operations.

By June 3 Johnston had assembled an army of 32,000 men. Between them, Johnston and Pemberton had more soldiers than Grant had. The Federals, however, enjoyed one tremendous advantage: they were between the two Confederate armies. If the two Confederate leaders could join forces, Grant would be in a desperate position. Grant, to keep tab on the progress of Johnston's build-up and activities, twice sent powerful columns tramping up the "Mechanicsburg Corridor," which he believed would be John-

These Boys in Blue are Frank O. Affeld, standing left, and his brother Charles E. Affeld, right, who was the diarist; seated are E. P. Wilcox, left, James F. Whittle, and A. B. Wilcox.

ston's line of approach when he marched to Pemberton's relief.

Johnston, however, was in no hurry to strike. In this writer's opinion, the Confederates, during the last week of May and the opening days of June, missed a golden opportunity to relieve Vicksburg. By the end of the first week of June this chance had passed. Convoy after convoy had started reaching the Vicksburg area with thousands of reinforcements for Grant's Army of the Tennessee. Johnston's task was now hopeless.

The story of the critical days of the siege, when an attack by Johnston was feared by the Federal leaders, has escaped the attentions of historians. Among the units which twice marched up the "Mechanicsburg Corridor" in search of information regarding Johnston's movements was Battery B, 1st Illinois Light Artillery. This crack battery had been

organized in Chicago in April, 1861. Almost all the members came from Cook County. The battery had seen action in most of the engagements in the campaign to open the Mississippi. One of the young cannoneers of Battery B, Charles E. Affeld of Chicago, kept a detailed diary. In his diary Affeld tells of this critical and little known phase of the Vicksburg campaign.

When the Vicksburg National Military Park was established in 1899, Superintendent William T. Rigby made a determined and successful effort to collect and have transcribed diaries kept by Union and Confederate soldiers during the Vicksburg campaign. Affeld was one of the many veterans who responded to Rigby's call. A certified copy of his diary was placed in the files of the Vicksburg National Military Park. The writer has examined several hundred Vicksburg diaries, and, in his opinion, Affeld's is one of the half dozen best personal accounts of this great decisive campaign. Here is a section from this diary:

• • • •

BEFORE VICKSBURG.
SEVENTH DAY.

Sunday, May 24, 1863.

We were up at the usual hour at daybreak, everything has been quiet lately. Otto[1] and I went to work getting a quantity of cane and built a little shebang to hold a rubber or blanket for shade. [Brigadier] General [Thomas E. G.] Ransom called on our officers to-day and conversed some time with our boys.[2] He informed us that we might expect to hear a great explosion in a day or two, if

1. Pvt. Frank O. Affeld, who was known as "Otto," was the diarist's brother. A resident of Chicago, he had joined the battery on July 16, 1861. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois . . . 1861-66* (rev. ed., 8 vols., Springfield, 1900-1901), VIII: 606.

2. General Ransom entered the service from Farina (Fayette County), Illinois, as an officer in the 11th Illinois Infantry. He had commanded his regiment at the Battle of Fort Donelson. Ransom had been placed in command of a brigade in the 17th Corps on Jan. 20, 1863. A shebang was the name used by the Civil War soldier for the crude shelters which they threw up to protect themselves from the elements.

things worked well, that our men had dug some 100 feet under the fort [the 3rd Louisiana redan] and had about 69 feet more to dig.[3] I heard that Col. [Frederick A.] Starring was back with the wagons under arrest and stripped of his sword.[4]

We received mail to-day but no letters for us. We worked by moonlight getting or rather putting up the cane we got during the day in front of our gun, strengthening our work by backing it with cane. The mortars are at work in front of city. We can see the shells coming up over the hills, winking at us until sunk behind them again in their descent and often hear them explode.

Our soldiers are calling over to the rebels and conversing aloud with them. The 1st Mo., 5th Mo. and others made themselves known.[5]

Papers of the 16th are in camp, but there is nothing new. We retired about 9 P.M. Otto and others, during the evening, went down and up the hills in front of us to look at the things ahead more closely. They had all they could do to climb up and down the hill in front of us, crossing two ravines full of fallen timber. A regiment is on this side of the second hill and is protected by the hill from the enemy, a ravine parting them from the enemies' works. We are perfectly safe against any attempt of theirs to get out, as it cannot be successful if tried at any place except the [graveyard] road, and artillery can be so placed as to make it entirely impossible for any body of men to get through alive.

3. At dusk on the evening of May 22 troops from the 20th and 45th Illinois threw up a line of rifle pits within thirty yards of the 3rd Louisiana redan. (This strong point in Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson's sector guarded the Jackson road approach to Vicksburg.) Using these rifle pits as a starting point, Maj. Gen. John A. Logan's pioneers opened a sap. By nightfall on the twenty-third, the bluecoats had pushed the approach trench to within thirty feet of the redan. A mine was started. Hand grenades thrown by soldiers of the 3rd Louisiana discouraged the pioneers. During the night Logan's chief engineer, Capt. Stewart R. Tresilian, ordered work on the mine stopped and the advance line of rifle pits abandoned. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1900), Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 207, 362; cite hereafter as *O.R.*

4. The rumor telling of Colonel Starring's arrest was unfounded. At this stage of the war Colonel Starring commanded the 72nd Illinois Infantry Regiment. Joseph W. Stockton, *War Diary (1862-5) of Brevet Brigadier General Joseph Stockton* (Chicago, 1910), 16.

5. The 1st and 5th Missouri Infantry belonged to Col. Francis M. Cockrell's brigade. At this stage of the siege these two hard-fighting regiments, along with the 36th Mississippi and the 27th Louisiana, held the stockade redan complex. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, p. 415.

Before Vicksburg.
Eighth Day.

Monday, May 25, 1863.

We were up at daybreak. After breakfast I got permission from Capt. [Samuel E. Barrett] to go to the wagons to get a clean shirt.[6] Went to the caisson, the baggage had been removed to a new place on the river road. I got my knapsack took out two clean shirts and a pair of socks, put in my dirty ones and strapped the knapsack on the caisson again. Otto and I then had a wash, put on clean shirt and socks. A good wash makes one feel 50% better.

I wrote a letter to father and the girls to be sent by Lieut. D. W. [Web.] Whittle, who leaves to-morrow, he also takes my notebook.[7] He has a leave of absence and goes home to Chicago. Geo. Whittiers has been buried next to our boys and news has been sent to his folks.[8] One of [Brigadier General James M.] Tuttle's brigades went to the right, destination unknown.[9] [Walter] Simpson returned, his leg improving.[10] Otto stewed some huckleberries. I saw a paper of the 18th and mention is made of [Major General Nathaniel P.] Banks making connections with Porter on the Red River.[11]

6. Captain Barrett of Chicago had been mustered into Federal service on July 16, 1861, as first lieutenant of the battery. On Oct. 23, 1861, he had been advanced to the rank of captain and assumed command of the unit. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 605.

7. Daniel W. Whittle of Chicago had been commissioned second lieutenant in Company B, 72nd Illinois, on Aug. 21, 1862, and was promoted to first lieutenant on Jan. 28, 1863. Whittle had been wounded in the arm in the great Union attack of May 22 on "Fortress" Vicksburg. Whittle and Affeld had been friends before the war. *Report of the Adjutant General,* IV: 528-29.

8. Corp. George L. Whittiers of Chicago had enlisted in Battery A, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, on July 16, 1861. Whittiers had been shot and killed by a Rebel sharpshooter on the morning of May 23. After the war Whittiers' remains were disinterred and probably transferred to the Vicksburg National Cemetery. The identity of over 12,000 of the Union soldiers interred in the National Cemetery at Vicksburg is unknown. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 598.

9. General Tuttle of Iowa commanded one of the three divisions assigned to Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's 15th Corps. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 152-53.

10. Private Simpson of Springfield, Mo., had enlisted in the battery on March 24, 1862. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 608.

11. Following the occupation of Grand Gulf, Miss., on the morning of May 3, Rear Adm. David D. Porter had headed down the Mississippi with part of his squadron. Ascending the Red River, Porter's squadron reached Alexandria, La., on May 7. The Confederates had evacuated the city on the sixth. Banks's army reached Alexandria several hours after the fleet.

At about 6 o'clock we were all surprised at seeing the rebels all appearing above their breastworks, our men equally anxious to know what was going on also showed themselves. The reason of the proceedure was the granting of an armistice by the rebels to bury our dead, which they refused to do under a flag of truce. The armistice was from 6 to 8.30 P.M.[12] The right section are busy backing their works with cane to strengthen it. I went to Battery A's position, troops are at work daily on covered roads from right to left.

Positions are being dug for 3 guns to the left of Battery A [1st Illinois Light Artillery], they are strong positions. We retired about 9 P.M. Moon shining brightly.

BIVOUACKED ABOUT 4 MILES FROM SNYDER'S BLUFF

Tuesday, May 26, 1863.

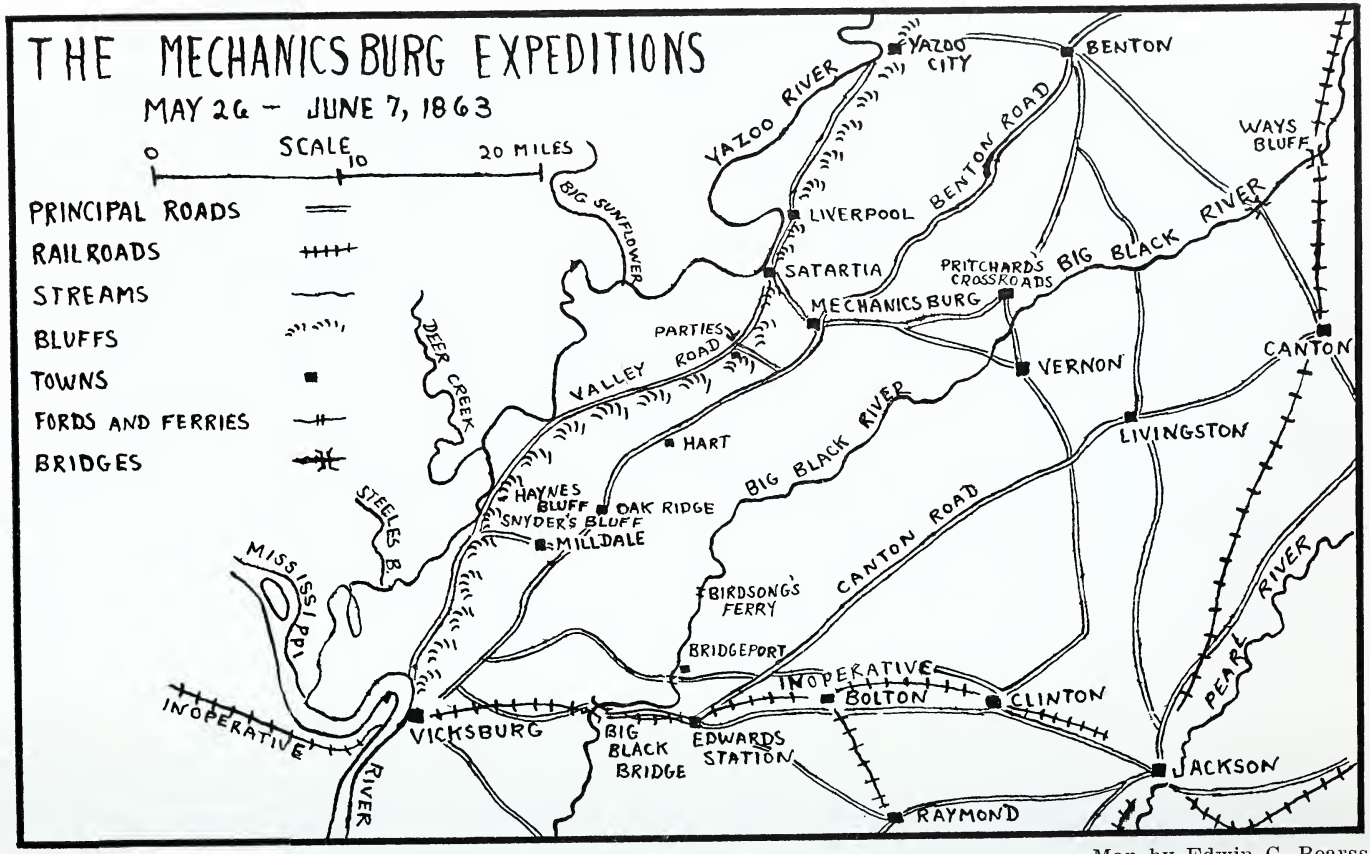
We were up at the usual hour. After breakfast, just as giggers had been dealt out, we heard a bullet whistle by and sounded as if it had struck something. In a second, it was said that [Henry F.] Henrotin was shot and sure enough he was shot in the forehead.[13] The bullet entered about an inch over the right eye and came out at the same place over the left eye, fracturing the skull and spattering some brains around. He bled considerably and though alive is insensible. We carried him to the caisson from whence he was taken to the hospital. He is one of the original members of the Battery and has been in service two years. Dr. Rolla says his case is entirely hopeless, although he may live some days.

I understand that Lieut. [Web.] Whittle does not leave to-day, but will have to wait for the next hospital boat. Capt. [Patrick H.] White of the [Chicago] Mercantile Battery called to-day, the

Porter, leaving several of his gunboats to cooperate with Banks, returned to the Vicksburg area, arriving below the "Hill City" on May 16. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894-1923), Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pp. 626-27, 677-78; cited hereafter as *O.R.N.*

12. General Pemberton, on the twenty-fifth, wrote Grant: "Two days having elapsed since your dead and wounded have been lying in our front, and as yet no disposition on your part of a desire to remove them being exhibited, in the name of humanity I have the honor to propose a cessation of hostilities for two hours and a half, that you may be enabled to remove your dead and dying men." Grant acceded to Pemberton's proposition and designated 6 P.M. as the hour when the truce should begin. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 276-77.

13. Private Henrotin of Chicago had enlisted in Battery B on July 16, 1861. Henrotin died from his wounds on May 28, 1863. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 606.



Map by Edwin C. Bearss

boys were glad to see him and he has received his Captain's commission.[14] He told us that the mine that our troops had been digging had been discovered by the enemy.

Many reports of desertions from the enemy are prevalent, mostly out of rebel Mo. regiments. They give various reports, but all agree in saying there cannot be more than a month's provisions, that is bread, in the place and it may not last 2 weeks.

Report says that Banks has two brigades (16,000 men) in Warrenton, having arrived lately.[15]

Toward evening I stewed some huckleberries and after supper orders came for our brigade to move.[16] By 8 P.M. we were prepared accordingly. Co. G, 55th Ill. left reluctantly for their regiment, having been with us as detail to carry ammunition and do other work.[17] At 8 P.M. we commenced letting our guns down the hill into the ravine and after hard work succeeded in getting them all down and up to where the caissons are. After waiting until after 10 P.M. our brigade, the 2d, moved on[,] taking the road to the river or Chickasaw road.[18] We climbed up and down the roads for about 4 or 5 miles and camped in the bottom at about 1 A.M.

14. White's commission as captain of the Mercantile Battery was dated Feb. 24, 1863, the day that Capt. Charles G. Gooley had resigned. Captain White had formerly served in Battery B, as a lieutenant. *Ibid.,* 605, 739.

15. There was no substance to the report that Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks had reached Warrenton with heavy reinforcements for the Army of the Tennessee.

16. Stories that Gen. Joseph E. Johnston with a force of from 6,000 to 10,000 men was camped near Mechanicsburg reached General Grant on the twenty-fifth. Actually, the only Confederate troops operating between the Big Black and Yazoo rivers at this time were the scattered units belonging to Brig. Gen. John Adams's mounted command. Grant, however, did not know this. Orders were issued on the twenty-sixth for the organization of a powerful expeditionary corps. Grant wanted this force to be strong enough to devastate the area between the Big Black and Yazoo. At the same time it would have to be ready to cope with the Rebel troops which Johnston had reportedly assembled near Mechanicsburg.

In addition to Col. Amory K. Johnson's cavalry, this force would consist of six infantry brigades organized into two provisional divisions with supporting artillery. The 15th and 17th Corps would each furnish three brigades. An aggressive general, Frank Blair, would command the 12,000 soldiers which constituted this powerful expeditionary corps. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, p. 89, Pt. 2, p. 441, Pt. 3, p. 356.

17. The 55th Illinois belonged to the 2nd Brigade of Blair's division. *Ibid.,* Pt. 2, p. 152.

18. Battery B was attached to the 2nd Brigade of Blair's division. Five infantry regiments, the 55th and 127th Illinois, the 83rd Indiana, and the 54th and 57th Ohio constituted the 2nd Brigade. *Ibid.,* 152-53.

We are to have reveille at daybreak, about 4 o'clock. We bivouacked along the road.

Camp at Nelley's Plantation about 7 Miles from Milldale Church

Wednesday, May 27, 1863.

We moved off immediately after reveille, at daybreak or about 4 A.M. We marched to the foot of . . . [Drumgould's] Bluff where we stopped for breakfast and feed. The hills afford a splendid view of the valley and of the place we landed at, the last of April and the 1st of May to make a feint on . . . [Snyder's] Bluff. I noticed the line of rifle pits for the last 4 or 5 miles, along the bluffs. At . . . [Drumgould's] Bluff there were two lines of rifle pits and several 8 inch Columbiads apparently, one being run off the carriage and destroyed and another being covered by the explosion of the magazine.[19] Before the bluffs there is a swamp or bayou and it is almost if not entirely impossible to have ever taken those Bluffs from the front. The 2d brigade [Mower's] of Tuttle's division encamped on the bluff as we arrived.

We left . . . [Drumgould's] Bluff at about 9 or after, passing . . . [Snyder's] Bluff to our left. After marching a few miles stopped at Milldale Church, now used for a hospital by the rebels and there are about a dozen patients in it at present though formerly used extensively no doubt. We arrived here [at Milldale] about 11 A.M. and halted until 4 P.M., it was awfully hot. We had dinner and had all the mulberries we could eat. [Merwin R.] Oliver picked a quart cup full and gave it to Otto.[20]

After starting we had a pleasant shower and marched on steadily until sundown. One of Tuttle's brigades having the lead, we camped on Nelley's plantation about 7 miles from Milldale on the . . . [Benton road].

[William H.] Sanborn and I succeeded in getting a hive of bees in spite of the guards.[21] We smoked the bees and brought a

19. Confederate authorities had pulled their troops out of the defenses centering on Snyder's Bluff on May 17. Before starting for Vicksburg the grayclads had spiked and abandoned twenty pieces of artillery. *Ibid.*, pp. 375, 380. The 4th Iowa Cavalry of the 15th Corps occupied the deserted Snyder's Bluff fortifications on the afternoon of May 19. *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 755.

20. A resident of Chicago, Private Oliver had enlisted in the battery on July 26, 1861. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 608.

21. Private Sanborn of Chicago had enlisted in the battery on July 16, 1861. *Ibid.*, 606.

quantity of the honey on a board to camp. We retired at about 9 P.M. I went on guard from 11 P.M. to 1 A.M.

CAMP AT HART'S PLANTATION, 28 MILES FROM YAZOO CITY ON THE . . . [BENTON] ROAD.

Thursday, May 28, 1863.

We had reveille at 3.30 A.M. and moved out at about 4 A.M. We stopped for breakfast at about 8 o'clock for ¾ of an hour and had coffee, meat, and corn bread with honey. We moved forward again and stopped at or near Harris' plantation, near a creek at about 10 A.M. I went in the hollow and had a wash all over and changed my boots for shoes, the former being inconvenient to walk in. Here we came up with [Brigadier General John] McArthur's 3 brigades.[22] Blair has a guard on Harris' plantation on the smokehouse and storehouse in the latter of which one of the detail and myself got some 15 lbs. of sugar for the squad, the guard allowing but 2 men in at a time.

The column moved on again at about 3 P.M. and after marching a mile or two stopped at a clear creek to water and allow all the troops to supply themselves, I think it was Bear Creek. We marched very lively until late (after 9:30 P.M.) when we camped near Hart's plantation, 28 miles from Yazoo City and 30 miles from Vicksburg. We have marched about 15 miles to-day. Weather warm, but roads good. I caught a sheep on the way which we skinned. We retired about 11 P.M.

CAMP AT MECHANICSBURG, MISS.
ABOUT 22 MILES FROM YAZOO CITY

Friday, May 29, 1863.

We had reveille at daylight. Many of the boys heard heavy cannonading in the direction of Vicksburg.[23] We had breakfast before moving, moved off very late about 8 or 9 A.M., the right section taking the rear of the baggage wagon train. We travelled provokingly slow and arrived at Mechanicsburg where we went

22. McArthur's division left the Vicksburg investment lines at the same time as the column with which Blair traveled. Marching via the Jackson, Bridgeport, and Benton roads, McArthur's troops reached the Sulphur Springs rendezvous on the night of May 27. Osborn H. Oldroyd, *A Soldier's Story of the Siege of Vicksburg* (Springfield, Ill., 1885).

23. The Union ironclads gave the Confederate fortifications along the river below Vicksburg a heavy hammering early on the morning of May 29. Gunner Eugene Mack's mortar scows had also shelled the city throughout the night. Undoubtedly this was the firing which Affeld referred to. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXV, pp. 50-51.

into camp. We had a welcome shower during the afternoon. We went into camp about 4 P.M.

I rode through the town of 13 or 14 old houses to a creek ¼ mile beyond, where we watered.[24] A squad of cavalry (5) came through from Vicksburg to-day, they bring the news of the capture of a volunteer who volunteered to take despatches from Pemberton to Johnston, but leaving his line he gave himself up to our men.[25] Despatches taken from him are to the effect that Pemberton wished Johnston to hurry up as he feared a mutiny, and that they have but 18,000 men, etc., also that the gunboat *Cincinnati,* while engaging the rebel batteries, was sunk above the city.[26] We had mutton stew for supper. Splendid moonlight night. We spread our blankets and retired at about 9 P.M.

CAMP ABOUT 12 MILES FROM SNYDER'S BLUFF
NEAR A CREEK.

Saturday, May 30, 1863.

We had reveille about 4 A.M. and had chicken stew for breakfast. We moved off at about 6 A.M. going back on the road we came on, but in another brigade, think it is [Colonel Lucius F.] Hubbard's brigade but are under [Brigadier] Gen. [Joseph A.] Mower for the day.[27] Some of the troops took another road. We are evidently

24. Although Affeld does not mention it, a sharp skirmish between Blair's vanguard (Johnson's cavalry and Col. William Hall's Hawkeye Brigade) and General Adams's grayclad horsemen took place on the road to Kibbey's Ferry, two miles southeast of Mechanicsburg. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 302, 435, 441-42.

25. In a futile effort to coordinate their movements for the relief of Vicksburg, Johnston and Pemberton exchanged messages. Since the couriers had to pass through the Union lines, considerable delay was involved. A number of messages were captured. As the siege progressed and the Federals tightened their ring of steel around the beleaguered city, the exchange of letters by the two Confederate leaders became progressively more difficult. *Ibid.,* Pt. 1, pp. 272-81.

26. The message which Affeld refers to was drafted by Pemberton on the evening of May 28. While Pemberton did say that he had only 18,000 troops to man the siege lines, he made no mention of his troops being on the verge of mutiny. In fact, he wrote, "My men are in good spirits, awaiting your [Johnston's] arrival." *Ibid.,* 278. The *Cincinnati* was one of the seven Eads "City Series" ironclads. On May 27 the *Cincinnati* had dropped down the Mississippi and attacked the Water and Wyman's Hill batteries, north of Vicksburg. The *Cincinnati* was sunk by the fire of the big Confederate guns. *O.R.N.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXV, pp. 42-43.

27. Since Blair commanded the expeditionary corps, Mower, as senior officer present, was in charge of the provisional division composed of the three brigades from the 15th Corps. With Mower leading a division, Colonel

returning to Vicksburg.[28] We went on the . . . [Benton] road (the road we came on) to where the Vicksburg Telegraph road meets it. It is 33 miles by either road to Vicksburg as the mile posts inform us.

We took the Telegraph road and marched steadily until we arrived at Parties' plantation at which place we descended the hills and took the Valley road.[29] We halted about an hour at Parties' place to water (a creek running near by) and to clean out the plantation. Our squad got 8 chickens. The place is quite extensive though nothing but an overseer's house is on it now and is very small for so large a family as occupy it. Parties left New Orleans going to Vicksburg to avoid the Yankees and from the latter place he moved his family on this plantation. The place was entirely cleaned out except the dwelling occupied by about 5 or 6 young ladies, the old lady and a man apparently a cripple.

We commenced to prepare dinner but not having time succeeded in getting nothing but coffee ready. We moved on a few miles further and stopped at a cotton-gin next to a running creek for dinner. We stopped about 2 hours and noticed Parties' cotton-gin on fire, the balance on the road will have to share the same fate. After dinner we moved on, crept along until near Richard Johnson's place where we waited an hour or two for another brigade to get rested, we being meanwhile in the road under the hot sun waiting.

The column again started and crept along until dark, bringing us about 12 or 13 miles to-day. We encamped near a creek about 12 miles from . . . [Snyder's] Bluff where the road turns up the hills. [Samuel] Hadlock and I went after a sheep to the corral, we got a nice little lamb. [William H.] Sanborn has not been seen since morning.[30] After a good supper of fresh meat, onions, coffee and honey, we retired about 10 P.M.

Hubbard of the 5th Minnesota commanded his brigade. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 285, 302, Pt. 3, p. 352.

28. On the evening of May 28 a report had reached Blair that Lt. Gen. Ambrose P. Hill had reached Jackson with heavy reinforcements from the battle-hardened Army of Northern Virginia. Between them, Johnston and Hill were reported to have 45,000 soldiers. Blair relayed this disturbing news to army headquarters. Perturbed by this information, Grant ordered Blair to return to the Vicksburg area immediately. *Ibid.*, Pt. 3, pp. 354-55, 361-62.

29. Because the countryside through which his column had marched on the way to Mechanicsburg had been quite barren, Blair decided to return via the Valley Road. This road passed through the fertile Yazoo Valley. *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, pp. 435-36.

30. Private Hadlock of Elgin had enlisted in the battery on July 29, 1861. A resident of Chicago, Private Sanborn had been present when Battery B

Camp at Snyder's Bluff between Two Creeks.

Sunday, May 31, 1863.

Was up at about 5 A.M., and had a splendid chicken soup and stew with potatoes for breakfast. We moved on our brigade, [Brigadier General Joseph A. J.] Lightburn's taking the lead and the 54th Ohio leading the brigade.[31]

We have been on the Valley road most of yesterday, a ridge of hills to our left and the woods to the right of the corn and cotton fields. We have been about 4 or 5 miles from the Yazoo along the road. The 54th [Ohio] marched along briskly. The hills afforded a beautiful sight westward of the whole Yazoo bottom or valley, a level field of woods as far as the eye could reach. We descended the hills at Bruce's plantation where we stopped for dinner at a creek running near by. Picked a pint of blackberries and stewed them for dinner, also stewed some partially ripe plums and put them in a jar for supper.

We passed a very extensive plantation about 2 or 3 miles from Haynes' Bluff (think it was Roach's) where we saw some splendid corn, some of which was in bloom and averaged from 6 to 8 ft. in height. Corn is universal, miles and miles of corn can be seen, but how it can be gathered is a mystery for darkies of all ages and sex fellow us for miles.[32] Horses, wagons, buggies, carriages and go-carts are following, picked up by the soldiers to carry knapsacks. Ox teams loaded down with negroes and baggage, and cattle by the thousand are being driven in, all for the support of the Union army.[33]

We arrived at the upper end of the enemies' works on the Yazoo at the upper end of Snyder's Bluff, as we think. We encamp at about 4 P.M., fed and had supper. Received orders to move a couple hundred yards down so as to be with the balance of the brigade, between the two creeks that empty in the Yazoo. There is but one heavy rifled gun (about 58-pdr) destroyed here, though

was mustered into Federal service on July 16, 1861, and was mustered out of service on July 23, 1864. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 606, 607.

31. General Lightburn had replaced Col. Thomas Kilby Smith as commander of the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, 15th Army Corps, on May 24, 1863. Smith had been temporarily assigned to Grant's headquarters. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, p. 152.

32. It appears that the planters of the Yazoo Valley were honoring the plea of their government to grow corn instead of cotton.

33. About 1,000 head of cattle and 200 horses and mules were seized by the bluecoats on their return march. Blair estimated that the number of Negroes who deserted their masters and flocked along behind his column as "nearly equal" to his command. *Ibid.,* 436.

platforms and embrasures for more are there. The guns have been drawn off. A grist mill [Snyder's] has been burned and entirely destroyed.

Otto and I went in swimming in the Yazoo from the raft that was formerly used to stop and block navigation on the Yazoo.[34] Weather has been exceedingly warm all day, but the nights are really beautiful, clear moon light nights. Retired after making a shebang, about 9 P.M.

CAMP UPPER END OF SNYDER'S BLUFF, MISS.

Monday, June 1, 1863.

Was up at the usual hour. At an early hour one of our wagons went to the river and the other two went to our camp before Vicksburg. Otto and I had 11 pieces of washing washed.

At almost 7 A.M. our wagons returned, the one from the landing brought the news that there were quite a number of Chicago men at the landing, Lombard brothers among the number.[35]

It is reported that a flag of truce was raised by the enemy requesting permission to send women and children from the city, which was refused. Grant gave them 24 hours before the seige was commenced.[36]

The balance of the wagons with camp equipage, 15 horses, battery and forge wagons arrived as did also [Benjamin] Stephens, [Walter] Simpson, and [Samuel D.] Newton of our squad.[37] Chas Tarner returned to the Battery.[38] Henrotin died the morning after we left and was embalmed by Dr. Bailey of the 8th Missouri. Battery A has seige guns, and other batteries also man one.[39] We hear the mortars booming at intervals. Retired rather late after 9 P.M. Was in swimming to-night.

34. Before ascending the Yazoo on May 20, the sailors of Lt. Cmdr. John G. Walker's squadron had cut one end of the raft loose. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXV, pp. 8, 10.

35. Apparently, these men belonged to the Mississippi Marine Brigade. The Mississippi Marine Brigade had been put ashore at Snyder's Bluff while their amphibious transports were pressed into service to shift some of the reinforcements Grant had called for from Memphis to Vicksburg. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 368, 381.

36. There was no truth to the rumor that Pemberton had asked for a truce to send the women and children out of Vicksburg.

37. Private Stephens of Chicago had enlisted in the battery on July 24, 1861. Private Newton, also of Chicago, had joined Battery B on Aug. 6, 1862. *Report of the Adjutant General*, VIII: 608.

38. Private Tarner of Chicago had enlisted in the battery on July 16, 1861. *Ibid.*, 606.

39. Batteries A and E, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, on May 30 were called

Camp Upper End of Snyder's Bluff, Miss.

Tuesday, June 2, 1863.

We were up about 5 A.M. I commenced and finished putting up a shelter tent, and enjoyed its shelter all day, weather cool compared with yesterday and there was a good breeze all day. Our 2d detail from the 57th Ohio left for their regiment to-day.

The [*E. H.*] *Fairchild* laid at the landing, as also the commissary boat.[40] On Sunday the *DeKalb* and 2 other turtles came down the river.[41] Orders were read at roll call to the effect that Mower's brigade is to go up the river to Yazoo City and clean out the country, and the balance of the troops to march tomorrow for Vicksburg, 6 A.M.[42] Was on guard 2d relief. Made Sunday notes by moonlight.

On Board the L. M. Kennett, Yazoo River
Opposite Our Camp.

Wednesday, June 3, 1863.

Was up at the usual hour. I heard that Capt. [Barrett] had received orders last night or early this morning to go with Gen. Mower whose infantry is going up river on steamers and that we are to follow the cavalry.

We have been in readiness since 8 A.M. The balance of Blair's command are moving off for Vicksburg.[43] Mower's command

upon for a detail to man two 30-pounder Parrott rifles. These siege guns were emplaced along the investment line in the stockade redan sector. Inscription on marker, Vicksburg National Military Park.

40. The *E. H. Fairchild* was one of the seven amphibious transports assigned to the Mississippi Marine Brigade. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXV, p. 147.

41. When the *DeKalb* came down the Yazoo on May 31, she was accompanied by three tinclads (the *Forest Rose,* the *Linden,* and the *Petrel*), not two of the Pook turtles as Affeld reported. *Ibid.*, 133-36.

42. Following his return from the Mechanicsburg expedition General Blair submitted a new plan of operations to Grant. Colonel Johnson's mounted command, reinforced by the 5th Illinois Cavalry, would be sent up the Benton Road. Johnson's object would be to destroy the bridge which carried the tracks of the Mississippi Central Railroad across the Big Black at Way's Bluff. Johnson's troopers would be covered by an infantry brigade (Mower's) which was to be sent to Satartia by boat. Landing at Satartia, the foot soldiers would push inland to Mechanicsburg. Grant liked Blair's plan and gave it his stamp of approval. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 373-74, and Vol. LII, Pt. 1, p. 359.

43. Grant intended to transfer Blair with all the units of his expeditionary corps (except Mower's brigade and Battery B) to the left flank of the Vicksburg investment line. By the time the troops were passing his headquarters, Grant changed his mind. Blair's expeditionary corps was

consists of one brigade viz:— 8th Wis., 11 Mo., 47th Ill., 5th Minn. and our battery. We loaded on board the *L. M. Kennett* which had been here since yesterday. With us is the 8th Wis., 11 Mo., and 3 companies of 47th Ill., all on one boat. We left the battery wagons and baggage wagons to go by land.

Orders are to report at Mechanicsburg, Miss. We were loaded by 2 P.M. and waited on the opposite shore to start, had supper about 5 P.M. Our boat as well as the *Madison, Sam Young* and several mosquitoes follow at 11 P.M. for up stream.[44] We managed to find a place to sleep at 9 P.M. Left Chicago two years ago to-day.

CAMP AT MECHANICSBURG, MISS.
40 MILES FROM VICKSBURG.

Thursday, June 4, 1863.

We awoke at sunrise and were steaming up river, one half hour after sunrise found us passing the Big Sunflower, it is wider than the Yazoo. From there, we passed it on our left. The Yazoo is so narrow above the Big Sunflower that one steamer only can ply it at a time and no other could pass it.

At about 8 A.M. we stopped before a town of 5 or 6 houses, a few stores and a church, called Satartia. Here we landed and soon after moved on to Mechanicsburg which is 3½ miles from the river.

About 2 miles from Mechanicsburg our advance commenced skirmishing with the enemy, the infantry, mostly went ahead.[45] I noticed 2 or 3 steamers coming up river and soon after the 12th Michigan, 43d and 61st Ill. went by us.[46] Saw Capt. [Reimer C.] Fieldcamp, as the 43d passed, [he] informed us that they came from Bolivar [Tennessee].

disbanded; the brigades and batteries rejoined their parent units. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, p. 380, Pt. 1, p. 93.

44. The *Madison* and the *Sam Young* were transports. The tinclads were also referred to as mosquitoes.

45. Spearheaded by the 8th Wisconsin, Mower's column pushed rapidly inland. About halfway between Satartia and Mechanicsburg the Federals clashed with a strong mounted patrol sent out by Gen. John Adams. Fighting a delaying action, the Confederates fell back on Mechanicsburg. *Ibid.,* Pt. 2, pp. 214, 436-41.

46. These regiments, along with the 106th Illinois, belonged to the brigade commanded by Col. Adolph Engelmann. The transports with Engelmann's soldiers aboard had entered the Yazoo River on the afternoon of June 3 and spent the night moored near Johnson's plantation. When Grant learned of the arrival of Engelmann's brigade, he ordered it to join Mower at Satartia. *Ibid.,* Pt. 3, pp. 373-74.

No. 1 gun was ordered forward, fired a few rounds and then the column moved forward until we entered the town, where we took position in the road and the whole battery fired at the retreating rebels, which we knew were about by the dust they kicked up.[47] After firing on an average about 10 rounds we ceased firing and our cavalry went in pursuit accompanied by the right section of our battery under Capt. Barrett. We went through the town on the Benton road and encamped on a hill just above the town.

We here had supper or dinner the only meal we have had time to eat. I stewed some plums which we had for supper, besides Otto came up with nearly a quart of blackberries.

At about dark we went to see Capt. Fieldcamp of the 43d Ill. and learned that [Brigadier] Gen. [Nathan] Kimball is in command of the 2 brigades just arrived and ranks Mower.[48] The brigade that just arrived, as we were skirmishing, consists of the 43d, 61st, and 106th Ill. and 12th Michigan.

The other brigade [Richmond's] landed at Snyder's Bluff a day previous to the arrival of the one just specified, but as yet has not arrived here.[49] All the regiments above mentioned average 500

47. Captain Fieldcamp of Chicago had been commissioned captain of Company D, 43rd Illinois, on July 1, 1862. *Report of the Adjutant General,* III: 254. Before being ordered to Vicksburg, Engelmann's brigade had been stationed at Bolivar, Tenn. On May 31 Engelmann's bluecoats were shifted by rail from Bolivar to the Memphis port of embarkation. The brigade sailed for Vicksburg on the morning of June 1. *Ibid.,* II: 93-94, III: 690, VI: 491. After occupying Mechanicsburg, Mower's vanguard was shelled by two guns manned by the Brookhaven artillery. The Rebel cannoneers had emplaced their pieces in a masked position east of the village. Adams massed his cavalry brigade in support of the guns. Col. George W. Robbins of the 8th Wisconsin shouted for his men to take cover. At the same time, a courier was sent to apprise Mower of the situation. Mower ordered Battery B to support the 8th Wisconsin.

In the meantime, Colonel Johnson's mounted column was approaching Mechanicsburg by way of the Benton Road. Johnson's troopers reached the village about 2 P.M. Confronted by this new threat, General Adams withdrew his troops. As they retired from the area, the Confederates fell back to Pritchard's Cross-Roads. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 214, 436-41.

48. General Kimball had been placed in charge of a provisional division. Kimball's unit consisted of troops from west Tennessee and western Kentucky that had been sent to reinforce Grant's investing army. Kimball had accompanied Engelmann's brigade on its trip down the river from Memphis. *Ibid.,* 155.

49. Col. Jonathan Richmond's brigade had been shifted by rail from Jackson, Tenn., to Memphis on May 30. Richmond's brigade sailed from Memphis the following morning, disembarking at Snyder's Bluff on June 2. *Report of the Adjutant General,* III: 275, IV: 241, VI: 24; *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 92-93, Pt. 3, p. 376.

men. In the 43d, I saw the Sergt. Major [Henry Ferra], whom father requested two weeks ago to be remembered to us if he should see us and he had the opportunity sooner than he expected.[50] The rebel forces are estimated from 800 to 1,500 cavalry. Our cavalry has been skirmishing a great deal all day. I retired rather late, after 9 P.M.

CAMP AT MECHANICSBURG, MISS.

Friday, June 5, 1863.

Were up at the usual hour. After breakfast Jordan baked 4 pans of corn-bread and we put it in our haversacks.[51] I stewed a couple of quarts of plums.

We moved off at about 10 A.M. Squad 2's gun went out a few miles with the cavalry on the Benton road. Our gun took position on the road [the Satartia] we came to town on so as to command the road to the creek in the hollow, and the other sections are on the other roads in position. It is thought that there are rebels between here and the river as they were said to have fired on our boats last night and our gunboats replied.[52]

Cavalry all returned, took another road, returned from that and then went into camp.[53] We remained in line of battle and ready all day. Had dinner consisting of bacon, stewed plums, new potatoes, and cornbread. Weather very hot and sultry, no news from any place. Read some in the May *Atlantic*. Retired about 9 P.M. . . .

CAMP ABOUT 12 OR 13 MILES FROM SNYDER'S BLUFF.
ON THE VALLEY ROAD

Saturday, June 6, 1863.

We were up at daybreak, had been in position and harnessed all night. Hitched up after watering horses and had breakfast at

50. Henry Ferra of Chicago had been made regimental sergeant major of the 43rd Illinois to rank from Dec. 16, 1861. *Report of the Adjutant General,* III: 246.

51. Jordan was the soldiers' name for a former slave who, upon deserting his master, had attached himself to the battery.

52. There was no substance to the report that the Confederates had attacked the Union gunboats on the Yazoo. Kimball, however, had received alarming news from the naval officers. They told him that the Yazoo was falling rapidly — fourteen inches every twenty-four hours. If this kept up, they added, the gunboats would soon find it impossible to cross Satartia bar. During the day, three of the four infantry regiments belonging to Col. Milton Montgomery's brigade reached Satartia and reported to General Kimball.

53. Detachments from Johnson's mounted command visited the Big Black east of Mechanicsburg and burned several ferryboats. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 437-38.

about 5 A.M., consisting of bacon, coffee, stewed plums and molasses. I was detailed to take [James F.] Whittle's team, he being ill.[54]

While waiting we saw a man belonging to the 11th Mo. straddling a rail with a string in his mouth attached to a board behind him marked "coward," it was done by the soldiers of his regiment, who found him at the landing and punished him. He has been 2 years in the regiment and never fired a musket. He [was] marched to Mower's headquarters and back on the way changing a pole for a sharp rail. He was evidently half idiotic or he would have made some resistance.

Our battery commenced moving about 9 or 10 A.M., a section following each brigade.[55] The 43d, 61st, 106th Ill. and 12th Mich., being ahead.[56] We passed a jumble of baggage and ambulance wagons on the hill. Weather is awfully hot and the troops are not accustomed to marching in the heat of the day in this section of the country. Before we had marched 2 or 3 miles, we noticed blankets, jackets, coats, etc., which perfectly line the road. We marched slowly, but before we reached Parties' plantation the ambulance wagons were full of sun struck or fatigued soldiers. The baggage wagons were also filled or filling.

We stopped about ½ hour at Parties' plantation at about 1 P.M. and had just prepared some coffee and freshened some bacon when we moved off again and had to eat what was cooked as best we could on the team or caisson. We have [never] been on so ill conducted march and cannot learn why it is that the troops are being marched as if for life or death when nothing is ahead of us or in our rear to occasion so unnecessary haste.[57]

54. Whittle, a resident of Chicago, had joined the battery as a sergeant on July 16, 1861. The two Whittle boys were brothers. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 605.

55. Reports brought in by Kimball's scouts indicated that Maj. Gen. William H. T. Walker with between 15,000 and 20,000 battle-hardened Confederate troops was at Yazoo City. This news, taken in conjunction with the information provided by the navy that the Yazoo was falling, completely unnerved Kimball. Furthermore, he had received a message from Grant not to run the "risk of having any portion of the army cut off or defeated." He accordingly determined to fall back to Snyder's Bluff. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 437-38, Pt. 3, p. 384.

56. These four regiments constituted Engelmann's brigade. *Ibid.,* Pt. 2, p. 155.

57. The Confederates made no effort to pursue the retreating Federals on the sixth. On the morning of June 7, Col. Lawrence S. Ross with his crack Texas cavalry brigade was sent to harass Kimball's column. Reaching Satartia, the Texans found that the Unionists, in their hurry to get away,

We stopped at about dusk 12 miles from Snyder's Bluff. The infantry are not ¼ of them here, they are either in the Wagons, ambulances or straggling not being able to keep up. It is said that 3 or 4 in the 106th Ill. and as many more in the other regiments have died from being sunstruck. All along the road, where the shrubbery around a ditch would afford a little shelter, could be seen both officers and soldiers receiving the care of the surgeons. The ginhouses and sheds were filled with exhausted soldiers, such was the march of to-day of about 10 or 12 miles.

Our section camped with the brigade [Engelmann's] we had been following all day and the balance of the battery, about 3 or 4 yds back on the road. We made our bed of corn stalks and retired after supper about 9 P.M.

Otto went on guard from 9 to 11 P.M. Capt. Barrett came around and gave orders to unharness, about 9.30 P.M., and the boys had to get up and do it. Otto unharnessed for me.

CAMP AT SNYDER'S BLUFF, MISS.

Sunday, June 7, 1863.

We were awakened by moonrise about 2 A.M., harnessed and hitched up immediately, expecting to move so as to avoid marching in the heat of the day, but in fact did not move until after sunrise. It was cloudy, the first few hours of sunrise. The column marched until we reached a creek near which we camped a week ago, here we were allowed to water, feed and get breakfast all in an hour. We succeeded in getting it ready, but had to eat it on the way.

The sun came out hotter, if possible, than yesterday, and the infantry cannot possibly stand such marching. Regiments behind us are throwing away even their muskets and it is reported that our cavalry are skirmishing in the rear to prevent guerrillas from picking up our numerous stragglers.[58] Our center section is ahead with another brigade, and the right and left section are near the rear. We went all of the way by the Valley road and not like the last time . . . [when we took] the Ridge road.

At about 11 A.M., we stopped at Roach's plantation to water and

had left behind a large supply of rations (mostly hardtack and ham) and twenty-five tents. Beyond this brief foray by Ross's brigade, Johnston made no effort to seize the initiative. Working parties from Walker's command were kept busy throwing up earthworks on the approaches to Yazoo City — an activity certain to dampen their ardor. *Ibid.*, Pt. 3, p. 951, Pt. 2, pp. 440, 442.

58. Patrols from Ross's brigade trailed Kimball's column to within eight miles of Snyder's Bluff. The story that the Union cavalry was in contact with Ross's Texans was untrue. *Ibid.*, 440.

then moved on, reaching Snyder's Bluff about 1 P.M. It is inexpressibly hot. We encamped above the creek and had supper about 6 P.M. Stragglers have been coming in all the afternoon and are not all in yet, ambulances are being sent back to pick up those unable to walk that lie along the road.

The boys call it a regular Potomac management of troops and think if Kimball is a specimen of Eastern generals there can be no wondering at the constant failures.[59] It is said that Gen. Kimball left Mechanicsburg out of fear, and without orders so criminally marched the troops because he was afraid of being gobbled, which fear none but his staff and he shared.[60]

We changed camp at about 7 P.M. taking the camp-grounds just vacated by the 11th Ohio Battery.[61] The 2d brigade [Richmond's] of Kimball's division is now marching out to Mechanicsburg and vicinity, the 18th Ill. are in that brigade.[62]

I was on detail to load and unload the wagons. 3 wagons went to the landing for rations and feed. . . . Went in swimming before retiring and changed my underclothing. Retired about 11 P.M. Weather hot, hotter, hottest all day.

CAMP AT SNYDER'S BLUFF, MISS.

Monday, June 8, 1863.

Otto and I put up our shelter tent after breakfast and tried to make ourselves as comfortable as possible. Reports are alive that

59. General Kimball had served in the Army of the Potomac. He had been badly wounded at Fredericksburg on Dec. 13, before the stone wall at the foot of Marye's Heights. After being discharged from a hospital and returning to duty, Kimball had been assigned to the Army of the Tennessee. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 290.

60. Affeld was mistaken. Grant had cautioned Kimball that he should determine the strength of the Confederate force at Yazoo City before permitting his command to advance beyond Mechanicsburg. Grant did not want to run the risk of having his army beaten in detail. He would leave it up to Kimball's discretion whether Colonel Johnson's cavalry should press on to Way's Bluff.

Kimball's pessimistic reports describing the strategic situation in the Mechanicsburg sector caused Grant to make a personal investigation. By the time Grant's headquarters boat reached Satartia on the evening of June 6, Kimball had evacuated Mechanicsburg. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 384, 387, Pt. 1, p. 94.

61. The 11th Battery, Ohio Light Artillery, was attached to the 7th Division, 17th Army Corps. *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 157.

62. Affeld was mistaken. Richmond's brigade was not en route to Mechanicsburg. These troops were being sent to occupy the earthworks which the Federals were throwing up to cover the approaches to Snyder's Bluff from the northeast.

Gen. Kimball is under arrest and we all hope that it is true.[63] The telegraph is just finished to this place.[64]

Working parties are at work erecting forts on the hills on and around Snyder's Bluff. Commissary Chauncy Wicker and the wagons returned from the river to-day and brought mail but no letter for us, got papers of the 3d.[65] There are reports of a fight at Milliken's Bend, the rebels attacking the place garrisoned by a negro regiment just organizing. It is said that they fought well and drove the rebels back.[66] An attack was also made against Young's Point, but abandoned as the enemy judging from the empty tents and camps that there was a large force there.[67]

News from Vicksburg is that we are working our way slow but sure, and also that hand grenades are being manufactured to be used on the enemy in the next attempt to take the place. Several of D. K. Newell's brothers are at the landing, but they think they will be unable to remove his body.[68]

Sergeant [George L.] Purinton bought a barrel of eggs and I bought a doz. of him.[69] We had fried eggs, beans and bacon for dinner and for supper we had stewed prunes, fried eggs, codfish

63. There was no truth to the report that General Kimball had been placed under arrest. Grant, however, was disenchanted with Kimball. On June 8 he placed Maj. Gen. Cadwallader C. Washburn in charge of the Union troops at Snyder's Bluff. *Ibid.,* Pt. 3, pp. 391-92, 396.

64. During the siege of Vicksburg, the signal corps strung many miles of wire. Grant's headquarters were connected by telegraph with those of his principal subordinates. *Ibid.,* Pt. 1, p. 137.

65. Private Wicker of Chicago had enlisted in Battery B on July 25, 1861. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 608.

66. Brig. Gen. Henry E. McCulloch's Texas brigade (1,500 strong) attacked the Union garrison (one white and three Negro regiments) at Milliken's Bend at daybreak on June 7. In the savage fighting which ensued, the Texans compelled the bluecoats to fall back behind a levee which fronted the river. Here, supported by the fire of the ironclad *Choctaw,* the Union Infantry rallied. Unable to cross the levee, the Southerners retired. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 467-70.

67. Affeld was mistaken. In addition to a number of casuals there were three infantry regiments (the 108th, 120th, and 131st Illinois) stationed at Young's Point. The sight of these troops and the Union tinclads caused the Confederates to call off their attack. *Ibid.,* 471-72; *O.R.N.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXV, pp. 161-62; *Report of the Adjutant General,* VI: 72-73, 368, 606.

68. Pvt. Douglas K. Newell of Chicago had been killed on May 20, 1863. He had been shot through the head by a Confederate sharpshooter, while thumbing the vent of the gun to which Affeld was assigned. Affeld and several other members of the battery had buried Newell a short distance behind the lines. *Ibid.,* VIII: 608.

69. Sergeant Purinton of Chicago had enlisted in the battery on July 16, 1861. *Ibid.,* VIII: 605.

and coffee. We went in swimming after dusk and in anticipation of rain dug a trench around our tent and retired, but had hardly lain down when the harness call was blown and every body astir to get ready for the boats to go to Young's Point, as it is generally thought.[70]

After waiting about an hour the battery moved a few hundred yards down across the creek and there we spread our blankets to await a boat which may be here in five minutes and may not be here in five hours. We retired for the second time at about 11 P.M.

CAMP AT SNYDER'S BLUFF, MISS.

Tuesday, June 9, 1863.

We were up at sunrise. There are several boats here but none for us. We had breakfast and no boat, had dinner and no boat, then waited until after supper before a boat came for us. The infantry of Mower's brigade left this morning. It is said to-day that Maj. [Ezra] Taylor has his commission of the 1st Regt. Ill. Arty. as Col., Capt. Barrett as Maj. and [Israel P.] Rumsey as Capt., this is merely report but the two first are quite probable.[71]

During the afternoon I went on board the *City of Madison* where the *DeKalb* boys were drawing rations for their boat, I had a long chat with several of them and an invitation to come aboard their boat when convenient. Reports of several kinds are in circulation in reference to Kimball. One is that he requested our boys not to make any noise nor whistle as the rebels were on the hills and would be apt to hear us. The boys in consequence made more noise than before.

After sunset the *Black Hawk* came up the river and we loaded on board her and steamed off about 8.30 P.M. for Young's Point. We retired about 9 P.M.

70. Satisfied that Johnston's army of relief did not constitute an immediate threat to his position before Vicksburg, Grant decided it would be safe to send Mower's brigade and Battery B to reinforce the troops charged with the defense of Milliken's Bend and Young's Point. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, p. 390.

71. Taylor was promoted colonel, to rank from May 6, 1863; Barrett was advanced to major, to rank from Feb. 25, 1863. Rumsey's promotion to captain of Battery B was postdated Feb. 25. Taylor, who had organized the battery, had been the unit's first captain. He had been made a major of the 1st Illinois Light Artillery Regiment on Oct. 23, 1861. Israel Rumsey of Chicago had joined Battery B as junior second lieutenant on May 15, 1861; he had been promoted junior first lieutenant on Oct. 23, 1861. *Report of the Adjutant General*, VIII: 597, 605.

DONALD M. MURRAY–ROBERT M. RODNEY

Colonel Julian E. Bryant: Champion of the Negro Soldier

Coauthors Donald M. Murray and Robert M. Rodney are professors of English at Northern Illinois University, De Kalb, where their specialties are Henry James and Mark Twain, respectively. They have a common interest in American literature and midwestern culture, and currently they are engaged in research for a three-generation chronicle of the Bryant families of Massachusetts and their migrations to Illinois and Kansas. Murray-Rodney articles on the letters of Peter Bryant (a cousin of Colonel Julian E. Bryant) appeared in the Autumn and Winter, 1961, issues of the Kansas Historical Quarterly.

ON THE CIVIL WAR monument to Robert Gould Shaw in Boston Common is inscribed the following memorial to the men of the Union Army who led Negro troops into battle:

> The white officers, taking life and honor in their hands, cast in their lot with men of a despised race unproved in war and risked death as inciters of servile insurrections if taken prisoners, besides encountering all the common perils of camp, march, and battle.

These words of Charles W. Eliot were intended as a tribute not only to the celebrated Colonel Shaw but to hundreds of other Northerners who tested the strength of their ideals in the crucible of battle.[1] One such man who played a vital but hitherto unrecounted role in obtaining recognition and justice for the Negro soldier was Julian E. Bryant. An Illinoisan and nephew of the crusading William Cullen Bryant, young Colonel Bryant campaigned throughout the

1. Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm* (New York, 1956), 224. See also Howard Hinz, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (New York, 1939) and *The Monument to Robert Gould Shaw* (Cambridge, Mass., 1897).

war in the western theater, served under Grant in the Vicksburg campaign, survived the bloody Battle of Milliken's Bend leading Negro soldiers in their own defense, commanded a Negro regiment, heatedly agitated for equitable treatment of Negro soldiers in the Northern armies, and died less than a month after the Northern cause had finally triumphed.

The use of liberated slaves as soldiers in the Northern armies had been considered, both as an expedient and as a matter of principle, from the early days of the war; but it was not until the middle of the war that the wisdom of such a policy was really tested on the field of battle. Young Julian Bryant was in the heat of that crucible when, at the Battle of Milliken's Bend, on June 7, 1863, he fought heroically alongside Negro infantrymen against superior numbers of trained Confederate troops in what was up to that time the most vicious hand-to-hand engagement of the war. Hardly more than recruits, but led by capable white officers, the Negroes proved themselves to be first-class fighters and brave men. So it had been at Port Hudson ten days before, and so it was to be at Fort Wagner in July. Bitter controversy over the employment of Negroes as soldiers continued in the North, but by the summer of 1863 the experiment had become a success. Northern authorities and observers recognized that, to a great extent, the successes of the Negro troops were due to the quality of leadership provided by their white officers.

Julian Bryant's short career provides a case study of the kind of liberalism and moral conviction that prompted a small minority of northerners to risk their reputations and even their lives for the cause of social justice under the most adverse circumstances.

Julian was born on November 9, 1836, the second son of Arthur and Henrietta Plummer Bryant, in Princeton, Illinois. This prairie town had been formed at the beginning of the decade by members of the Bryant clan and other

emigrants from Hampshire County, Massachusetts, and it possessed a full share of free-soilers and abolitionists. Two of Julian's uncles, Cyrus and John Howard Bryant, had strong abolitionist sympathies. John Howard gave substantial aid to escaping slaves, many of whom hid in his brother Cyrus's barn. Politically the most active of the four Bryant brothers who settled in Princeton, John was a delegate to the Republican conventions at Pittsburgh in 1856 and Chicago in 1860, and gave hearty support to both Owen Lovejoy and Abraham Lincoln. In New York City was a fourth uncle, William Cullen Bryant, whose *Evening Post* backed Lincoln for President, and who was one of the first prominent New Yorkers to raise funds for Negro regiments.[2]

The boy Julian had the only education that the town afforded, at Miss Smith's School, where he graduated in 1854. Though engaged principally with Day's Algebra and Ballione's Grammar, Miss Smith's pupils were also concerned with current national issues. One of the school exercises was a debate on the effects of emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies.[3] Also, Julian's cousin and classmate, Peter Bryant, received from his Aunt Melissa Dawes in Cummington, Massachusetts, epistolary lectures on abolition. "You probably will know, Peter," she once wrote, "that I have from my childhood been an *out* and *out* Abolitionist, & I glory in the name, for I *know* it is the cause of Christ."[4] Whether Julian caught some of Aunt Melissa's fervor at this time is unknown, but he was exposed to the crusade at an impressionable age both within and outside the family. Little else is known about Julian's youthful accomplishments, except that he was an effective speaker:

2. On the Bryants of Illinois see H. C. Bradsby, ed., *History of Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1885), esp. 155 ff. and 469 ff.; Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1883); and *Dictionary of American Biography*.

3. Essays on this subject, written by two of Julian's cousins, Peter and Cullen Bryant, are preserved in the Bryant Family Papers, Manuscript Room, New York Public Library.

4. Letter dated Cummington, Mass., April 28, 1854, Bryant Family Papers.

Peter records that Julian's farewell speech had the other pupils in tears.[5]

According to one of his contemporaries, Julian in his early twenties was mainly interested in drawing, which he practiced from early boyhood, but under conditions which were "not the most favorable."[6] At the age of twenty-one he managed to take a trip to New York, where he spent a year "studying, and sketching from nature." After another year of self-education back in Princeton, he had achieved what was, under the circumstances, a fair competence as a painter. His landscapes, some of which are preserved in the Bureau County Historical Society Museum at Princeton, show a marked influence of the Hudson River school. Perhaps his uncle William, who had been a friend of Thomas Cole (1801-1842), had introduced Julian to this experienced member of the group. Julian may well have heeded Asher Durand, for instance, who advised young painters: "Go first to Nature to learn to paint landscape, and when you shall have learned to imitate her, you may then study the pictures of great artists with benefit."[7] Julian's paintings tend to be academic and labored, but his later pen-and-ink sketches, done during the Civil War, have an honest and appealing realism, and sometimes show a fine sense of composition. At the least, they are valuable to the historian. In any case, Julian was considered an artist, and by 1860 he had been accepted as a teacher of drawing at Illinois State Normal University in Bloomington.[8] Before the war he had painted, besides his landscapes, four large pictures depicting geological epochs for the Illinois Natural History Society.[9]

5. Letter dated Princeton, Ill., March 20, 1854, in Bryant Family Association Papers, Bureau County Historical Society Museum, Princeton, Ill.

6. Biographical sketch in James Barnet, ed., *The Martyrs and Heroes of Illinois* (Chicago, 1865), 241-44.

7. Virgil Barker, *American Painting* (New York, 1950), 431.

8. "Alumni Register, Illinois State Normal University," *The Normal School Quarterly,* July, 1927, p. 271.

9. Information supplied by Professor Walter B. Hendrickson, MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill.

As war came closer, the young men of Princeton and Bloomington began forming volunteer companies of militia. By late summer of 1861, Julian had left Bloomington and was back in Princeton, where he opened a recruiting station for a "teachers' brigade." The group he formed became the nucleus of Company E of the 33rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Its colonel, Charles E. Hovey, was the president of Illinois State Normal and father of the poet Richard Hovey. This "brain regiment" brought together students and teachers from all over the state. So learned were the rank and file, it was said, that they would not obey an order unless it was "correct in syntax and orthography." Julian himself must have been a conscientious student of the art of war. Perhaps, also, he had learned something from his father, Arthur Bryant, who had been at West Point. Because he was better versed in the theories of military science than most of the recruits, Julian was elected second lieutenant of Company E. The captain of the company, Isaac H. Elliott, later wrote: "If the fitness of things had been observed, he would have been Captain and I his subordinate. . . . Lt. Bryant was a scholarly and most promising young man."[10]

Amid much ceremony and emotion Company E left Princeton on August 19.[11] By September 1 it had reached Camp Butler, near Springfield. On this date Julian wrote home cheerfully:

> We are encamped here in a fine shady grove, with a good clear lake near by, which the men use freely for bathing purposes. The regiment to which we belong will soon be made up. There are now seven companies of infantry on the ground, and one of cavalry, and the remainder are expected in this week.[12]

Later that same month the regiment was on debated

10. Virgil G. Way, comp., and Isaac H. Elliott, *History of the Thirty-third Regiment Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War* (Gibson City, Ill., 1902), 17.
11. *Bureau County Republican* (Princeton, Ill.), Aug. 22, 1861.
12. *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1861.

Colonel Julian E. Bryant. Above is a photograph, and the drawing at the right is believed to be a Bryant self-portrait. The originals of both are in the collection of the Bureau County Historical Society, Princeton, Illinois.

ground, in Missouri. While it moved toward Ironton, Missouri, via St. Louis, Julian seems to have made some kind of history in a minor engagement near Pilot Knob. The Federal force had learned that a place known as the Higginbotham plantation was being used as a rendezvous for recruits entering the army of Confederate General Sterling Price. Lieutenant Bryant and a corporal were sent out to spy. Posing as prospective Confederate recruits, they were "handsomely entertained" by Southern sympathizers. That night they returned with a force of Federals, captured the plantation, and gave arms to about twenty Negroes, who

marched their owners to the 33rd Regiment's camp. "I believe this was the first time in the war," wrote Captain Elliott, "that slaves were liberated and armed."[13] At least it was an early instance of such action, and it must have made young Julian Bryant think about the feasibility of using Negroes as soldiers. Negro "contrabands" had already been used as laborers by the Northern armies, and escaped slaves had been used as spies. However, the first armed encounter on land between insurgent slaves and Southern guerrillas was probably not until that on Simon's Island off the coast of Georgia on August 6, 1862, and the first offensive military action involving Negro troops would await the attack on Port Hudson, Mississippi, on May 27, 1863.[14] The muddle in Washington over whether or not to give official sanction to the use of Negro troops was not to be settled until November, 1862.

The 33rd Illinois remained at Ironton during that first winter of the war, seeing only occasional and minor action. At one time there was a hot skirmish at Big River Bridge, near Potosi, Missouri, in which Captain Elliott was captured, but Julian was not involved. In March, 1862, the regiment moved southward into Arkansas, marched through Pocahontas to Batesville, where it joined Major General Samuel R. Curtis's army, and then proceeded to Helena, on the Mississippi River. There were many skirmishes, and some battles, along the way to "blood" the regiment. The most violent took place on July 7, 1862, at Bayou Cache, where Julian's unit, with fewer than 300 effective men, routed a force of 3,000 Texas cavalry and Arkansas conscripts and killed some 117 Confederates.[15] Unfortunately there are no letters by Julian to tell of the event, although his cousin Peter Bryant had written home about a quite different brush with Texas cavalry while "jayhawking" in Missouri the preceding fall. Peter and his men, also out-

13. Way and Elliott, *History of the 33rd,* 23.
14. See Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (Boston, 1953).
15. Barnet, *Martyrs and Heroes,* 241-42.

numbered, had felt compelled to flee, and with justification: "It affords infinite pleasure to be straddle of something that will get over ground like h—l greased if the Texas devils are after you at the ratio of 200 to 25."[16]

In the fall of 1862 Julian, then a first lieutenant, was detached from Company E and assigned to General Hovey's staff.[17] As a junior staff officer he was present at General Sherman's unsuccessful atack on Vicksburg and was also at the storming and capture of Arkansas Post in January, 1863.[18] For his conduct in the latter action, he was accorded honorable mention in official reports by General Hovey.[19] Again, no letters remain to describe his specific roles in these engagements.

During those earlier days of the war, however, Julian made a graphic record of his impressions of the Missouri-Arkansas region through which he campaigned. With a flair for quick pen-and-ink drawings and an artist's eye for the picturesque and human interest, he sketched river scenes, the camp life of soldiers on off-duty hours, fortifications, troops on the march, Union gunboats and river transports, flood refugees, and some of the natives he encountered in the back-country areas. During a relatively short time he did at least twenty-eight such sketches in a portfolio which survived the vicissitudes of army life, was preserved by his family, and is now owned by the Bureau County Historical Society. It is doubtful that he continued his sketching after Vicksburg, when his command and staff responsibilities multiplied with his promotions.

Early in 1863 Julian was appointed a major of the newly organized 1st Regiment, Mississippi Infantry, African Descent, a Negro unit later designated as the 51st U. S.

16. Letter dated Holton, Jackson County, Kan., Sept. 1, 1861, Bryant Family Papers.

17. Barnet, *Martyrs and Heroes,* 242.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 767; cited hereafter as *O.R.*

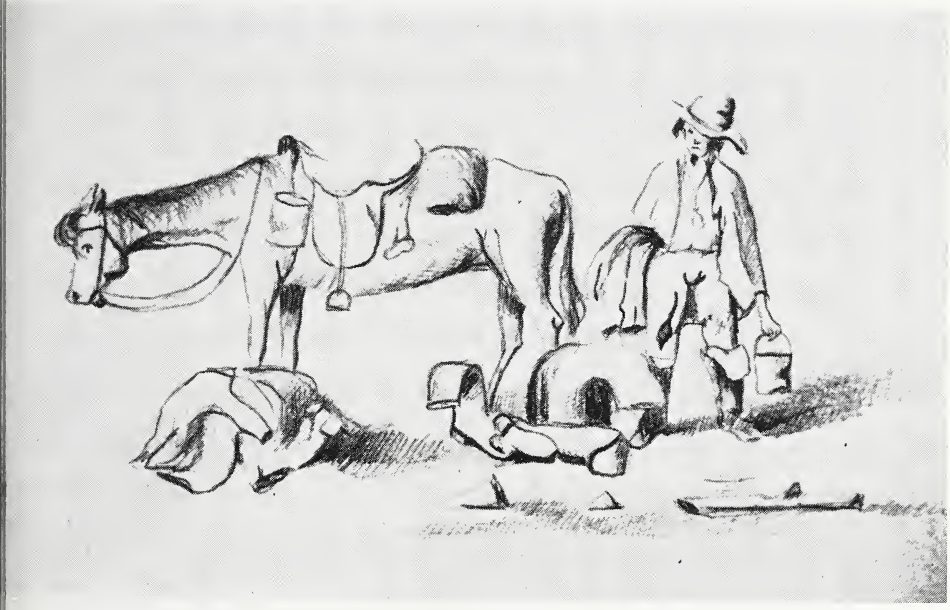
"Fish for Dinner." This and the following drawings by Julian E. Bryant are from the collection of the Bureau County Historical Society, which granted permission for their publication.

"Union Gunboat on the Mississippi"

"Flotilla of Union Troop Transports"

"Union Officers Off Duty"

"Union Troops Fording a River"



"Saddling Up" — this is one of several humorous drawings in the collection. Bryant titled the drawing on the front cover of this Journal *"Camp 33rd Ill., Batesville, Ark." He was in Arkansas in the spring of 1862.*

Colored Infantry.[20] This appointment was a confirmation of his character and ability, for the Federal government had determined to follow a policy of selecting only superior white officers for this type of duty. Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas commented significantly on this policy in a press interview a few months later:

> [At Cairo] I said, in substance, that I had been sent there by the Secretary of War, upon instructions from the President, to announce to the troops the settled policy of the Government in relation to the blacks. . . . I said it was my purpose to organize these men into regiments, and I was going to place white men over them as officers and sergeants, and I was going to have none whose hearts were not fully in the work. I didn't care what rank he came from, from the highest position down, I was going to select the best men I could find, even if I had to take the Colonel from the ranks. The officers should be good.[21]

That Julian's heart was fully in the work is attested by two further promotions to commanding officer of a Negro regiment and by two important subsequent events. That he was one of the most competent Northern officers to command Negro soldiers is confirmed by the memorial of his fellow officers after his death and by Captain Elliott's further testimonial: "For his conspicuous ability and high soldierly qualities he was made Lt. Colonel of the 96th U.S.C.I., which he commanded with great success."[22]

Julian Bryant's initiation into service with the United States Colored Infantry was a violent one: very shortly after taking his new assignment he helped to lead his regiment in the bloody Battle of Milliken's Bend. The background of this action was the siege of Vicksburg. A fortification at Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi River, twenty miles upstream from the invested city, was in Union hands

20. Julian Bryant's service record in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., reads: "Appointed per Special Order No. 24 issued by L. Thomas, Adjutant General, U.S.A., dated at Milliken's Bend, La., May 9th, 1863. Discharged as 1st Lt. of Co. 'E' Ill. Vols. Infantry. By order of Major General Grant, Comdg Dept. of the Tennessee."

21. *New York Times,* July 20, 1863.

22. Way and Elliott, *History of the 33rd,* 17.

but weakly manned. Its garrison consisted of the understrength 23rd Iowa Volunteer Infantry and the African Brigade. The latter consisted of the new 9th Louisiana, 11th Louisiana, and 1st Mississippi Negro regiments – "all very raw partially organized contraband regiments."[23] Julian's regiment had been mustered in at Vicksburg and at Milliken's Bend on May 16, unaware that they were to go into battle only three weeks later. One of the regiments received its arms, some of them defective, only the day before the battle. All told, the defenders of this vital post numbered approximately one thousand men (160 white soldiers, 900 Negro recruits). Against this inadequate and poorly trained garrison the Confederates, determined to take the post so as to provide a possible escape route for Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton's forces in Vicksburg, launched a sudden assault with fifteen hundred experienced troops at dawn on June 7. The defenders of the post occupied a position between two levees, with their backs to the river as they confronted Confederate Brigadier General Henry E. McCulloch's four regiments of Texans. The action that followed is vividly described by Union General Elias Dennis in his official report:

> At 3 o'clock the following morning the enemy made their appearance in strong force on the main Richmond road, driving the pickets before them. The enemy advanced upon the left of our line, throwing out no skirmishers, marching in close column by division, with a strong cavalry force on his right flank. Our forces, consisting of the Twenty-third Iowa Volunteer Infantry and the African Brigade (in all, 1,061 men), opened upon the enemy when within musket-shot range, which made them waver and recoil, a number running in confusion to the rear; the balance, pushing on with intrepidity, soon reached the levee, when they were ordered to charge, with cries of "no quarter!"
>
> The African regiments being inexperienced in the use of arms, some of them having been drilled but a few days, and the guns being very inferior, the enemy succeeded in getting upon our works

23. Cyrus Sears, *The Battle of Milliken's Bend* (Columbus, Ohio, 1909), 11.

before more than one or two volleys were fired at them. Here ensued a most terrible hand-to-hand conflict of several minutes' duration, our men using the bayonet freely and clubbing their guns with fierce obstinacy, contesting every inch of ground, until the enemy succeeded in flanking them, and poured a murderous enfilading fire along our lines, directing their fire chiefly to the officers, who fell in numbers. Not till they were overpowered and forced by superior numbers did our men fall back behind the bank of the river, at the same time pouring volley after volley into the ranks of the advancing enemy.

The gunboat now got into position and fired a broadside into the enemy, who immediately disappeared behind the levee, but all the time keeping up a fire upon our men.

The enemy at this time appeared to be extending his line to the extreme right, but was held in check by two companies of the Eleventh Louisiana Infantry, African descent, which had been posted behind cotton bales and part of the old levee. In this position the fight continued until near noon, when the enemy suddenly withdrew.[24]

The vindictiveness of the attackers was evidenced after the battle by the grim discovery of the charred skeletons of white officers who, commanding Negro troops, had been captured during the fighting at Milliken's Bend and then crucified and burned.[25] One of the surviving officers, Major Julian Bryant, was "conspicuous for his gallantry and energy in rallying and leading on the troops after they had been driven to the brink of the river."[26] General Grant, in his report to the Adjutant General, noted that "in this battle most of the troops engaged were Africans, who had but little experience in the use of fire-arms. Their conduct is said, however, to have been most gallant, and I doubt not but with good officers they will make good troops."[27] Of the many other testimonials to the courage of the Negro soldiers that day, one may be selected to represent all. Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana, who was in the

24. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, pp. 447-48.
25. *Ibid.,* Pt. 3, p. 589, quoted from *Missouri Democrat.*
26. Barnet, *Martyrs and Heroes,* 242.
27. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 2, p. 446.

area at the time reporting to the Secretary of War on the Vicksburg campaign, later wrote:

> This engagement at Milliken's Bend became famous from the conduct of the colored troops. General E. S. Dennis, who saw the battle, told me that it was the hardest fought engagement he had ever seen. It was fought mainly hand to hand. . . . "It is impossible," said General Dennis, "for men to show greater gallantry than the negro troops in that fight."[28]

When he applied for recommissioning and volunteered for assignment to the African Brigade, Julian Bryant had committed himself to the welfare of the Negro soldiers. The action at Milliken's Bend confirmed his faith in their manly character and their military aptitude. From this time on, he devoted the rest of his short life to winning for them the recognition and respect of their fellow white soldiers and of the Washington authorities.

After the Battle of Milliken's Bend, Julian's regiment was assigned to the "Post and Defenses of Goodrich's Landing" and other duties in the Vicksburg area for eighteen months. Except for a minor action at Ross's Landing, Grand Lake, in February, 1864, the Negro soldiers of his unit did largely post and garrison duty.[29] Julian himself was, by the fall of 1863, engaged in a special duty for which his interest in, and his sympathy for, the Negro especially equipped him. He was assigned as an "Inspecting Officer" with a mission "to enquire into the conditions of the Contrabands in this District, as required by Special Order No. 14 from the District Head Quarters."[30] His work was apparently part of a military survey similar to that conducted by the Federal Inquiry Commission, a civilian group consisting of Robert Dale Owen, James McKaye, and Samuel G. Howe, appointed by

28. Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War* (New York, 1898), 86.

29. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1908), 1344; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vols. XVII, XXXII, XXXIX.

30. Report by Maj. Julian Bryant to District Commander, Oct. 10, 1863, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

the Secretary of War after the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. In June of that year the commission had published a preliminary report describing conditions among three groups of liberated Negroes: refugees, military laborers, and soldiers. Excerpts from the report had been published in the *New York Evening Post,*[31] and Julian had very likely read them.

Major Bryant's own report to his district commander, dated Goodrich's Landing, October 10, 1863, [32] is a lengthy and circumstantial account of the conditions of the "contrabands" on government lessee plantations, on infirmary farms, in government-controlled camps, and among the floating Negro population of northeast Louisiana. The young inspector had found conditions very bad, indeed; and through the official language and careful documentation of his report occasionally erupts a forthright indignation over the human problem of the liberated Negroes:

> I regret to state that in no case have I found a strict compliance with the terms of their contracts on the part of Lessees of plantations, and in too many an utter disregard of even the commonest principles of humanity and the rights of individuals, in their treatment of the contrabands. Generally the negro has been treated by those employing him, as a mere brute, from whom the greatest amount of labor should be gained at the least possible expense: and not as a free citizen with personal rights and immunities. . . . Almost nothing has been done to raise the negro to a higher level, or to convince him that our Government is in earnest in its declarations that he is a free man with all a free man's rights and privileges.

At the same time that Julian Bryant condemns official indifference to the Northern exploitation which had left the freed Negro "in a more servile and pitiable condition than when a slave under his master," he boldly asserts that "it has been demonstrated that the majority, if stimulated by the right kind of treatment . . . would labor faithfully and steadily: while some show a capacity for management and

31. *New York Evening Post,* Aug. 5, 7, 1863.
32. Bryant's report, National Archives.

energy and executive ability that would do credit to men of education and a white skin."

Four days later Brigadier General J. P. Hawkins endorsed Julian's report and forwarded it to General Sherman's departmental headquarters at Bridgeport, Tennessee, with the sardonic remark that "the report does not half show the hardships and ill treatment the free negroes are subjected to, and if better policy for them cannot be introduced, and humanity is a matter of consideration, we had better call back their former masters and let them take charge of them." Over two months later, General Sherman's headquarters transmitted Major Bryant's report to the Adjutant General's office in Washington, where it was received on January 6 and officially logged and filed on January 9, 1864, three months after its submission. What effect, if any, this remote field officer's protest might have had on Washington policy is undetermined; but the long hold-up at General Sherman's headquarters did little to alleviate the distress of the Louisiana contrabands. On the other hand, the delays of official red tape must have done much to persuade Julian Bryant to circumvent official channels and resort to more direct means of communication in any future crusade for the principal cause for which he personally was fighting the war: the liberation of the Negro slave and humane and dignified treatment for the new citizen.

In January and February of 1864 Julian was engaged in the special duty of recruiting Negro soldiers for a new regiment, the 46th United States Colored Infantry.[33] By September he was to take command of this regiment, but long before that he made a personal effort to better the lot of the men he was to lead. Since the preceding spring, when he had accepted assignment to the colored infantry, he had made a systematic observation of the treatment of Negro soldiers on garrison duty or employed as laborers. His sense of humane and fair treatment and even his sense of efficient

33. Bryant's service record, National Archives.

use of human resources had often been outraged by what he saw. Undoubtedly he had known officers like General William T. Sherman, who had to be prodded by President Lincoln into allowing Negro enlistments;[34] officers like Colonel Frank Walford, who seditiously agitated against their enlistment in direct violation of government policy;[35] and officers like Lieutenant Colonel Augustus Benedict, who had Negroes in his unit horsewhipped.[36] Above all, he had seen Negroes in the United States Army uniform consistently treated like common laborers. These malpractices had long been tolerated and even tacitly condoned by the vacillation of policy-makers and controversy among the army officers responsible for carrying out the directives handed down from the War Department. Washington was assailed not only by public protests from men like Horace Greeley, who decried the use of Negro troops as laborers in an editorial of January 1, 1863, coinciding with the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation,[37] but also by complaints from within the army against such abuse and against using liberated Negroes in any military capacity at all. In April, 1863, Adjutant General Thomas, in a speech to the Union Army in Mississippi, reassured his officers in that area that he would put the Negro regiments in the rear. "Recollect," he said, "for every regiment of blacks I raise, I raise a regiment of whites to face the foe in the field."[38] This apparently was to be the policy of the government, and General Thomas was fully authorized to speak out and act for both the Secretary of War and the President. After the battles of Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend, Negro troops did little fighting in the Department of the Gulf. Under both Generals Benjamin

34. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 193-94.

35. On Walford, see letter from J. H. Hammond to Brig. Gen. J. A. Rawlins, dated Louisville, Ky., March 10, 1864, in "The Negro in the Military Service of the United States" (8 vols., comp. by the Adjutant General's Office, 1888; now in the National Archives), IV: 2414.

36. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War,* 208.

37. George W. Williams, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* . . . (New York, 1888), 165.

38. *Ibid.,* 161.

F. Butler and Nathaniel P. Banks these troops were assigned to garrison duty, just as they were in the Army of the Cumberland.

The policy of employing Negro soldiers as mere laborers precipitated a controversy both within and outside the army which continued for a year and a half before it was finally resolved in mid-1864. The crusade waged against this policy by journalists and citizens' committees was motivated very largely by the testimonials of indignant officers like Julian Bryant. "In their editorials on military policy," Allan Nevins points out, "[William Cullen] Bryant, Parke Godwin, and Charles Nordhoff were guided by officers who wrote from the field or whom they met in the city; and their comments were remarkably sound."[39]

It is evident from reports of the controversy that the army recruiting service had not at first intended any more dignified role for the Negro soldier than that of a common laborer, that during early 1863 he was employed largely for rear area garrison duty, and that even after Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend the official army attitude toward his employment changed very slowly in spite of official government policy and directives from Washington. At the year's close, the practice of using Negro soldiers as labor battalions still continued, protests notwithstanding. The petitions of citizens and governors, the occasional complaints of field generals, and even the official admonitions of the Adjutant General himself were of little avail. To an obscure field officer stationed in the lower Mississippi, it seemed obvious that an aroused public opinion was the only recourse left to correct the misuse and abuse of his Negro soldiers. To Major Julian Bryant this evil was "too serious to be borne in silence," and he decided to take matters into his own hands by a direct appeal to the press.

Julian had read an editorial in his uncle William's *New York Evening Post* of November 17, 1863, which had ques-

39. Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York, 1922), 291.

tioned the use of Negro troops for fatigue duty in the encampments around besieged Charleston. "The colored men are . . . kept constantly at work in the trenches," charged the editor, "and no opportunity is allowed them for perfecting themselves in military exercises and manoeuvres. They are employed in digging – their exercises are with spade and shovel; they are treated as menials rather than as soldiers." The editor was very likely thinking of his nephew Julian as he wrote, for he gave prominent place in the editorial to the expectations and purposes of the white officers who had been given charge of the Negroes. These officers, he asserted, had been appointed to create soldiers who would be "able to meet the rebels in the field and on an equal footing of discipline and capacity." Instead they were being called upon to supervise mere laborers. "At this rate the white officers . . . should never be called captains, colonels, &c, but overseers, taskmasters, drivers." He concluded, "The government should look to this." Apparently the army did look to it, for on December 2, 1863, the *Evening Post* printed an order from commanding officer Major General Quincy A. Gillmore that "colored troops will not be required to perform any labor which is not shared by white troops, but will receive in all respects the same treatment and be allowed the same opportunities for drill and instruction." The *Post* "rejoiced" at this new attitude.

If the *Post's* denunciation of these evils had brought reform in South Carolina, why could it not do the same in other theaters of the war? Perhaps this kind of public exposure was more effective, after all, than going through army channels or writing to congressmen. On January 22, 1864, Julian Bryant wrote William Cullen Bryant the following letter:

VICKSBURG MISS Jan 22, 1864

DEAR UNCLE:

A short time since you published in your paper a statement concerning the treatment received by colored troops at Charleston from the Com'dg. Officers there. The same state of affairs obtains

here, that is there complained of. For the past three months the colored regiments here have been constantly at work upon the fortifications, doing common laborers duty at the landings, loading and unloading boats and barges, or policing the streets of the town, while white regiments are lying idle in camp, or are occupied only in soldierly duties.

Orders for *permanent details* are constantly received, and the men of the regiments are becoming scattered beyond any hope of being returned. Yet while imposing on them all the menial duties of the Post, the commanding officers profess sympathy and friendship for the colored troops. It is true that these duties must necessarily be performed, but if the colored troops are recognized as United States soldiers, it is not only an injustice but a violation of military regulations, to show such partiality in assigning them to duty.

These regiments have been doing active duty ever since they were first organized, have been compelled to face the enemy, even before they were mustered into service, or could properly use the arms placed in their hands. Have had no aid or protection from white troops: often times have had bitter opposition from them: yet – having done themselves credit under adverse circumstances, are now compelled to use the shovel and pick, or carry grain on the levees.

I make these statements hoping that you may see fit to give this subject a ventilation. Of course it is not my place to complain or criticise the action of my superiors: but if this matter were brought before the public, I think that it might influence the action of some of our General Officers who have an eye to their own future political prosperity.

The evil is becoming too serious to be borne in silence – and if the representations of them, made through the proper military channels will not effect any reform: then I see no course but to resort to something *un*-military.

Please remember me to Aunt Frances, and Cousins Fanny and Julia

Sincerely yours
JULIAN E. BRYANT
Lieut Col 1st Miss Vols Infty

To Wm C Bryant[40]

William Cullen Bryant did "see fit to give this subject a ventilation." Using his nephew's letter as the basis of

40. Bryant Family Papers.

an editorial protest, the editor of the *Post* published the following on February 19, 1864:

. . . We hear complaints of a like nature from the southwest. From a sure source we learn that the colored troops in the neighborhood of Vicksburg, instead of being immediately put to the drill on their enlistment, and made fit for duty when needed, have been kept constantly at work on the fortifications, performing the tasks of common laborers at the landings, loading and unloading boats and barges, and serving as a street police in Vicksburg, while the white regiments are lying idle in camp, or occupied only in duties which belong to a military life.

There is another practice which stands in the way of making soldiers of colored men. Orders for what are called "permanent details" upon the colored regiments are frequently received, which withdraw portions of the colored troops from the rest, and thus the men become, as our authority states, "scattered beyond all hope of being returned." All this while there is, we hear, no want of professions of good will on the part of the commanding officers towards the colored troops. So far as words go this is very well; and, so far as deeds are concerned, there can be no objection to put upon the black soldiers a full proportion of the labors not strictly military, which the convenience of the army may require to be performed; but to put the whole burden of these labors on them, to the prejudice of their instruction in things that fit them for the calling of a soldier, is not only a gross injustice but a violation of military regulations, and, as a matter of policy, exceedingly short-sighted and improvident. The colored troops, like all others, should be made good soldiers as soon as possible, that the war may be finished the earlier.

Yet, these regiments have been compelled to face the enemy, on some occasions, even before they were regularly mustered, and before they knew how properly to handle their arms. They did themselves credit; they showed that they were the very stuff of which good soldiers could be made with a little discipline. To throw away the opportunity of making them such, as we are now doing, is a most foolish proceeding, as well as exceedingly unfair to them. We hope the attention of the War Department will be turned to this matter and the proper remedy immediately applied.

Although this was the fourth editorial that William Cullen Bryant wrote on this subject within two months,[41] none of

41. See *New York Evening Post,* Nov. 17, Dec. 2, 1863, and Jan. 20, 1864.

the others had taken the government to task so severely as this one. The full impact of this protest lies in the source of the editorial, which for the most part is an obvious transcription and paraphrase of Julian's letter.

Although the "proper remedy" was not "immediately applied," reforms for the Negro soldier did come during the following months of 1864. In the spring Adjutant General Thomas called for more careful screening of officer applicants to serve with Negro units, and on June 14 he issued the following categorical order:

LOUISVILLE, KY., June 14, 1864

ORDERS NO. 21

The incorporation into the Army of the United States of colored troops renders it necessary that they should be brought as speedily as possible to the highest state of discipline. Accordingly the practice which has hitherto prevailed, no doubt from necessity, of requiring these troops to perform most of the labor on fortifications and the labor and fatigue duties of permanent stations and camps will cease, and they will only be required to take their fair share of fatigue duty with the white troops. This is necessary to prepare them for the higher duties of conflicts with the enemy. Commanders of colored troops in cases where the troops under their commands are required to perform an excess of labor above white troops in the same command will represent the case to the common superior through the regular channels.

By order of the Secretary of War:

L. THOMAS, *Adjutant-General*[42]

Another milestone was the act passed by Congress on June 15, 1864, after long debate, granting Negro soldiers the same "uniform, clothing, arms, equipments, camp equipage, rations, medical and hospital attendance, pay, and emoluments, other than bounty, as other soldiers."[43]

Thus Julian Bryant and his fellow champions of equal justice and treatment within the military service partially realized their aspirations before the war was over.

Julian did not live to see the actual emancipation of the

42. *O.R.*, Ser. III, Vol. IV, p. 431.
43. Quoted in Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 202.

race he befriended. The rest of his service during the closing days of the Civil War is a fitting but pathetic epilogue. In March, 1864, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel in command of the 51st U.S. Colored Infantry, and in September he was appointed colonel and commander of the 46th U.S. Colored Infantry.[44] This unit was notoriously hard to manage[45] and the fact that Julian was chosen to lead it is further testimony to his ability. Brigadier General John P. Hawkins wrote to the Adjutant General: "Whoever is placed in Command of the 46th should have peculiar qualifications, and Lt. Col. Bryant is more suitable than any one I know of."[46] Organized from the 1st Arkansas Infantry, African Descent, on May 11 of that year, the 46th was attached to the Post of Milliken's Bend until November. Colonel Bryant and his regiment were then stationed in the vicinity of Vicksburg for two months and attached to the Post and Defenses of Memphis for a month. In February, 1865, they were ordered to New Orleans, from where they were sent, in May and just after the end of the war, to garrison duty at Brownsville and Clarksville, Texas, on the Rio Grande River. These were points "of great importance . . . in case of a foreign war or subsequent operations with the rebels," according to the chief engineer of the Department of the Gulf.[47] Once again Julian Bryant found that

44. Bryant service record, National Archives. Julian Bryant's promotion to regimental command grade dated from Nov. 30, 1863. Between that date and the following March he was on "detached service recruiting" for the "First Regiment, Mississippi Volunteer Infantry of A.D. [African Descent]." Upon his mustering-in as commander of this new Negro unit, it was reorganized as the 51st Regiment United States Colored Infantry. The 51st and its new commander saw action six days later at Langley's plantation in Issaquena County, Miss., and was stationed at Lake Providence, La., and Goodrich Landing in the Vicksburg area. Upon his promotion to the rank of colonel and commander of the 46th Regiment, U.S.C.I., he was assigned as commander of the Post of Milliken's Bend, La. These rapid promotions and command assignments demonstrate not only his zeal in the recruitment of Negro soldiers but also the leadership qualities demanded of white officers assigned to Negro troops.

45. Barnet, *Martyrs and Heroes,* 242.

46. Bryant service record, National Archives.

47. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 4 p. 160; on other assignments see

he was serving with one of five regiments "organized as infantry, but with a special view to the engineer service." But no time was left for him to protest what appeared to be another conversion of his regiment to a labor corps. At Brazos Santiago, Texas, on May 14, three days after arriving at his new post, Julian was drowned while bathing in the Gulf of Mexico.[48] A regimental committee, in a set of resolutions to commemorate their twenty-eight-year-old commander, testified that "in view of his untimely fate – cut off in the very flower of his manhood – . . . we do deeply feel his loss, and realize that the energies of the entire regiment are paralyzed by the removal of its chief." With less flourish, but with more perceptiveness, they also resolved that "Col. J. E. Bryant, by his strict impartiality, his promptness and decision as an officer, and his valor in the field, won our highest respect and esteem, and by his brilliant qualities as a scholar, and the many traits that distinguished him as a gentleman, our warmest friendship and love."[49]

Julian Bryant's death was untimely, but his brief appearance on the American scene at a time of national crisis was a more timely event than perhaps his comrades or he, himself, ever suspected.

ibid., Vol. XLI, Pt. 4, p. 986, and Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 1, p. 1050, and Pt. 2, p. 254.

48. Barnet, *Martyrs and Heroes,* 242.

49. *Ibid.,* 244.

GEORGE E. PARKS

One Story of the 109th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment

George E. Parks is a native of Anna, Illinois, where he has been the owner-operator of a drugstore on Main Street for the past forty years. He is a graduate of the University of Illinois, a banker, and an amateur historian. His writings include a pageant, "Centuranna," for the Anna centennial observance in 1954, a series of newspaper stories on "Union County and the Civil War," and a much longer version of this article. For years the author has been accumulating information on the 109th because, as he says, "the desertion of 347 men and the dismissal of twenty-eight officers from one regiment is a bit unusual."

THE SMOKE of a hundred smoldering campfires hung heavily over the hills of Camp Anna on that morning of September 20, 1862, as the men of the 109th and 110th Illinois Volunteer Infantry began to stir. Before the day was over, the 109th, or the "Phillips Invincibles," would parade in new uniforms, with their new silk regimental banner, before none other than the Honorable David Lucas Phillips,[1] Lincoln's friend and supporter. That day Phillips's name was not yet anathema to the Jacksonian Democrats who, for the great part, made up the 109th.

Before an audience of local citizens Phillips delivered a

1. Phillips presented the flag to the regiment, which had been named in his honor. In 1858 Phillips was host to Lincoln when Lincoln and Douglas debated at Jonesboro. He had been appointed the first postmaster at Anna in 1856, and was United States marshal for southern Illinois during the war years. He was later coeditor and co-owner of the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield) and active in the fund-raising drive for the Lincoln Tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield. (Papers of Loring Phillips, grandson of D. L. Phillips.)

most "eloquent and patriotic speech, . . . paying tribute to our once peaceful and prosperous country and praying for a speedy return to its former happy and contented state."[2] His remarks were received by the men with "deafening cheers," and Colonel Alexander J. Nimmo,[3] regimental commander, responded, thanking Phillips for his evidence of good feeling and promising that the 109th would stand by the proud banner through every trial.[4]

These men of Union County, at first befuddled and perplexed by the turn of political events during the past few years,[5] had enlisted to defend the Union. James Evans, editor of the *Jonesboro Gazette,* reflected their sentiments when he said, "The Constitution of Washington and Jefferson must be preserved; the supremacy of the laws enacted under it must be asserted throughout the length and breadth of the land and the Union must and shall be preserved. Such are the sentiments of our people."[6]

But the decision had not been easy to reach. In this far tip of "Egypt," there was no great love for Abraham Lincoln and the party he represented. In the 1860 election Union County had given Lincoln 157 out of the 2,030 votes cast.

The election in the county had been strictly between Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckinridge of the splintered Democratic Party. Douglas's vote of 996 to 819 for Breckinridge indicated that many earlier followers had deserted Douglas, including John Dougherty, the Demo-

2. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Sept. 27, 1862.

3. At this time officers were elected from the ranks. Nimmo, a veteran of the Mexican War, was elected colonel of the 109th "without opposition, and amid storms of the wildest enthusiasm." *Ibid.,* Aug. 23, 1862.

4. The regiment was enrolled on Aug. 21 but not mustered into Federal service until Sept. 11.

5. John Dougherty, a respected lawyer-statesman, bought the *Gazette* in 1858 to support Douglas in the 1858 election. He turned to Breckinridge in the 1860 Democratic split and in 1861 became a Union backer.

6. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Aug. 9, 1862. James Evans, scion of James Evans I (who had been a lawyer in Union County as early as 1818), was editor of the *Gazette,* 1859-1862.

cratic power of the county.[7] But now Dougherty and Douglas were solid in their support of the Union.

The men of the county had not been disloyal to the Union prior to the war: they had not, for example, gone so far as the people of nearby Williamson County, where resolutions of secession had been passed in April, 1861.[8] Neither had they been a part of the action at Carbondale, when General I. N. Haynie, with the assistance of John Dougherty, had quieted an anti-Union mob.[9] But they were ardent Democrats, and their sentiments were no doubt strengthened by the editorial fires of the *Jonesboro Gazette*.[10] Most of the county's original settlers had Carolina[11] and Virginia[12] backgrounds, and they loved their homes, their God, and the *Jonesboro Gazette*.

By the time the war entered its second summer, with the "On to Richmond" campaign falling apart, these natives of the hills of Union County had pondered the questions of slavery and Union and been answered by John Dougherty, who reassured them of the need to stand for the flag.[13] The editor of the *Gazette* wrote that "nearly every man in the county, able to do military duty, expresses a willingness to volunteer, determined that old Union shall never bear the stain of a draft."[14] Such was the sentiment of the county in 1862.

At that time the word "Copperhead"[15] was not yet in

7. W. D. Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892* (Baltimore, 1955), 388.
8. Milo Erwin, *History of Williamson County* (Marion, 1876), 257-59.
9. *Ibid.*, 263.
10. See, for example, the issues of Oct. 25, Dec. 6, 1862, and Jan. 10, 1863.
11. William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties* (Chicago, 1883), 57-217, names twenty-one large and well-established family lines that had emigrated from the Carolinas to Union County.
12. *Ibid.* Virginia is credited with supplying at least nine prominent family lines.
13. Dougherty later became an ardent Republican and was elected lieutenant governor in 1868.
14. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Aug. 9, 1862.
15. "In the Midwest early in 1863, the terms 'Copperhead' and 'Democrat' had become virtually synonymous." *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1954), VI: 421. Actually, the term was used generally to apply to Southern-sympathizing Democrats.

use. The Knights of the Golden Circle, if ever a strong factor in Union County affairs – and that is doubtful – were not a part of the 1862 picture.[16] There may have been minor political hassles as strong Democrats argued with ardent Republicans, but for the most part it may be said that Union County was loyal to the Union.

Reflecting, as well as leading, local opinion, the *Jonesboro Gazette* had operated since 1859 under the editorship of James Evans, who wielded great influence although he was only twenty. Up until the issue of June 21, 1862, the masthead of the paper had carried the quotation from James Buchanan: "The Constitution and the Union – the richest political blessing which heaven has ever bestowed upon any nation." But in the issue of June 28 the masthead was changed to "The Constitution as it is – the Union as it was." This would be carried until the paper was suppressed by Federal troops on May 15, 1863.[17]

Against this background the 109th Regiment of Illinois Infantry was formed in August, 1862. Troops were no novelty to Union County, four regiments having been dispatched from Camp Anna in the previous sixteen months of the war.[18] The people were not carried away with wild enthusiasm, neither were they delinquent in assuming their obligation to flag and country as Colonel A. J. Nimmo organized the 109th.

16. Frank L. Klement, "Copperhead Secret Societies in Illinois during the Civil War," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLIV (Summer, 1955): 152-80.

17. Vol. XIV, No. 15, May 16, 1863, was the last issue to appear until March 5, 1864. The paper was ordered suppressed by Lt. Col. Joseph H. Newbold, commanding a detachment of the 14th Iowa at Jonesboro. His order, of May 15, read: "Owing to what I consider disloyal articles, copied from other sheets, and tacitly endorsed by your paper, I consider it wholly unfit for circulation in this already disaffected portion of the State. You will therefore permit no more papers to leave the office till further notice. My guards are ordered to close the doors, immediately."

18. The 18th, which entered Federal service, May 28, 1861; the 54th, Feb. 18, 1862; the 60th, Feb. 17, 1862; the 81st, Aug. 26, 1862. In addition, there had been Union County men in one of the companies of Logan's 31st Illinois Infantry. See *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois . . . 1861-66* (rev. ed., 8 vols., Springfield, 1900-1901), *passim.*

The *Gazette* was loud in its praise of the men who were recruiting the regiment:

The company under the auspices of Messrs. E. A. Willard, G. W. Williams, and others, in town, is about full, and will be ready to elect officers to-day. John C. Hunsaker, one of the most deservedly popular men in our county is organizing a company south-west of town, which will be full and ready for electing officers by to-night. Thomas M. Perrine and others at Anna are also engaged in the good work, and have met with the same remarkable success. Mr. Jacob Hileman is at work recruiting, and will certainly have a full company within a few days. . . . The upper part of the county is never backward in the work of enlistment, and there too, a company will be raised for the service. Messrs. John Rich, and Ephraim and Daniel Kimmel are heart and hand in the cause, and just the men to carry the work to successful issue.[19]

The men of the 109th were both enrolled and trained at Camp Anna in Union County (each of the congressional districts in the state had a similar recruiting and training base). The early days in camp were characterized by the usual rounds of grouching by the recruits:

Our guns and accouterments arrived and were distributed on Monday. They are a miserable lot of "traps," and certainly it is not intended that the men shall ever go into the field with such things. Rocks would be as serviceable against the enemy.[20]

But paydays, as always for men in military service, were a great occasion:

About 12 o'clock of Thursday the camp was set afire with the announcement that the paymaster had come, and at one o'clock would commence the payment of thirteen dollars advance pay . . . . a thousand pairs of eyes anxiously watched the road for the approach of the man who carried the panacea for all ills.[21]

The week-end days off for this citizens' regiment relieved the monotony of camp routine:

The greater part of our regiment were permitted to go home

19. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Aug. 9, 1862; roster of newly elected officers listed in *ibid.,* Aug. 23, 1862.
20. *Ibid.,* Sept. 27, 1862.
21. *Ibid.*

Saturday evening, and during Sunday and Monday morning our camps presented a very deserted appearance, not over 150 out of over 900 men remaining. It was perhaps the last visit many of the boys will have an opportunity of paying their homes . . . and was an act of kindness on the part of the Colonel which will give him a stronger hold, were such a thing possible, on the affections of the men under his command.[22]

The pride of the community in the regiment was expressed by the *Gazette*:

When we say that the One Hundred and Ninth is *one* of the finest, if not the *very finest* regiment of soldiers yet placed in the field by our gallant State — that it contains more *solid* men, better fighting material, larger, healthier and in every respect superior soldiers to any other regiment in the West, we simply repeat the declaration of every one who has been among us, and may therefore be excused of vanity.[23]

On October 20 the regiment left Anna and arrived at Cairo two hours later. There the men were loaded upon the ship *Diadem* and sent to Columbus, Kentucky.[24] On board ship one man accidentally discharged his musket, and the ball passed through the body of a nearby soldier and then struck the leg of another man on the deck above. Otherwise, the trip was uneventful. At Columbus, camp life was again generally routine, except on one occasion, when a cook, John Clough, carelessly started a fire on a piece of iron — in reality an unexploded bombshell. The resulting explosion did much damage, and Clough lost a leg.

But while morale was high, the Phantom of Discontent was hovering over the 109th. Earlier that fall the citizens and soldiers of Union County had been considerably disturbed when President Lincoln announced, on September 22, that he would issue a proclamation of freedom for slaves in all states still in rebellion against the authority of the United States the following January. The restlessness of the soldiers as a result of this development was expressed

22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1862.

by James Evans, now the adjutant of the 109th and mail correspondent for the paper he had once edited: "They are still for the 'Union, the constitution and Josh Allen,' and equally opposed to disunionists, whether in the guise of law-defying, negro stealing Abolitionists, or open and avowed secessionists."[25]

As the regiment moved into Dixie, Evans's frank stories must have influenced the folks at home.

> You have doubtless heard of the outrages perpetrated on the people of this country by the soldiery on their march from Corinth to La Grange. Houses and fences were burned, farms devastated and the whole country desolated. No heed was paid to a man's sentiments. Loyal and disloyal were served alike — all were made victims to a riotous and debauched soldiery, who have done more to bring disgrace upon our cause than they can ever hope to do good.[26]

He also reported on such mundane problems for soldiers away from home as the high cost of food:

> I may remark that this is a hard market for an unfortunate individual who is afflicted with a light pocket, to live in. Potatoes are scarce at $1.50 a bushel, bread 10, and fresh beef 12½ cents a pound; cheese is 30 cents, and other articles at like prices. A person must take several oaths of secrecy, wind through numberless back alleys and trap doors to obtain a common article of whiskey at $12 a gallon! Our boys never need the latter article.[27]

Folks at home were probably thrilled by his story of the regiment's first capture of Rebel soldiers:

> Two cavalry men belonging to a Mississippi regiment rode up to our lines and delivered themselves up, saying they were tired of the war and desired to take the required oath of allegiance and "play quits." Capt. McIntosh of the "Jonesboro Bull Dogs" was

25. *Ibid.* William Joshua Allen was the candidate for Congress of the Democratic Union Party.

26. *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1862.

27. *Ibid.* At some stages of the Civil War the troops were issued rations, which the men cooked themselves. Usually four or five men joined together to form a "mess." When possible, they purchased such additional supplies as might be afforded by the local market. Licensed sutlers followed the army to supply small wares and needs, much as the present-day PX does.

in command of the picket, and furnished the penitent gentlemen with a safe escort to the General's Headquarters.[28]

Evans wrote his paper the same day that he was afforded pleasure by "the general appetite in the Army for wholesome Democratic reading. I think I am safe in saying that three copies of the *Chicago Times* are sold down here to any of the Abolition prints." Once, he reported, when he tried unsuccessfully to buy a *Times*, the newsboy said, " 'Oh, I started with an arm full of the Times, but I sold them all out before I got here.' After that I was content to take a copy of the Tribune."

The 109th continued to move south during late October and November. It spent from two to three weeks near Bolivar, Tennessee, and then marched along the Tennessee and Ohio and the Memphis and Charleston railroads to La Grange and Moscow. By December 3 the regiment had moved into northern Mississippi and within sound of heavy firing. On the road to Holly Springs, Mississippi, Brigadier General John A. Logan's division passed by – taking five hours. A day or so later the 109th reached Holly Springs, a strategic junction of north-south and east-west railroads and the supply depot for Grant's army.[29]

The men of the 109th liked Holly Springs and were impressed with the town, which reminded them of Jonesboro, being built on a square. They were also moved by the plight of the people there, where the war seemed to have taken a vast toll: "The graveyards are crowded with fresh graves, filled by the victims of the instigators of this terrible rebellion. Many of their resting places are marked by beautiful monuments with touching inscriptions." The reporter, James Evans, continued:

> Flour can scarcely be procured at any price, and the smaller articles, as candles, pins, paper[,] table ware, etc., are beyond the reach of money. Families who have lived in affluence for a life-

28. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Nov. 22, 1862; Evans's report in this issue was dated Bolivar, Tenn., Nov. 16.

29. *Ibid.,* Dec. 6, 13, 1862.

time, suddenly found themselves without the commonest comforts of life. . . . There must be great suffering among the residents of the South the coming winter.[30]

The regiment stayed in Holly Springs but a few days and then was ordered, according to Evans,

to post a company at each bridge — nine in number — between the Springs and Lumpkins' Mill, extending over some twelve miles of the Mississippi Central Railroad. One company (Capt. McIntosh's) was selected for headquarters guard — which was established at the main residence on the Lumpkin plantation, about five miles from the city. Only about twelve or fourteen men are required for duty from a company each day, which gives the boys quite an easy time. . . .

We still have the same miserable arms which were furnished us at Jonesboro.– There is uniformity in neither manufacture nor caliber – ranging from the model of 1812 to that of 1853, and all of an inferior stock. . . . An attempt was made by Col. Nimmo some days since to have us furnished with a better class of guns . . . [but] our boys still have the same old "shooting traps" with which they entered the service, and which are poorly calculated to do much execution before the long range rifles of the enemy in this department.[31]

The men of the 109th might have had a pleasant and comfortable winter guarding bridges – which appeared to be the limit of their usefulness as judged by the reticence of General Quimby's division officers to utilize them as battle troops – but disaster struck at Holly Springs.

On December 20 General Earl Van Dorn's Confederate cavalry (estimated at from thirty-five hundred to four thousand in number) raided Holly Springs. For certain, it might have been heroic of the men of the 109th to gather their muskets and dash forward on foot – five to twelve miles — to give battle to these Southern cavalrymen who were destroying the town and Grant's valuable stores. But so

30. *Ibid.,* Dec. 20, 1862.

31. *Ibid. Adjutant General's Report,* VI: 93, mentions that the regiment was armed with a very inferior gun. At Lumpkin's Mill the 109th was detached from Quimby's division and left there on account of the bad condition of their guns, which were declared unfit for use in battle.

far as is known, the regiment received no orders to do so. If the men had left their posts of guarding the nine bridges on the main line of the Mississippi Central Railroad, they might possibly have been charged with dereliction of duty. In any case, by midmorning the city had been taken, the stores destroyed; and the Confederate cavalrymen were in command of Holly Springs.

General Van Dorn covered his glory in a few words:

> I surprised the enemy at this place at daylight this morning; burned up all the quartermaster's stores, cotton, &c. — an immense amount; burned up many trains, took a great many arms and about 1,500 prisoners. . . .[32]

One of his men, Dr. J. G. Deupree, 1st Mississippi Cavalry, described the scene. According to Deupree, a long train of boxcars, loaded with rations and clothing ready to be sent to the Federal front, was standing in the railroad yard, and a torch was applied and the train consumed. The depot buildings, the courthouse, and many private homes were filled with supplies of all kinds. The public square contained hundreds of bales of cotton. A large brick livery stable and the adjacent Masonic temple were packed with unopened cases of carbines and Colt's army six-shooters. From 7 A.M. to 4 P.M. army depots were first plundered and then burned; sutlers' shops suffered a like fate. Cotton speculators were required to share their money with the victors but were allowed to witness the burning of their stolen cotton without personal restraint. The torch was applied to all that could not be carried away. The women of Holly Springs, many of them still in their nightgowns, and with their disheveled hair floating in the winter wind, clapped their hands with joy and shouted encouragement to the raiders, Deupree said. The scene was one of pan-

32. This report of Van Dorn's was directed to Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton at Jackson, Miss., and dated Dec. 20, 1862. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 503; cited hereafter as *O.R.*

demonium, with Federals running, Confederates yelling, tents and buildings burning, "torches flaming; guns popping; sabres clanking; negroes and abolitionists begging for mercy." By a little after 4 P.M. all Federal property, save what could be appropriated, had been destroyed, the prisoners had been paroled, and Van Dorn resumed his march northward.[33]

At the time, the defeat and the loss of Grant's base of supplies for his Vicksburg campaign was crucial. Heads must fall, blame must be established, goats must be found. The public must have someone to blame, and the 109th was one of the principal targets.

Colonel Robert Murphy, of the 8th Wisconsin Volunteers and the commander at Holly Springs, bore the major blame, however. In his *Memoirs,* Grant wrote that Murphy had been warned of Van Dorn's approach but made no preparations to meet him — *"He did not even notify his command."*[34]

Nevertheless, the entire 109th was placed under arrest on December 31. Evans wrote that the arrest "had been necessitated to intimidate. The 109th had been selected as an example."[35] (The results of the later official inquiry into the actions of the regiment's officers throw a somewhat different light on the episode.)

By Special Order No. 2, signed by Major General U. S. Grant, a court of inquiry was appointed to meet in Holly Springs on Monday, January 5, to inquire into and investigate the allegations and charges against the 109th.[36]

On January 6 one of the regiment's members wrote the following account of the arrest and the unit's subsequent movements:

> You have doubtless heard before this of the 109th Regiment being placed in arrest. On Wednesday morning last, the 31st ult., we received orders to move from our position on the railroad,

33. J. G. Deupree, "The Capture of Holly Springs, Mississippi, Dec. 20, 1862," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IV (1901): 55-58.

34. *Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (New York, 1885), I: 432-36. Murphy was later court-martialed and found guilty.

35. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Feb. 14, 1863.

36. *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 523.

some five miles below here, and report to headquarters in Holly Springs. Accordingly we took up our line of march, and by 12 o'clock of that day we were in town. We were shown our camping ground on the out skirts of the place — a corn field with batteries of artillery on two sides, a regiment of infantry and one of cavalry on the other two. Tents had scarcely been pitched and dinner over, before an order, elegantly worded as follows was received:

"Special Orders No. 58.

"It having been alleged that the 109th Regiment Illinois Infantry Volunteers has shown indications of disloyalty . . . [the regiment] is hereby placed in arrest.

"The regiment will be disarmed by the commander of the bridgade to which the regiment is temporarily attached. . . .

"Officers and Men will be confined within camp limits until otherwise ordered. . . . (Signed) Jno. A. Rawlins, Ass't. Adj't. General."

Our guns were turned over agreeably to the above order. The swords of the officers were delivered. . . . The 99th Indiana and 53rd Ohio Regiments were placed on guard over us, and we are perfectly safe from harm. . . .[37]

Shortly, the regiment was ordered north, and the march was described by a young officer in a letter to his mother, datelined January 15, La Grange, Tennessee:

From Holly Springs we marched to this place, starting on the morning of the 10th inst. and arriving here early on the morning of the 12th. Mounted officers were required to ride in the rear of the regiment, with a guard at the head, rear and on each side so we could not *get away*. . . . Nearly everybody down here look upon us as secessionists, and it is believed that we stacked our arms and refused to fight unless the niggers were sent back to their masters. It is further reported that our regiment cheered lustily for Jeff Davis, and wished success to the South. Of course such stories are false, but there are yet fools and knaves enough left to give them circulation and credit. I cannot imagine what was the real ground of our arrest, for I certainly do not know of anything wrong our Regiment has done.[38]

37. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Jan. 17, 1863; story dated Holly Springs, Miss., Jan. 6. See also *O.R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 511.

38. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Jan. 24, 1863.

The 109th was released from arrest on January 17 and sent to Memphis. The order issued by Grant contained the stipulation, however, that all officers had to surrender their swords.[39] On February 2 Evans wrote the *Chicago Times* from Memphis:

> We had been on active duty since our release from arrest, about the middle of January, and it was generally supposed that the court of inquiry called to *investigate* the charges against us, had found favorably for all alike, as all had been alike on duty, officers, as well as men. . . . Some astonishment was occasioned, therefore, when on Saturday night last, the Provost Marshal arrested six of the officers.[40]

The extent to which Evans and the *Times* created a false impression is shown in the following general order of the Department of the Tennessee:

> General Orders, No. 12.
>
> Hdqrs. Dept. of the Tennessee, Young's Point, La., February 1, 1863.
>
> The proceedings of the court of inquiry convened at Holly Springs, Miss., by Special Orders, No. 2, of date January 2, 1863 . . . exonerates said regiment, as a regiment, from all suspicion of disloyalty. . . . That whatever cause for suspicion or charges of disloyalty there were, arose from the conduct and declarations of the following named officers, who are hereby dismissed from the service of the United States, with forfeiture of pay and allowances, to take effect from this date . . . :
>
> Lieut. Col. Elijah A. Willard, for disobedience of orders, and deserting his command in the face of an enemy, that he might be taken prisoner.
>
> Capt. John M. Rich, for disobedience of orders, encouraging his men to desert, and discouraging his men from fighting in the face of the enemy.
>
> Capt. Thomas Boswell, for encouraging his men to desert, that they might be captured and paroled, and advising them to apply for discharges for slight causes; also for trying to impress upon the minds of the officers and men of his regiment that they were embraced in the surrender of Holly Springs by Colonel Murphy,

39. *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1863.
40. *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1863.

on the 20th day of December, 1862, well knowing the same to be false.

Capt. John J. McIntosh, for declaring in the hearing of his men and in the presence of the enemy that he would not fight if attacked near Holly Springs, Miss., on the 20th day of December, 1862.

Capt. Penninger, of Company G, for proposing a plan by which the regiment could be surrendered to the enemy, and attempting to induce others of the regiment to aid in carrying it into execution during the raid of the enemy's cavalry on Holly Springs, on the 20th day of December, 1862.

Second Lieut. John Stokes, for straggling from his command and procuring for himself and a number of his men fraudulent paroles from a rebel citizen.

Second Lieut. Daniel Kimmel, for advising the colonel of his regiment if attacked by the enemy to surrender, and on feigned sickness procuring a surgeon's certificate to go to the hospital at Holly Springs, Miss., by reason of which he was captured and paroled by the enemy during the raid on that place.

First Lieut. and Adjt. James Evans, for inciting dissatisfaction among the men of his regiment, and speaking in an improper manner of the war and the President, in violation of the fifth article of war.

Commissary Sergt. Joshua Misenheimer is reduced to the ranks for declaring that he would never fire a gun upon the enemy, and, on hearing a camp rumor that Major General Burnside was defeated with a loss of 20,000 men, wishing it was so.

By order of Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant:

(Signed) Jno. A. Rawlins, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*[41]

The *Jonesboro Gazette* of February 21 reported the return home of six of these men:

"Disgracefully" Discharged from the Service.— On Saturday last Adjutant James Evans, Captains McIntosh, Rich, Penni[n]ger, and Boswell, and Lieutenant Stokes — officers of the 109th — were cashiered and *"disgracefully"* discharged from Old Abe's service, never again to enter his military lines under penalty of death. — And, after partaking of the hospitalities of numerous prisons, were escorted, at the point of a row of glistening bayonets, beyond the jurisdiction of General Grant's army, and on Thursday evening greeted their many Democratic friends of old Union with

41. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, pp. 586-87.

their presence. They are in good health and fine spirits and are perfectly satisfied of the fact that fighting to free the nigger is in no wise a desirable task.

During the early spring of 1863 the Phantoms of Disappointment and Discord rested heavily upon the shoulders of the men of the 109th. They had experienced months of inaction and uncertainty and accusations of disloyalty. The prolonged winter, the long rainy periods, the bitter cold, and living in tents had brought much sickness; one third of the regiment was sick at one time. They were prime targets for the usual war propaganda to the effect that the war was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight.[42] They were also deeply disturbed by the unwarranted destruction of Southern homes and the general destitution of the civilians of the South. After all, hadn't our people once been their people? Was this the sort of thing that the 109th had volunteered for, in the days before the Emancipation Proclamation? It requires no great imagination to understand the despair and disgust of these men or their actions. That story is told in an order of the Secretary of War:

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 6. LAKE PROVIDENCE, LA., April 10, 1863.

The Officers of the One hundred and ninth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, except those of Company K., having been reported as utterly incompetent to perform the duties of their respective commissions, and evincing no disposition to improve themselves, are hereby discharged from the service of the United States.

This is the regiment which was within a few miles of Holly Springs when attacked by the rebels and failed to march to the support of their comrades, but drew in their pickets and stood ready to surrender. From nine companies 347 men deserted, principally at Memphis, and but 1 from Company K.

To render the men efficient it is necessary to transfer them to a disciplined regiment, and they are accordingly transferred to the Eleventh Regiment Illinois Volunteers, Company K. to make the Tenth Company.

The officers thus discharged are Col. A. J. Nimmo, Maj. T. M. Perrine, First Lieut. C. B. Dishon, regimental quartermaster; Capts.

42. *Jonesboro Gazette,* Feb. 7, March 14, 1863.

J. C. Hunsaker, Hugh Andrews, Samuel M. P. McClure, S. O. Lewis; First Lieuts. James P. McLane, Morgan Stokes, Jacob A. Milikin, Charles Barringer, B. F. Hartline, Josiah Toler, Abram L. Misenheimer, R. B. Bartleson; Second Lieuts. M. A. Goodman, Squire Crabtree, T. T. Robinson, Henry Gassaway, Charles Klutts, Andrew Colvin.

Chaplain P. H. Kroh will, as the regiment has been consoldiated, be mustered out of the Service.

Surg. John S. Dewey, Ass't. Surgs. John W. Henley and George H. Dewey will be assigned by Major-General Grant to other Illinois Regiments to fill vacancies.

By Order of the Secretary of War:

(Signed) L. THOMAS, *Adjutant-General.*[43]

Looking back to the spring of 1863, we find that one thing, at least, is sure: in 1862 and 1863 Union County was a checkerboard on which the great game of politics was being played, and the *Gazette* and James Evans sat in the king's row; the men of the 109th were led forth, cornered, and stalemated in the game of public opinion, for they failed to wave the flaming sword and hurl the rain of bullets against the South.

Yet the officers of that regiment who were dismissed from service, and many of the men who deserted and came home, lived long and useful lives as respected members of the community. Soon after his return, James Evans, for example, was elected county clerk, to which office the governor refused for a time to certify him.[44] Subsequently he entered the mercantile business, and when he died at the age of thirty-five, he was rated as one of the ten richest men in the county. Colonel Nimmo was elected perennially to county offices,[45] and Chaplain P. H. Kroh served in the state legislature.[46]

But as late as 1909 one grizzled veteran boxed the ears of his charming granddaughter when, while washing dishes in the kitchen, she robustly sang "Marching through Georgia."

43. *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, pp. 590-91.
44. Perrin, *Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties,* 317.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Kroh was elected to the General Assembly in 1892.

DONALD V. LOWE

"Army Memoirs of Lucius W. Barber"

Donald V. Lowe teaches American history in the Davenport, Iowa, Community School System. He is a native of Marengo (McHenry County), Illinois, and a graduate of Northern Illinois University, De Kalb. He has also received M.A. degrees in American history and education from the State University of Iowa. Lowe's particular interest in Lucius W. Barber is due to the fact that the Civil War soldier was his second cousin.

LUCIUS W. BARBER enlisted at Marengo, McHenry County, Illinois, on April 27, 1861, and served in the 15th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment. During his four years, five months, and twenty-seven days as a soldier he fought at Shiloh and Vicksburg and in skirmishes in Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. As one of General William T. Sherman's March-to-the-Sea troops he was captured near Ackworth, Georgia, and sent to the Confederate prison at Andersonville. He was paroled and exchanged before the end of the war, rejoined Sherman's army, and later marched in the Grand Review in Washington.

Barber was discharged from the service at Springfield, Illinois, on September 30, 1865. In less than seven years after that date he died (March 12, 1872) of consumption at the family home in Riley Township near Marengo. The illness which took his life at the age of thirty-two apparently had been contracted during his confinement at Andersonville.

Lucius Barber kept a diary during his period of service, and later he expanded it and wrote several chapters of comment. These, along with a roster of Company D, a table of distances traveled by the 15th Illinois, a letter to his father,

and an obituary, were published in Chicago in 1894 under the title *Army Memoirs of Lucius W. Barber.* This 232-page book has long been out of print; therefore a summary of it now seems both timely and appropriate.

" . . . I enlisted in a military company being formed . . . from the towns of Coral, Genoa, Hampshire, Seneca, Dunham, Marengo and Riley," Barber begins. "At that time we had little hopes of being accepted under the seventy-five thousand call, so great was the rush of troops. Harley Wayne, one of the leading spirits in getting up the Company, was at that time Clerk of the Assembly of our State Legislature, and through his influence mainly, we were accepted as a military company for the State defense, with the understanding that we should be transferred to the United States' service if the President called for more troops. . . . "

Company D was organized and soon ordered by Governor Richard Yates to a camp of instruction at Freeport. "On the 24th of May," Barber continues, "we were transferred and sworn into the U.S. service for three years, or during the war, by Captain [John] Pope, afterwards Major-General."

By July 30 Company D had become a part of the 15th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment under the command of Colonel Thomas J. Turner and had proceeded to Alton and then on to Mexico, Missouri. "We found the 21st Illinois Regiment Volunteer Infantry here," the narrator explains, "commanded by Colonel Ulysses S. Grant, afterward the great hero of the War."

Like many men of the time the soldiers of the 15th Illinois did not, on first acquaintance, hold Grant in high regard. Later they mellowed and were won over by him. Barber relates an unpleasant incident, "There was a sharp strife between Colonels Turner and Grant as to which outranked. Turner claimed superiority on account of the date of commission. Grant claimed it on account of having belonged to the regular army, and with his usual pertinacity and Pope's order, gained his point and assumed command of

the camp. The first order he issued was for a detail from the 15th to clean up his regiment's quarters. It was needed bad enough, but . . . we did not feel like doing the dirty work of his regiment. Luckily for us, Col. Turner was away when the order came and Lieut.-Col. [Edward F.] Ellis was in command. He . . . sent word to Col. Ulysses S. Grant that his regiment did not enlist . . . to do the dirty work of his or any other regiment. This emphatic protest brought Col. Grant over at once. High words ensued, which resulted in Lieut.-Col. Ellis tendering Col. Grant his sword, but as for obeying that order, he should never do it. I think Grant must have admired his spirit, as he refused to receive his sword and did not enforce the order. As a natural consequence, the 15th Regiment . . . did not fall in love with Grant then, but we surely did with Lieut.-Col. Ellis. . . . It was not until Grant had showed great courage, indomitable perseverance and lofty patriotism that we could regard him with any degree of favor."

After much marching and many encampments in Missouri the 15th Illinois disembarked from riverboats at Pittsburg Landing on March 5. Barber explains, "Our camp was situated one and a half miles from the landing and in the center of the military position of the army. On our right were Sherman and Prentiss, on the left, McClernand. Wallace's division landed at Crump Landing, a few miles below."

The 15th had been called upon to beat back reconnaissance parties and for its commendable work was lauded on April 4 by Colonel Ellis. "Before Col. Ellis dismissed us that night, he made us a speech," Barber recalls. "It always seemed to me as though that speech sounded the knell of his own doom. He went on to state his connection with the regiment, how pleasant it had been, how he loved it and how proud he was of it. He prophesied the coming battle, exhorted us all to do our duty in every emergency. He closed with an affecting appeal which brought tears to

many eyes. Did he then have a presentiment of his fate?"

The surprise attack of the Confederates on Sunday morning, April 6, was the beginning of the Battle of Shiloh. Barber writes, "Our camp was situated three miles from where the fighting began, and it was not until after sunrise that the tide of battle surged upon us. I heard the distant rattling of musketry and first thought it was something else. I was writing a letter home at the time. . . . In less than five minutes from the time the bugle was sounded, the regiment was on the march to the scene of conflict."

He describes meeting many stragglers skulking to the rear – cursed by the men moving in to battle – and the long trains of ambulances loaded with the wounded. "We halted . . . to receive orders," he continues, "and to learn in what position we would be placed in the line. My eye wandered eagerly and anxiously along the line of battle. . . . Then it turned to the 15th, and noted the effect this battle scene had upon them, and before me I saw pale, determined faces and compressed lips of men who were resolved to do their duty. Calmly we conversed of the scene before us, while not a few saw fit to crack jokes which, despite the occasion, elicited laughter. I could not join in their mirth. The scene before me was too solemn to admit of levity. It would be difficult to analyze my feelings on this occasion. To say that I was perfectly calm and self-possessed would be presuming too much, although . . . I was not conscious of a tremor. . . . [To] me, as well as to every other soldier just before entering the battle, an involuntary awe and dread crept over me; but . . . these feelings gradually die away in the excitement of the fight until they become almost extinct, unless a sudden reverse throws everything in confusion, then all is terror and excitement. . . .

"We marched forward and took our position in line . . . a little forward of a rise of ground. . . . We had, as our support, the 53d Ohio. We had hardly gotten our line formed before the enemy opened on us with grape and cannister. . . .

Groans reach us as the soldiers, wounded and mangled, crawl to the rear. The emboldened enemy now advanced in solid column, having ten to our one [*sic*]. The 53d Ohio, appalled at the sight, broke and ran without firing a gun and we were left single-handed to contend against these fearful odds. We were now ordered to rise and commence firing. Rapidly and coolly we poured our deadly fire into the advancing column. Now a rebel sergeant, in front of us, performed a brave act worthy of a better cause. He advanced in front of his command and with his own hands planted the rebel flag on a piece of our artillery that they had captured; but this act sealed his doom. He fell, pierced and riddled with bullets. I shot at him, but I hope that it was not my bullet that sealed his eyes in death. The enemy now opened a fire upon us so terrific that our little band seemed likely to be annihilated. Our brave boys were dropping by scores.

"A ball struck the stock of my musket, shivering it and nearly knocking it from my grasp. Another ball passed through my canteen, while another cut the straps to my haversack. Thick as hailstones the bullets whistled through my hair and around my cheek, still I remained unhurt. The bushes and trees around would writhe, twist and fall before this blast. Early in the action, as Col. Ellis was standing on a log, watching with eager eyes the motions of the enemy, a ball passed through his wrist. Lieut. [Fred A.] Smith tied a handkerchief around it and Col. Ellis continued giving his orders as coolly as though nothing had happened, but soon an unerring shot pierced his noble heart, and from this stormy battle his spirit burst its bonds. . . . Soon I saw Maj. [William R.] Goddard receive his death wound while standing a few feet from me. . . . Capt. [Harley] Wayne now came to me and called my attention to a rebel soldier concealed behind a root. He turned, and immediately received his death wound. Lieut. Fred A. Smith was now in command. He was struck by a ball, while standing by my side,

and knocked to the ground. . . . almost involuntarily I bore him to the rear over the brow of the hill, took his handkerchief and bound up his wound as well as I could."

Barber says that, after delivering his wounded comrade into other hands, "I then hastened back to rejoin my company, but what was my astonishment to find not one living member of the 15th regiment. It seems that . . . our boys, to prevent being surrounded and taken prisoners, broke and retreated in disorder . . . so instead of finding our regiment where I left it, I found the ground swarming with rebels. Something within said to me, 'This is not a safe place for Lute Barber,' and that if I wanted to live to fight another day, I must retreat out of that, and retreat I did, very rapidly too. I cannot say whether I did it in good order or not. To tell the truth, I became slightly confused."

The narrator tried to find his own regiment, or the fragments of it, but failed. He then joined the ranks of an Iowa regiment of the same division and fought with it until about 2 P.M. "Here," he says, "I had the satisfaction of seeing the rebels run." When he had expended his ammunition, he again sought what was left of the 15th Illinois. This time he was successful; he found his regiment down at the landing.

"In the morning we mustered five hundred and fifty men," he explains. "Now scarcely two hundred answered to their names. Company D had only thirteen men out of the fifty that were mustered in the morning. . . . All of our line officers were killed or wounded excepting three or four. . . . Our regiment camped that night on the hill by the landing. The night was dark and stormy. The rain came down in perfect torrents and we had neither food nor shelter. Through the long dismal night, our rest was broken by the deep reverberating tones of the guns from the gunboat which kept up an incessant roar all night. Our thought anxiously boded on the morrow and tried to pierce the gloom."

The 15th was engaged in furious fighting again on the second day at Shiloh, but, as history records, the Union

forces were better prepared and successfully withstood the Confederate onslaught. A counterattack was ordered, and Barber says, "General Grant was here in person to superintend the charge and as he rode to the front . . . , he was greeted with tremendous cheers. . . . we sprang forward, making the earth tremble beneath our feet. The rebels shrank back dismayed before this charge. In wild panic and confusion they broke and ran. The defeat had now turned into a perfect rout."

Following the battle the 15th helped bury the dead. This took several days. Losses incurred in the battle were 252 killed and wounded, and only one man unaccounted for. "Only one regiment in the fight showed a greater proportion of killed and wounded than the 15th," the writer asserts.

The 15th moved on into Mississippi and then back into Tennessee, where it was stationed for some time at Memphis before joining in the siege of Vicksburg. Following circuitous routing the regiment joined Grant's forces on May 22, 1863.

Barber participated sporadically in skirmishing and trench fighting as well as picket duty during the next month. On June 25 he writes, "Occasionally we would succeed in getting hold of a paper printed in Vicksburg. It was printed on wall paper and with a miserable type. . . . This paper would have flaming editorials telling about Johnson [Joseph E. Johnston?], how that, at the proper moment, he would attack and annihilate Grant."

He describes the verbal exchanges between the men in the front lines, "The opposing armies were so near each other now that the soldiers of each could not resist the temptation to blackguard each other, and for the sake of gratifying their minds in this respect, they would agree upon a cessation of hostilities for an hour or so.

"The time usually selected was just as the day was deepening into twilight. Then the two armies' pickets would com-

mence a regular system of blackguardism. We liked to remind them . . . that in all probability they would soon be our prisoners. . . . In return they said that Joe Johnson would soon make us 'hunt our hole.' . . .

"When they came to converse . . . and found out that the restoration of the Union, founded on mutual justice, was our sole purpose, a better feeling sprang up and their cause became decidedly unpopular. Desertions became quite frequent from the rebel lines. They would have deserted by regiments, if they could have gotten away. Some of the most scrupulous on this point have been known to come over and drink a cup of coffee with our boys and then return."

On July 3 Generals Grant and Pemberton met between the lines under the branches of an oak tree to discuss the terms of surrender. "While the truce was being held," Barber explains, "the pickets of the two armies met and conversed on friendly terms on neutral ground between the lines. Blackberries were very thick there and friend and foe picked from the same bush and vied with each other in acts of civility."

General Pemberton was given until 10 A.M. of July 4 to accept Grant's terms. "The morning hours . . . were slowly dragging toward ten o'clock," Barber writes, "and still our strained visions could detect no signs of surrender. A deep silence prevailed. Finally the order came for the troops to be under arms, but just then a white flag was seen to flutter from the rebel works, which proclaimed that the finale had been reached. Then one long, joyous shout echoed and reechoed along our lines. . . . It was a glorious opening for the Fourth of July."

Instead of gaining a short period of rest after the fall of Vicksburg the 15th was ordered to march to Jackson, Mississippi, with other troops under the command of Sherman in an attempt to catch up with the Confederate forces of Johnston. After four days of marching in bad weather over

This picture of Barber was used as the frontispiece of his Army Memoirs.

muddy roads Sherman was within six miles of the city. He decided against a direct assault, Barber relates, "when a safer and surer method was open to him. So we commenced fortifying and gradually extending our lines toward the rear of the enemy with the purpose of surrounding him and cutting off his retreat. Our division-commander, Gen. [Jacob G.] Lauman . . . misinterpreted an order to move forward our line for a charge on the rebel works. The charge was made and the rebels finding it unsupported, concentrated their whole available force against us. . . . We were forced to retire with fully one-fourth of the boys placed hors de combat. . . .

"By the 15th [of July], we had them nearly surrounded," our reporter explains. "One more day would have cut off their retreat, but that wary General, Johnson, was not to be caught napping. Silently, and in a masterly manner, he effected a retreat and our troops took quiet possession of the place and at once proceeded to gather up the spoils of war."

At this point in his military career Barber's health failed, and, after being sent back to Vicksburg and then to Natchez,

he was granted a furlough and returned home. His furlough was twice extended. He rejoined his regiment at Vicksburg on January 15, 1864. He was amused to observe, "A good many of the boys were engaged in making keepsakes out of 'Pemberton's oak' as it was called, the wood being gotten from the tree under which Pemberton and Grant sat when . . . terms of the surrender of Vicksburg were agreed upon. There was not a root or branch remaining."

An act of destruction which is familiar to students of the Civil War is described by Barber: "Our boys had arrived at Meridian, and were playing havoc with the enemy's lines of communication. Meridian was a central place for railroads from all parts of the South. Each division was assigned a certain portion of track to destroy, which they effectually did by tearing up the ties, piling them on the rails and then setting them on fire. After the rails were red hot, they would twist them around the trees, utterly unfitting them for further use. In this raid our army destroyed four hundred miles of railroad and burned over twenty engines and a large number of cars."

On March 10 all veterans of the 15th who had participated in the campaign of pillage and destruction throughout Mississippi were granted furloughs, and Barber once more was privileged to return home. The men were accorded four days of red-carpet treatment and generous hospitality in St. Louis, where they also received payment for their services, before going on to Illinois.

The veterans reassembled at Freeport on April 30 and proceeded to Cairo, where they were ordered to join Sherman's army in Georgia. They went by boat to Clifton, Tennessee, and then marched 435 miles to Rome, Georgia, by way of Huntsville and Decatur, Alabama. They reached Rome on June 15 and were in communication with Sherman's main army, which was thirty miles away. They continued to track Sherman until they reached Allatoona Pass, where they were left to garrison the post. General

Sherman was at Kenesaw Mountain, eighteen miles away.

For the army garrisoned in enemy country, foraging was a necessity. It also was a pastime. "Rollin, Milton and myself went out foraging one day," Barber writes. "Four or five miles outside our lines we came to a deserted plantation. It was evident from the appearance of things that they had not been gone long. We found the garden in a thriving condition and we helped ourselves to all the vegetables that we wanted. Amongst other things, we found raspberries. I also found a lot of fresh eggs and a sack of flour. After we got back, we cooked some of the flour and it made us all sick. . . . The flour had been poisoned."

On August 10, 1864, Barber writes, "We began to be very much annoyed now by scouting parties of rebel cavalry who would attack our forage trains and make raids upon the railroads.

"We were constantly kept on the move chasing them. Finally we were ordered to Ackworth, a small village fourteen miles from Marietta, for scouting and picket duty. We took three days' rations. . . . We . . . took up our quarters in some of the vacant houses and established our picket line. One day a Union citizen came in and reported a large force of the enemy out about twenty-five miles."

The men of the 15th were kept on the move constantly between Marietta and Ackworth and found themselves frequently in territory well populated with Confederate soldiers. The lines were fluid. Foraging continued, however, and one technique of procurement is described by Barber, "We had a novel way now of supplying ourselves with beef. . . . droves of cattle were passing through every week to the front. When we would see a drove coming, some of the boys would slip out of the road a piece and when they came along, would select a nice fat one and hurry it out into the bushes until after the drove passed and then butcher it. This trick was played time and again."

In order to harass the enemy it was sometimes necessary

to take great risks. On October 4 Barber was one of about 150 men who attacked a Rebel encampment. The Union soldiers were beaten back by overwhelming numbers, and Barber, leader of a group, was separated from his command. "Our boys were swept like chaff back to their quarters," he says. "I resolved to make the effort to regain them. In so doing, I had to pass the flank of the rebel line and cross an open space over the rise of a hill. I never expected to get over that hill safe. I rushed forward, casting side glances at the moving line of rebels. I saw a group in advance of the others, halt and fire at me. A shower of bullets rattled around me, two passing through my clothes. I made a desperate effort and got behind the cover of a house beyond, halted and discharged my gun into the advancing foe and then rejoined my comrades who were already sheltered by our frail defenses. . . . The rebels did not seem disposed to attack us openly while in our fortresses."

There was good reason why the Rebels did not pursue their attack. Barber continues, "They were rapidly surrounding us, the thick wood screening their movements from our view. Finally to the east . . . we saw a long line of troops emerge and a large force of cavalry march in our rear, but more fearful than all, a battery had been placed within easy range of our works. . . . Now was seen a horseman mounted on a white steed advancing toward us, waving a white flag. On the instant, the firing ceased, and we waited anxiously to know our fate. I took advantage of this temporary lull to . . . fill my haversack with bread and a canteen with water. . . . Just as I started back, the maddening shout rang out that we had been surrendered. I hastened back and found the other boys boiling over with rage at the manner in which they had been sold. A grand nephew of Patrick Henry . . . bore in the flag of truce, accompanied with a demand for the surrender of the garrison. . . . We could do nothing else but surrender. A useless sacrifice of blood would have been the result of a refusal. . . .

"The rebel army now began to pour in by the thousand," Barber explains. "It was Gen. [William W.] Loring's division. We were fortunate indeed in falling into that humane officer's hands. . . . he kindly permitted all to get their breakfast and such articles of clothing, etc., as we wished to take with us. . . . This treatment was in striking contrast to that received [by other Union troops]. . . .

"Our little drummer boy, King, played a sharp trick," Barber recalls. "He went to Mr. Crawford's [a Union sympathizer] and donned a citizen's suit and passed himself off as their son, and the next day when our army marched through the place, he rejoined it."

The prisoners were marched to Newman and transported from there by railroad to Andersonville prison. They were guarded en route at different times by the 6th Mississippi, the 12th Tennessee Cavalry, and the Alabama militia. One day's rations consisted of a pint of cornmeal and a few ounces of raw beef without salt.

"There was a great deal of bantering between the rebs and us," Barber writes. "They . . . thought that they would regain more than they had lost, and tried to bargain for our coats and blankets. They said they were going North, where it was colder, while we were going South, where it was warmer, so we would not need them. We told them that we did not doubt but what they would go North, and the most of them get up as far as Camp Douglas and other northern prisons."

The prisoners, according to the narrator, were treated well at some times and inhumanely at others. Barber summarizes, "We did not realize we would get into such fiendish hands as the rebel commandant at Andersonville, and here I will make a statement that is true and proved true in every instance, and that is, whenever we fell into the hands of veteran soldiers who had fought us bravely on the battlefield, we received all of the kind and considerate attention due a prisoner of war, but whenever we were in charge of

militia or that class of persons who, too cowardly to take the field, enlisted in the home guard, we were treated in the most outrageous manner. Now let it be understood that most of the guard at Andersonville were these militia. There were a few veteran troops there."

All prisoners were searched, of course, when they were received at Andersonville. Barber tells of an unpleasant incident, "They only took away our knapsacks, canteens, haversacks, knives, etc., and allowed us to keep all under twenty dollars in money. When . . . I emptied my pockets . . . Amongst other things, I had a box of Brown's bronchial troches. I told the sergeant who was searching me . . . that it was some cough medicine my mother had sent me for a severe cough. . . . Unfortunately, the captain happened to see them. He snatched them out of my hand, smelled of them, sniffed up his nose and then scattered them in the dirt at my feet. I never experienced a moment of such frenzied rage before in my life . . . but a moment's sober thought convinced me how useless it would be to have remonstrated."

Andersonville has been described many times, therefore Barber's account will be passed over. Some of his observations, however, are worth quoting: "Before the prison pen was enlarged, the prisoners were crowded so . . . they could hardly find room to lie down and then perhaps it would be in their own filth. Water became so scarce that many commenced digging wells, and wells thirty feet deep were dug with no other tool than a jack knife or one half of a canteen, the dirt being drawn up in little pails. So thick did the wells become that it was dangerous to walk in the nighttime. As for shelter, very few had any except what they found by burrowing in the earth or building clay houses. The consequence was that many died from exposure. There was no time of day but what we could see some dead men lying around camp while scores of others were dying. Some would be so thickly covered with vermin, or more properly

called body lice, as to be perfectly white with them. In fact, they would eat them up alive and they had not the power to rise or get rid of them. . . . we did not experience near as much suffering as the other prisoners did before a portion of them were removed, but our treatment would have put the wildest, untutored savage to the blush."

Prisoners were organized into detachments with a Rebel sergeant in charge. "We had roll-call each morning," Barber explains. "If one was found absent, our rations would be withheld until he was accounted for. Sometimes a whole mess would go without rations on account of the delinquency of one man. Our daily rations consisted of a piece of corn bread, about two and one-half inches square, one pint of beans, with pods, dirt and bugs all cooked together, and in lieu of these, some maggoty rice. Sometimes we would get some pork, but one day's rations was not a decent mouthful. We occasionally drew a small piece of skeleton beef, sometimes so strong that we could smell it before it got near us. We usually cooked our grub over to purify it and make it into soup. From the beans we could skim off spoonful after spoonful of bugs, but most of the boys preferred to eat them bugs and all. . . . we were not long in finding out the most favorably disposed guards and they would carry on a traffic with us on the sly, furnishing us with sweet potatoes, corn meal, etc. In this manner we managed to live. I verily believed that we would have starved to death if it had not been for this."

Barber continues with a description of black market operations, "There were some rebel sutlers who made money out of the prisoners. A sort of market street was established, and all times of day the most avaricious were trying to speculate. . . . For instance, a teaspoon of salt would sell for fifty cents. There seemed to be a perfect mania amongst some of the rebels to get something that belonged to the Yanks. Our military buttons took their eye at first, and I have seen as high as twenty dollars paid for one-half dozen.

We disposed of all these extra and useless articles and took in exchange something to eat."

On November 8, 1864, the prisoners of Barber's detachment conducted a mock election. He comments, "There were two hundred twenty-four votes cast. Lincoln received one hundred eighty-eight and McClellan thirty-six. Over one-half of the men did not vote."

Barber was transferred from Andersonville to a new prison at Millen on November 12 and paroled on November 20. In Savannah harbor he was placed on board a Union ship and transported to Annapolis, where he arrived on November 26. On December 4 he received a furlough, and two days later left for his home near Marengo.

He was determined to surprise his family, who had not heard from him since he was taken prisoner. After a brief wait in Chicago on December 10, Barber says, "[I] took the twelve o'clock train and arrived at Marengo at three P.M. I saw uncle Almon first, and he had to take the second look before he could make up his mind that it was I. . . . in company with uncle Almon, started for Riley. . . . It was dusk or deep twilight when uncle Almon drove rapidly up to the house. All were gone except father. He was out doing the chores when I went up and spoke to him. He looked at me as though a vision were passing before him. When the truth flashed upon him, he was nearly overcome. . . . when mother, Rose and Amory returned, they found me coolly devouring the remnant of a chicken pie. When mother saw me, she exclaimed 'Oh, my God, here is Lucius!' Rose tried hard to keep from crying and appear unconcerned, but the boo-hoos had to come out."

At the expiration of his furlough Barber was ordered to Cincinnati and then to New York City. After numerous delays and changes of orders he left New York for South Carolina to join Sherman's army as it headed northward. On February 22, he wrote, "We are within hearing of the heavy guns of the blockading fleet of Charleston which is

about sixty miles distant. We are now camped in the immediate vicinity of a country made hallowed and historic by the deeds of the daring Swamp Fox, the gallant Marion, and his men of revolutionary fame."

On April 9 the 15th Illinois started the march north. Barber observes, "During the forenoon we heard a salute of one hundred guns fired and many were the conjectures as to what it was for. When we arrived at Gardners' Corners, the first telegraph station, we learned that Richmond was taken."

His chronicle of April 14, 1865, reads, "To-day brings us the glorious news that Gen. Lee has surrendered his entire army to Gen. Grant, and we expect to hear soon that Gen. Johnson has followed suit to Gen. Sherman."

The news of Lincoln's assassination did not reach the 15th Illinois until April 21. Barber records, "The news came to-day that President Lincoln, Secretary Seward and son have been assassinated, resulting in the President's death and severely wounding the others. . . . We are continually passing paroled men from Lee's army on their way to their homes, or to where their homes were."

The 15th learned of General Johnston's surrender to Sherman on April 26. The following day, Barber writes, "Marched back to Raleigh. . . . Saw George Lowe [cousin of Barber and the editor's uncle]. The 15th and 17th corps here turned over their ordnance stores preparatory to marching."

On May 24 Barber marched as the right guide for his company in the 15th Illinois Volunteers as General Sherman's army passed in review before President Johnson and General Grant in the nation's capital.

While awaiting orders that would return him to Illinois, Barber spent several days visiting Washington. Then he was sent to St. Louis, where he learned that the 15th Illinois was not to be discharged but was to fight Indians in the west. He burned with indignation at the order – as has many a soldier in simular circumstances before and since –

before it was rescinded and the veterans were granted furloughs.

Rather than continue in service, Barber sought a discharge. After much negotiation, many blind alleys, and many interviews, he arrived at Camp Butler near Springfield. There he was discharged on September 30, 1865.

"Before leaving for home, . . ." he concludes, "I paid a parting visit to the tomb of Lincoln at Oak Ridge Cemetery. . . . We . . . went to the grated opening of the sepulchre and took one last lingering look at the narrow resting place where sleeps all that is mortal of Lincoln, whose noble heart and mind had guided us through all the dark and bloody years of our Nation's struggle for existence. Lincoln's tomb will ever be the shrine to which patriots will resort as homage to the man who *preserved* our Nation. . . . We took the nine o'clock train for Marengo and arrived there at twelve M. and were once more welcomed home."

ROGER TUSKEN

"In the Bastile of the Rebels"

Roger Tusken calls himself an "amateur historian"; his particular interests are Civil War prisons and the postal history of the period. A native of Chicago, he is now executive assistant for the American Academy of General Practice in Kansas City, Missouri, where he is a member of the Kansas City Civil War Round Table.

"AS SOON AS Vicksburg is taken I will hasten to come home," wrote First Lieutenant George R. Lodge, Company G, 53rd Illinois Infantry, to his wife, Lister, June 14, 1863. Almost eighteen months had passed since Lodge had seen his hometown – Ottawa, Illinois – and his wife and five daughters.

Things were going well for the Lieutenant, and his spirits were high. News had reached him that afternoon that he was assigned the command of Company G.[1] And there was a possibility that a promotion would follow.[2] Grant's noose around Vicksburg was tightly drawn, and prospects for a furlough were encouraging.

But a fate that had been kind to the 53rd through the Vicksburg campaign was suddenly to do an about-face. After the fall of the beleaguered city, the 53rd, plus the 28th and 41st Illinois and the 3rd Iowa, formed the 1st Brigade of

1. Lodge relieved Capt. Morgan L. Payne of Pontiac as commanding officer. The two men strongly disliked each other. The situation had come to a climax when Lodge stood trial at a court-martial on four charges pressed by Payne. Lodge was acquitted. *General Orders, No. 28, Head-Quarters, 4th Division, 16th Army Corps, Memphis, Tenn., April 25th, 1863.*

2. Governor Yates signed a commission on June 30, 1863, promoting Lodge captain retroactively to June 14, the day he had assumed command. Ironically, word of the promotion reached the 53rd on July 13, a day after Captain Lodge's capture. He did not learn about his new rank until the following October (diary entry, Oct. 5, 1863).

General Jacob G. Lauman's division and was dispatched toward Confederate fortifications around Jackson, Mississippi. On July 12 the brigade advanced into the range of Rebel fire, well ahead of supporting units. Raked by enemy artillery double-shotted with canister and grape, the 53rd charged the strongly held position. Within minutes the 200 men and officers in the regiment were reduced to 66. Casualties were 88 killed and wounded and 46 "missing in action."[3] All the "missing," including Lodge, were prisoners of the Rebels.

"I had orders to 'charge' and had none to fall back," he later wrote his wife from the confines of Richmond's Libby Prison.

> I never fall back without orders. I pushed on untill [*sic*], when within about 25 paces of the enemy's work and canon [*sic*], which were handled splendidly, I found not more than a dozen of the Regt. in sight, and the enemy on every side of me as they sallied out in pursuit of our flying men. I surrendered to Major Lash of the 4th Florida Inft.
>
> The officers here with me are Lieuts Hatfield of Co. H. and Bassett of Co. E. There are on "Belle Island" 43 enlisted men of the 53rd who were taken with me. Among them are C. H. Clark and Johnny Daly of my Co. I sat at Leahy's side while he died; received his dying message to his wife and family and closed his eyes in death. No braver soldier ever lived.[4]

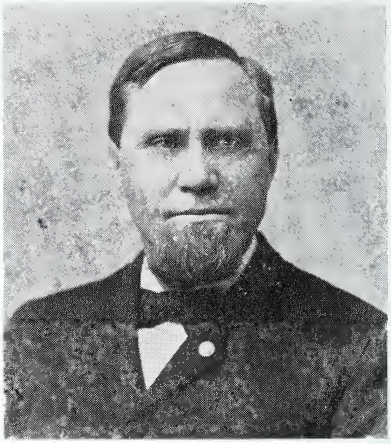
During the first few weeks of confinement Lodge little realized that twenty months of imprisonment lay ahead – first at Libby and later in camps at Macon, Georgia, and Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina. Always one step behind or ahead of exchange and frustrated in escape, he nevertheless managed to retain his sense of values.

The longest portion of Lodge's confinement – from July, 1863, to May, 1864 – was spent in Libby, the Confederate

3. Among the dead was Col. Seth C. Earl, the regimental commander. *History of La Salle County* (Chicago, 1886), I: 313.

4. Letter to Mrs. Lodge, Aug. 2, 1863. Officers and enlisted men mentioned by Lodge were Lt. John D. Hatfield, Lacon; Lt. Mark M. Bassett, West Point; Sgt. C. H. Clark, Pontiac; Johnny Daly and Capt. Michael Leahey, Ottawa.

Lieutenant John D. Hatfield of Lacon, Illinois, and Company H, 53rd Illinois Infantry.



Lieutenant Mark M. Bassett (West Point, Illinois) of Company H, 53rd Illinois Infantry.

prison for Union officers in Richmond. The prison was a warehouse belonging to Libby and Son (ship chandlers), and was used by the Confederates from the beginning of the war to hold Union officers, usually for short periods prior to exchange. Lodge arrived in Libby at an inopportune time. Exchanges of Northern and Southern prisoners were snarled in a controversy over the release of officers and men serving in Negro units. While sporadic exchanges did occur during his confinement, the men selected often arranged their own releases through political favoritism or outright bribery. Lodge would find many occasions to curse this system.

By winter, 1863, Libby's population was at its peak, some one thousand officers. Facilities were inadequate. The Libbyans did little to ease this situation by cooperating

either with their captors or with one another, and prison authorities began to resort to repressive measures, which only fanned the hatred of their captives.[5] By early 1864 the residents of Richmond began to fear the presence of such a large hostile body within the city. A mass escape in the famous Libby "tunneling" incident increased this fear.[6] As Grant moved his forces south and Union cavalry raiders foraged nearby, the emotional pressure against the prisoners mounted in the Confederate capital, and authorities determined to move their charges to less accessible locations. Accordingly, the first of several moves for Lodge began at midnight, May 6, 1864.

Before his capture Captain Lodge's letters to his wife purposefully chronicled his experiences. "I fear," he notes, "that you may grow tired of these *details* of our movements; but remember that I intend these letters to form a basis from which, should I ever see fit to do it, I can write a history of the campaign."[7] The proscriptions of prison life, however, prevented him from mailing more than single-page letters, so he turned his considerable talents to compiling a diary. Captain Lodge was admirably suited to this task. He had an excellent sense of the newsworthy and an eye for details. His writings indicate a man of moderation: high principled and perhaps overly inclined to expect the same from others, but basically realistic about his unpleasant situation.

The Lodge diary manuscript – two hundred pages minutely written – and approximately sixty letters written by the captain show no signs of subsequent revision. In view of the diary's length (a transcription required 232 typewritten pages) only excerpts can be presented here. These

5. For details, see Frank L. Byrne, "Libby Prison: A Study in Emotions," *The Journal of Southern History,* XXIV (Nov., 1958): 430-44.

6. Under command of Col. Thomas E. Rose, 77th Pennsylvania Volunteers, fifteen officers dug through a basement foundation wall and tunneled almost sixty feet underground to a nearby tobacco shed. One hundred and nine men escaped. See Lodge diary entry for Wednesday, Feb. 10, 1864.

7. Letter to Mrs. Lodge, April 20, 1862.

are limited to entries made during his confinement at Libby. Many repetitious references to prices, food, weather, and the rise and fall of personal hopes for exchange are omitted. The editor has corrected the spelling and punctuation and eliminated most of the space-saving abbreviations used by Lodge. Generally, his capitalization has been left unchanged. The first entry from Libby Prison is Lodge's summary of more than a week's activity. The remainder are extracted from the regular daily entries:

IN THE BASTILE [*sic*] OF THE REBELS
RICHMOND, VA., JULY 28, 1863

. . . We reached this headquarters of treason on the 20th of this month and after being marched up to this prison were all taken back to a prison just one square from this and opposite Castle Thunder which is the military *Criminal* prison here. There we were subjected to a search; and all our personal effects, such as blankets, oil cloths, haversacks, canteens, belts, and money, which had not been taken at Jackson were taken from us that they could find. Many of the men had strips round them instead of suspenders, and even these were seized and taken off; . . . And this robbery was committed by the agents, and in the name of the "Confederate States of America." . . . When they demanded my pocketbook, I gave them both. They found a $2 Greenback in each and some change in one and so gave them back; but they did not find $65 in Greenbacks which I had elsewhere.[8] This humiliating search was rendered even more insulting than necessary by being performed by a deserter from our 6th Regular Cavalry. I did not

8. A surprising amount of money was held by prisoners in Libby. Some captives, including Lodge, secreted greenbacks on their persons and succeeded in taking them into the prison. Owing to a favorable exchange rate, $100 in greenbacks could be converted (through the guards) into several times that amount in Confederate currency. Other prisoners sold personal items such as pens, watches, and clothing to their captors. Still others (again including Lodge) were able to have money smuggled to them in boxes of supplies shipped to Libby by relatives. Some Confederate officers were implicated in these transactions. Lodge later reports, while imprisoned at Macon, Ga., that Capt. Kemp Tabb, the prison commandant, sold goods to prisoners for personal profit. While Lodge was confined at Columbia, S.C., the prisoners had the services of a sutler. See Alonzo Cooper, *In and Out of Rebel Prisons* (Oswego, N.Y., 1888), 216, 219-20; Lodge diary entries for June 1 and Oct. 11, 1864, and letters to Mrs. Lodge, Oct. 15 and Dec. 27, 1863.

Libby Prison, Richmond, Virginia. This picture was made in 1865, probably immediately after the end of the Civil War.

learn his name; but I registered him in my memory, and if he ever falls into our hands, "God have mercy on his soul." After this operation we were brought to Libby, and the men were taken to "Belle Island," where I learn they are still. . . .

And now for a description of this far famed "Libby Prison." It is a 3 story brick block of three stores, each about 45 feet wide by 125 feet long. The upper rooms are about 7 feet high at the ends, and then the roof making the ceiling arches up until in the center the rooms are some 35 feet high. This added to four windows at the south end and five at the north with two on the east side makes this – the Eastroom – large, airy, and very pleasant. In this room I am quartered with nearly 130 others, mostly officers of the Eastern Army. . . . The center room is not so well ventilated as this, having no side windows, and the kitchen for the two rooms is partitioned off from it. In these two rooms are quartered 220 officers. Most of these are "Potomac men." In the West room is Col. Streight and his officers.[9] Neal Dow, the great Apostle of Temperance, is there.[10] . . . In the room under them are the

9. Abel D. Streight, colonel of the 51st Indiana and commander of a provisional brigade, was ordered to raid the interior of Alabama and Georgia to destroy railroads and supplies. On May 3, 1863, he and his command were captured by Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest while attempting to reach Rome, Ga. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1888), IV: 414; cited hereafter as *Battles and Leaders*. See also Robert S. Henry, *"First with the Most" Forrest* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1944), 139-59.

10. Neal Dow of Portland, Me., won nationwide fame in the 1850's

officers, and the kitchen for them is in the lower room. The two rooms under the East and middle rooms are the prison Hospital. I have never been in it. On the lower floor the West room is the Provost Marshal's office. . . .

The third night an incident occurred of record. You will remember that under this room on the ground floor is the office of the Provost Marshal and also the Prison Inspector. I was very restless and did not sleep until the hour of twelve had struck upon the city clock. Then I fell into a doze soon broken by the wild beseeching cries of a man's voice. I started up and found several officers at the windows, one of whom explained that they were whipping a negro downstairs; and indeed between each beseeching shout for mercy I could distinctly hear the "whack" of the lash on the negro's naked back. Presently he said [that] "if they would stop he would tell all." They ceased, and an officer beside me who had counted said, "They gave him 38 blows that time." Some talk then ensued, and then again the lash was plied; again the pleading and screams rang out upon the midnight air. And now the blows fell steadily as the beating of some dread machine, "whack, whack, whack" – quick, hard, sharp, and regular as the falls of a belt [?] hammer; and the pleading, screaming shout rent the air at each blow. "O-o-w, oow, O Captain, O Mercy, O-O-woo, O don't, O Captain." The terrible howling of a strong man in his agony, until the man's voice grew hoarse and faint, the shout descended to a wail, the wail subsided to a moan. . . . At last the brutal beating ceased; the officer beside me announced, "One hundred and twenty-one that time," and the city clock chimed "one". . . . And now you ask, Who was this man? He was a free man, had been serving with some of our men and captured, and is held here as a prisoner of war. "The head and front of his offending" was that he had attempted to escape, and *he was a mulatto*. . . .

Our ration now is ½ a loaf of bread, ¼ of a pound of raw beef (including bone), less than ¼ of a lb. of rice, salt enough to season, and a little vinegar to each man. . . . We are allowed to send out [for food] by the prison sergeant, by consolidating our wants into a general bill and then dividing the things after we get them. Thus we manage to live by paying such prices as the fol-

through his campaign to spread prohibition which culminated in passage of the "Maine Law" against selling liquor. He also chronicled his Libby experiences; see Frank L. Byrne, ed., "A General behind Bars: Neal Dow in Libby Prison," *Civil War History,* VIII (June, 1962): 164-83.

lowing: dried apples 75 cents per pound, eggs 12½c each, butter crackers 75c pound, butter $2.50 to $3.00 per pound, bread 25c pound, onions 16-2/3c each. . . . These prices you will readily see would soon ruin us was it not for the fact that we have been able to buy the "Confederate" money of the guards and negroes about the prison at greatly reduced prices. The day after I came here I paid $2 Greenback for $8 "Confed"; next I paid 5 for 22; and yesterday I got 10½ "Confed" for $2 Greenback.

Thursday, July 30th, 1863, Libby

We go on in the dull routine of our prison life. Each day adds one or two new ones to our number. . . . General Neal Dow was taken out of here this morning to be sent to Mobile. He was demanded by Governor Shorter of Alabama on a charge of robbery. The Rebs assert, I believe, that when he was down on the Gulf, he took pianos and other furniture from houses and sent it home to his wife. If this proves true, I fear it will go hard with him, for this is a crime for which he would be amenable to our own Authorities as well as to the Rebels.[11] There is a Lumbard here, a brother to Frank and Julius Lumbard of Chicago. He sings a fine Basso, Lt. King is a good tenor, and one of the chaplains has a pretty good soprano. They often treat us to good singing.

Sunday, August 2/63

Another sabbath morning dawns upon our prison life. Today I saw the man who was so unmercifully whipped on the Friday night after I came here. He is a bright mulatto, a native and resident of Philadelphia and was captured on the Gun Boat Sciota last winter.[12] He was one of the Boat's crew and was just as much entitled to exchange and the protection of our government as any man on board. His features are good and even handsome, and his appearance is as much more intellectual and gentlemanly than that of the man who whipped him as can possibly be. The negro "foreman" here, a bright mulatto from Columbus, Ohio, who is made to take charge of all the negroes here, says they struck him

11. Lodge's statement must have been based on prison rumor. Abolitionist Dow was charged with inciting slaves to leave their masters and encouraging the fugitives to form military organizations. He was investigated for these activities, but sufficient evidence could not be found to try him. Dow was returned to Libby in October, specially exchanged, in March, 1864, for General Fitzhugh Lee, the captured son of Robert E. Lee. *Ibid.*, 165, 172, 182.

12. Lodge subsequently identifies the man as Clarence Miller, a crewman on the *Sciota*.

400 blows that night.[13] It seems they had been whipping him sometime before we woke. . . .

Friday, August 14, 1863

. . . I would not for the world be as much addicted to gambling as many I see here are. They never appear at ease nor satisfied unless they are at it. Another vice which betrays itself here particularly is Egotism. To hear an Ass of a Lieut. – with a head the shape of a cocoanut, a "handle" to his face large enough for the tongue of a bob-sled, and a pair of mule's ears projecting on either side like the flanking portion of an advance movement – fiercely criticising the conduct of our best Generals, denouncing *them* as imbeciles, calling Horace Greeley a fool and Henry Ward Beecher a numbskull – is enough to cure almost any *thinking* man of what self-conceit he might have formerly entertained, and make him a modest man forever after. . . .

Monday, August 24, 1863

The papers this morning give us no cause to hope for any speedy release from here. . . . Forts Sumpter [*sic*] and Wagoner at Charleston still hold out, but I think they must fall soon. I can not help acknowledging to myself that the prospect of a change looks very dull for us. I occasionally hear an officer here denouncing the President of the U.S. and the Administration just as a *civilian* would have a right to do. Now they are especially prohibited from so doing by laws which they have positively sworn to obey, and I am determined hereafter to prefer charges against every man or officer in the service who I hear so denouncing the President.

Saturday, August 29th

Still cool and pleasant. The Rebs. are alarmed every night by rumors of the approach of the Yankees; and the alarm bells ring and call out the militia, and there is running to and fro and a devil of a time generally. . . . I was amused yesterday morning when they sent out their Artillery. It consisted – that is, the Battery which passed here did — of two small mountain Howitzers mounted on very slender carriages and each drawn by a *single mule led by a darkie.* A little after them came their "Ammunition Train." It was *two wheelbarrows,* wheeled by darkies with a guard on either side of them, and *one box* of Ammunition on each barrow. . . .

13. Identified by Lodge as Daniel Deekin.

Sunday, September 6, 1863

. . . Time drags on as usual. Occasionally a dispute occurs rising nearly to a fight. Disgraceful enough, Heaven knows, considering that we all are supposed to be gentlemen. But the most humiliating thing is Dr. Meeker's posters on the walls advertising $180 which have been stolen from him offering a reward of $30 for the money and fifty for the *Thief*. The "*thief must of necessity* be an *officer*," and the rebels in charge of the prison have read the posters and know that such things are done among us. . . .

Wednesday, September 9, 1863

We were subjected to an indignity this morning that made me blush, because it is some of our members who are to blame for it and not the authorities. We have to fall into line for roll call every morning and evening. This need not occupy more than three minutes, nor would it were it not that some of the men will not start at the word. . . . The clerk had remonstrated a dozen times, but finding his request availed nothing, he brought up this morning an armed squad with fixed bayonets to *force* us into line at the word and then he kept *us* waiting about 15 minutes; just to show us, I suppose, how pleasant it is to wait.[14] Prominent among those who have brought this upon us is young Cameron, an English upstart – the aide of Gen. Upton – whose face reminds me forcibly of a fat baby's spanked a——s. My cold is better today. . . .

Sunday, September 13, 1863

. . . Day before yesterday quite a force – at least two divisions, I should think – crossed the river here going to the southwest. Yesterday some 3 or 4 batteries of Artillery crossed back; and today a very long army train passed over going in the same direction. These must be reinforcements being sent to Bragg. . . . It is very galling to be caged here while the armies are in active motion outside, and stirring events are near. . . .[15]

14. This and subsequent entries provide Lodge's varying views on Libby's chief clerk, E. W. Ross. Ross had a difficult job keeping accurate records because of the prisoners' lack of cooperation. Apparently he approached the work with care, for his office books were sent to Washington following the war and were found to contain the name, date of capture, and other pertinent information about virtually every Federal prisoner who passed through Libby's doors. Francis T. Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1911), VII: 57.

15. Lodge correctly assessed the situation. He was viewing the 11,716 men of Longstreet's command (Hood's and McLaws' divisions) on their way to reinforce Gen. Braxton Bragg in time to participate in the Battle of

Saturday, October 10, 1863

This afternoon the little whiffit who calls the roll made us stand up in line on the floor for one whole hour. He says it was to *punish* us for not falling in more promptly when the word is given. But I think it is more like the Kentuckian whipping his hogs first to "show his d—d authority". . . .

Tuesday, October 13, 1863

Last night some 9 or 10 officers blacked themselves and treated us to an Ethiopian concert in the dining room, using a little room – it used to be the Drug room to the hospital – as a dressing room. It was the best thing we have had since we came here. They sang and danced well, and their burlesque on our Libby "Roll-call" and "A Barbershop" were very fine. . . . This morning we were again *cursed* and abused by the little snotty *pup* who calls the roll about falling in. When the roll call was announced, the dining room was full and they started up the stairs at once, but of course it takes two or three hundred men some minutes to go up one flight of steps. So while we were getting up, Ross forced his way down the stairs and opened a most insulting tirade of profanity and abuse upon those who were still down, then threatening to "bring a guard and put a bayonet to your arse, to help you to move." These insults and indignities are of daily occurrence.

Thursday, October 15, 1863

. . . The elections held here on Tuesday resulted in Pennsylvania for Curtin (Rep) 95 and for Woodward (Dem) 18. In Ohio the vote was for Brough (Rep) 173 and for Vallandingham [*sic*] the *Democratic* candidate *not* ONE.[16] . . . There is in our mess a Lieut. Garrett, a Philadelphian, I believe — the same who called Greeley an Ass and Beecher a numbskull – who is afflicted [with] "Tic-dolorus" or some nervous disease which keeps him jerking and twitching all the time. And then he has "Catarrh" or something of the kind. . . . which makes him sniff, snort, snot, and blow *every three seconds*. Well, by some Devilish contrivance of those "Malicious Enchanters who persecute me" – as Don Quixote would say – this

Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863. At Chickamauga, Longstreet was placed in command of the Confederate left wing, consisting of 22,849 infantry and artillery, plus 4,000 cavalry under Wheeler. *Battles and Leaders,* III: 652-76.

16. Lodge is referring to a straw vote taken among the prisoners. Vallandigham, leader of the Ohio Copperhead movement, ran for governor from an enforced exile in Windsor, Canada. George F. Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (New York, 1942), 189.

poor unfortunate devil invariably places himself just opposite me or right alongside of me every time I set down to eat. Now you know I am not nervous, but I swear I would rather have the Itch than see this man jerk his hands about his food, touching his lips and mustache with the ends of his fingers forty times a minute, and sniffing or snorting all the time, right in my face while I eat. Now I know very well that he can't help what he does; and that it is a great misfortune to him; and that, although he is a conceited fool, yet he deserves my commiseration. Therefore I would not willingly hurt his feelings, and yet if he knew why I change my place, he could not help being deeply mortified. Now, the question which presents itself is, Ought I to punish myself and suffer the infliction for fear my moving may hurt his feelings? . . .

Friday, November 6, 1863

I'm sick, i.e., I've "tea in the pots, or some curmurring in my guts." I fear I shall have a spell of diarrhea. . . . I am reading Bunyon's [*sic*] Pilgrim's Progress. It is a strange compound and – to me – not very interesting. I wish I had in my youth received a finished education and had turned my energies to composition. I think had I done so I should by this time have been a very good writer, and this place would have afforded an excellent opportunity for writing caricatures.

Thursday, November 12, 1863

Yesterday we got no meat at all. I was hungry all day until just at night I bought 12 crackers for a dollar, and ate. We get *no meat today* but get sweet potatoes in lieu thereof. I got four small ones for my share. This is your birthday, darling, and I have written you a nice long letter, which Dr. Wren will sew into the lining of his coat and take out for me, as the surgeons are all to go home by the next boat. It is almost enough to make a man wish himself a doctor. Last night the "Libby Minstrels" gave us a capital entertainment. They sang "Bonnie Jean," "They Stole My Child Away," and other things *splendidly*.

Tuesday, November 17, 1863

We have not had wood enough to keep up a fire in our stoves half the day today. We have burned up all the empty boxes and a part of the tables and everything we could lay hold of in the way of fuel and still have only been able to half cook our food. Thus the Rebels take every possible means of annoying us and making

us feel our imprisonment. When they give us food, they withhold the means of preparing it.

We have had quite an exciting day in Libby today. It has become quite a habit to invite Rebel preachers to come and preach to us. Yesterday a meeting was held to condemn this practice. Several speeches were made on both sides, and finally a vote was taken which resulted in sustaining the practice. This vote was cast, however, under the impression that our objection to the inviting of them was an act of religious intolerance. But this was not our object nor idea. Our objection was because the idea was going abroad that the officers confined here were inviting Rebels to administer to us in holy things, while in truth not over 25 or 30 men in the building could be found willing to join in such an invitation, and we were not willing that we should be implicated as having extended any such a courtesy to men who were in the daily habit of praying for our destruction and the overthrow of our government. Still it was impossible to make men so understand us, and there was a great outcry raised about our attempt to destroy religious liberty and the freedom of conscience. . . .

Monday, December 14, 1863

. . . About noon we were informed that we could send out today for vegetables, etc., to be brought here, but that this would be the last time such a privilege would be allowed. This made a great stir among us, and the bill sent out amounted to $10,765.50. The Rebels were astonished to find that we had so much money, but I think there is as much more in the Prison. Greenbacks are now worth 15 and 18 to 1 of "Confed" in the street here, while one *gold* dollar will buy 30 of the Rebel scrip.

Sunday, December 20th, 1863

. . . Night before last Col. A. D. Streight and Capt. Read attempted to escape. They bribed and passed the first line of guards but were arrested by the outer guards and brought back. They are now in the cells of the dungeon, and the Col. is in Irons. This is an indignity to which they have no right to subject him by the laws of war. True, they have a right to put him in the cell and keep him in solitary confinement if such confinement is necessary to his safekeeping, but not to put the Felon's Manacles on him. I am sorry they caught *him,* for they hate him with a peculiar hatred and will gloat over the pretext to punish him. . . .

Friday, December 25th, 1863

Christmas!!! Little did I think when I came here that I was to spend my Christmas here. I should have had but a sorry dinner had it not been this morning Lt. King came and invited me to dine with his mess, which invitation I promptly accepted. We had roast turkey with applesauce, mashed potatoes, pumpkin pies, cheese, crackers, and coffee. The turkey was excellent, very well cooked, and we had a good dinner. Major White of Penn. who attempted to escape with the surgeons was paroled today and is gone. This with the news we hear stimulates our hopes of release considerably. Last night the Libby Minstrels gave an entertainment which was very creditable to them. They had their Programme printed in regular style. . . .

Yesterday while some little boys were playing on the ice on the canal, and within sight of our windows, it broke and let some half dozen of them into the water. One of them drowned before they could get him out. It was a very sad affair.

Friday, January 1st, 1864

Did I think I should ever write this date in this vile place. Well! The prospects are present that I will write it many times and maybe 1865 before I get out of here. Last night the Rebs allowed us to have our lights until 11 o'clock, and then we put them out and sang patriotic songs from that until after twelve. The day is cold and bright and beautiful. This is a lovely climate. Capt. Harry Gregg is informed this morning that he is paroled and will go home by the next boat. This favor is a voluntary compliment from Governor Smith (Extra Billy) of Virginia. I wish somebody would do me such a favor.

Sunday, January 10, 1864

The day is bright and clear but the coldest we have yet had. The ice is running in the river, and the canal is frozen so as to be a good skating field. Yesterday Generals John H. Morgan and A. P. Hill of the Rebel army visited us and made the tour of the rooms. Morgan is a fine-looking man, large, with dark mustache and imperial florid complexion and an easy and pleasant address. His eyes are small and red from the effect of recent drink, but sharp and searching.[17] Hill is about my size, sandy whiskers and red

17. Brigadier General Morgan, the Confederate raider, had tasted the life of a prisoner. On July 26, 1863, he was captured during his famous cavalry raid across the Ohio River. Confined to the state penitentiary at Columbus, Morgan and six companions escaped on Nov. 27, only forty-four

THE

LIBBY PRISON

MINSTRELS!

MANAGER,	LT. G. W. CHANDLER
TREASURER,	CAPT. H. W. SAWYER
COSTUMER,	LT. J. P. JONES
SCENIC ARTIST,	LT. FENTRESS
CAPTAIN OF THE SUPERS,	LT. BRISTOW

THURSDAY EVENING, DEC. 24th, 1863.

PROGRAMME.

PART FIRST.

OVERTURE—"Norma".....TROUPE
OPENING CHORUS—"Ernani".....TROUPE
SONG—Who will care for Mother now.....Capt. SCHELL
SONG—Grafted in the Army.....Lieut. KENDALL
SONG—When the Bloom is on the Rye.....Adjt. LOMBARD
SONG—Barn-yard Imitations.....Capt. MASS
SONG—Do they think of me at Home.....Adjt. JONES
CHORUS—Phantom.....TROUPE

PART SECOND.

Duet—Violin and Flute—Serenade from "Lucia,
Lieuts. Chandler and Rockwell
Song and Dance—"Root Hog or Die,.....Capt. Mass
Banjo Solo.....Lieut. Thomas
Duet—Dying Girl's Last Request.....Adjts. Lombard and Jones
Magic Violin.....Capts. Mass, Chandler and Kendall
Song—My Father's Custom.....Lieut. McCaulley
Clog Dance.....Lieut. Ryan

RIVAL LOVERS.

JOE SKIMMERHORN.....Capt. MASS
GEORGE IVERSON.....Lt. RANDOLPH

PART THIRD.

COUNTRYMAN

IN A

PHOTOGRAPH GALLERY

PROPRIETOR.....Capt. MASS
BOY.....Lt. RANDOLPH
COUNTRYMAN.....Maj. NEIPER

MASQUERADE BALL

MANAGER.....Adjt. JONES
DOOR KEEPER.....Capt. MASS
MUSICIAN.....Lt. CHANDLER
MEMBER OF THE PRESS.....Lt. RYAN
MOSE.....Lt. WELSH
BLACK SWAN.....Lt. MORAN
BROADWAY SWELL.....Lt. BENNETT
RICHARD III.....Capt. McWILLIAMS

THE WHOLE TO CONCLUDE WITH A

GRAND WALK-AROUND

☞ Performance to commence at 6 o'clock. ☜

ADMISSION FREE—Children in Arms Not Admitted.

Adjt. R. C. KNAGGS,
Business Agent.

The Libby Prison Minstrels, a prison entertainment group, came into existence on October 12, 1863, and on the following Christmas Eve presented their most ambitious undertaking, a three-part show. Prisoner George R. Lodge called the show "very creditable" and noted that "they had their Programme printed in regular style." This handbill is a reproduction of an original printed program owned by Joseph O'Brien of Washington, Pennsylvania. The original is 5 13/16 by 15 7/8 inches in size.

face. Rather an ordinary-looking man, except his eye and that is keen, flashing, and very intelligent. They were accompanied by several officers of their staffs. I drew up an article of a bet yesterday between Captain Sawyer and a Capt. Carroll of Maryland, Carroll betting $25 Greenback that we would be released within 30 days.

Friday, January 15, 1864

. . . A little incident occurred this morning illustrative of the low spirit of the Rebels. Three little boys belonging to the "poor white trash" came beneath the windows of our dining room and asked for bread. The officers threw out to them a lot of corn bread -- nearly a bushel of it, which they eagerly gathered into a bag, when one of the employees of the prison came out, took the bag, carried it into the prison, emptied it, and threw the empty bag back to the beggars. This I saw myself. The same bread will undoubtedly be reissued to us today or fed to the negroes who work in the Prison.

Thursday, January 21, 1864

On Saturday last the meat in the hands of the Rebels seems to have become exhausted. It is now five days that we have received nothing but corn bread, and once in the course of the five days they gave us rice to the amount of 2 quarts to 20 men. . . . Major Beers of the 16th Ills. Cav. who has been in Irons at Abingdon, Va., charged with murder, rape, theft, arson, and everything else the brutes could think of, arrived here this morning, as they could not find one jot of evidence against him. He is a very good looking officer. . . .

Friday, January 22, 1864

The rebels have nailed up the doors between this department and that of Col. Streight so that each party is now confined to its own rooms. But they have cut a hole about a foot square in each of the doors, so when I *want* to go into those rooms I can creep right through. Thus there is some advantage in being small. . . .

Sunday, January 24th, 1864

. . . Last night some 75 or 80 officers were in the dining room, singing union songs, laughing, marching, dancing, and making a tremendous noise generally, when Major Turner ordered a guard

days before his visit to Libby. *Battles and Leaders,* III: 634-35. See also Allan Keller, *Morgan's Raid* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1961), 247-50.

to tell them to make less noise.[18] The guard gave the order, but as though it was done of his own accord; so they went on singing, "We'll Hang Jeff Davis on a Sour Apple Tree," when suddenly Dick Turner with a company of guards entered the room, secured the stairs, and ordered the whole of them into line, where he kept them standing still for two hours and a half.[19] We call those who were thus caught, the standing committee. . . .

Sunday, January 31, 1864

. . . The day is damp and gloomy outside, but full of fun in Libby. The clerk Ross, after all his labor yesterday, called the roll in the usual way just at dark and found 28 more men in the building than should be. In the height of vexation he exclaimed, "What can one head do against a thousand, and *they all Yankees.*" The poor little soul was in great tribulation. This morning they hit on a new plan and opened the door into Streight's (the West) department. Then they drove us all into this (the East department) and made us pass through the door, counting us like sheep as we went. This made 10 men too many. While this count was going, a party of men after having been counted and passed to the West room went through the skylight over the roof down the East skylight and passed again, thus being recounted. Suspecting or ascertaining this, they . . . tried it again, but this time there were 13 over. Two days have now been spent in vain endeavours to find out how many prisoners they have here; they seem to have given up in despair. It is great sport for us thus to outwit them. . . .

Monday, February 1st, 1864

. . . This morning the following order was read to us:

> "From this date no Federal prisoner will be allowed to send to the *so called* United States more than one letter in each week. Said letter not to contain more than six (6) lines. Letters must be delivered to the sergeant on Monday and not on other days."
>
> (Signed) TH. P. TURNER *Maj. Comdg.*

This will cut down our letter writing more than a little. . . .[20]

18. Maj. Thomas P. Turner was the Confederate commandant for both Libby Prison and the enlisted men's stockade on Belle Isle. Miller, ed., *Photographic History,* VII: 57.

19. Richard "Dick" Turner, no relation to the prison commandant, was prison inspector immediately in charge of the prisoners. Byrne, "Libby Prison," 431.

20. The order was instituted when it was discovered that prisoners had been writing secret messages in lemon or onion juice in their letters. The

Wednesday, February 10, 1864

Last night a large lot of officers escaped, and today the whole day has been devoted to calling the roll. I cannot now tell how many escaped. One account says 109, another says 114, and still another 146. I think it is one hundred and nine. Col. Streight is among those who escaped and I trust will not be again retaken. . . . This escape was effected by digging through the wall of our kitchen at the fireplace into the cellar under the Hospital, then through the heavy foundation wall on the East side of the building, thence 52 feet underground and coming up under a tobacco shed in an adjoining lot, thence out through a stable in a brick house, the upper story of which was inhabited, and out into the street within 20 paces of the sentinels. The whole thing was engineered by Col. Rose of Penn. and he is the only officer here sufficiently astute to have done it. I have been cognizant of the plan, ever since its beginning, through Capt. Clark of Edgar County, who was one of Rose's working party.[21] This party of 15 men were to have gone tonight, and a week hence another party, of whom I was to have been one was to follow under a Capt. Lewis. But last evening a gang of fellows who had neither the wit nor courage to dig the mine discovered that it was done and made a rush for it. This made it necessary for Rose and his men to go then, one night before they were ready. . . . Would they have waited until tonight [when] a guide, a union man here in Richmond, would have been in waiting to take them through the lines. The Rebs have found the tunnel by which they went out. . . .

Monday, February 15, 1864

This morning I paid five dollars (equal to 50 cts.) for less than a tea cup full of strong butter. This was extravagant, I know, but then my breakfast – a cup of tea without sugar and some dry corn bread – was *so* dry. We get no meat again today. It is snowing and the day is cold and wretchedly disagreeable. . . . The post chaplain, Dr. McCabe, was in the prison today and said to several officers with whom he was conversing that "there was once a day when he took off his hat to the Stars and Stripes, but now he regarded it no more than *any other dirty worthless rag*." Someone told him he would yet have to live under it. He said, "Rather than

order remained in effect for a month. In March, Lodge again began writing the standard one-page prisoner letters. *Ibid.*, 438.

21. Lodge writes of Capt. (later Col.) Terrance Clark of Paris, Ill., a member of the tunneling party. Since Lodge was reared in Paris, it may be assumed that he knew Clark prior to the war.

Colonel Abel D. Streight of the 51st Indiana Infantry was one of the leaders of the tunnel escape from Libby Prison in February, 1864.

do so I would be a serf, a galley slave, and be scourged to my task in the morning and my cell in the evening in chains by a task-master." "And yet," said Lt. Stewart, "you have the audacity to come here and offer to preach to Federal Officers." "You are impertinent," said this specimen of slave-holding christianity, "and if you were not a prisoner I would resent your language differently." . . .

Friday, February 19, 1864

. . . The papers this morning announce a truce boat up with 20 tons more boxes. Also Col. Streight's safe arrival within our lines. Bully for Streight. They copy from the Chicago "Times," N.Y. "World," Albany "Argus," articles more abusive of our government and more detrimental to our cause than anything they could themselves write. . . .

Wednesday, February 24, 1864

Many boxes [of provisions set to the prisoners by relatives and friends] have been issued today. I got mine. . . . The way these boxes are delivered is this. My name was called at the door of the kitchen, which opens on the front sidewalk, where there is a pile of these boxes. Just inside the door a rebel had a book open on a box [and] showed *three* places where I must sign my name.

He said it was a receipt in triplicate for my box. He would not permit me to read the receipt. I had not seen the box yet. I must sign or not get anything. I signed. I was then allowed to pass my blanket on through the door and they put what they chose from the box into the blanket. A reb took a hatchet and chopped a hole in one of the fruit cans. Adjt. Knaggs, who was outside, then said, "Those are all right. He ain't a whiskey man," so he chopped no more of them. The blanket was then passed in to me. . . .

Tuesday, March 1, 1864

. . . The Rebels have a terrific scare on today. Our cavalry are reported to be near the city again, and the Militia, Jack Ass Battery, etc., have all gone out. They have taken several prisoners this evening but do not let them come up among us. . . . The nefarious order of the prison authorities to fire on any prisoner who put his head out of the window recoiled on themselves beautifully yesterday. The order is that if we hang clothes out of a window to dry, they will be confiscated; and if we sit in a window or lean against the iron gratings, we are liable to be shot. Yesterday a man in the deserters' Prison looked out of a window, and the guard shot him through the head, supposing him to be a Yankee; but he proved to have been a rebel detective officer who was on duty in the prison. I am sorry for the wife and three children he leaves. . . .[22]

Wednesday, March 2, 1864

. . . Today they have done the most villainous thing of the war. Richard Turner, the Prison inspector, told Adjutant R. C. Knaggs that they had placed a mine of 300 pounds of Powder under the centre of this building so that if our cavalry were to come in, they could spring this mine and blow us into Eternity before we could be released.[23]

Saturday, March 5, 1864

. . . Today Lt. Geo. T. Hammond of Reingold Bat., Pa. Cav., was standing in the sink with others and chanced to look out of the

22. The order was issued only a few hours before the incident occurred. It included a provision ordering the confiscation of clothes that were hanging out of windows. The purpose was to prevent prisoners from signaling to Union sympathizers in Richmond. Byrne, ed., "General behind Bars," 177.

23. With Union cavalry under Gen. Hugh J. Kilpatrick and Col. Ulric Dahlgren raiding near Richmond, the Confederates feared the prisoners

opening left to give light to the sink when one of the guards shot at him. The ball cut away part of his left ear and passed out through the ring of his hat. One inch farther would have sent him to eternity. This officer was doing nothing that could by any kind of reasoning be made an offense. He was in the sink of the 4th story, not less than 36 feet from the ground, and merely looking out. He could neither escape nor communicate with the outside, and it was broad day about 3 P.M. . . . I have just talked with Lt. Hammond. He was not even looking out when shot but was standing in the back part of the privy waiting for others to give room for him. No one had spoken to the sentinel, nor did he give the slightest warning before firing.

Monday, March 7, 1864

Forty-eight officers were sent north today. They were chosen from some favoritism or other – I know not what exactly. Some were sent who had only been here about 2 months while those of us who have been here 8 and 10 months are still kept. . . .

Friday, March 11, 1864

This morning the rebels took the 4 officers of the Corps D'Afrique who are here and put them with the 6 officers captured of the late raiding party under Col. Dahlgreen [*sic*] and 4 Negro privates into a cell they have partitioned off from one corner of our kitchen. This cell is 14 x 20 feet. So these 14 men have just about the same room as the rest of us. They have no stove nor any convenience for cooking or even washing their faces. Their food will be cold corn bread and water. Their only means of relieving nature will be an open pail in their room which will be emptied *once a day*. . . .

Tuesday, March 15, 1864

I returned from the hospital today, having gone there on Sunday. . . . This hospital is supplied with cots or wooden bunks, on each of which is a straw bed, one very coarse sheet, and one old thin spread. The ticks, sheets, and spreads are all very dirty and are never washed except as the patients hire it done. Some of our enlisted men are detailed as cooks, nurses, etc. They are furnished with a cooking stove but no cooking utensils. There is not a cup, plate, knife, or fork in it except such as are taken in by the patients,

might revolt. The mining of Libby, combined with the order to shoot prisoners near windows, were steps to forestall this eventuality. *Battles and Leaders,* IV: 95-96.

and they are the old tin cups we have used here in the prison. The only food furnished to the patients is a little black tea every other day, half a pound or a little more of the poorest corn bread I ever saw, and about 4 ounces of raw bacon daily. This food is cooked in the room where all the beds are, so that no matter how delicate a man's stomach is, he must endure the odor of frying bacon. . . . There is a guard stationed in the room who walks up and down the aisle day and night. These guards are privates and behave very well, making little or no unnecessary noise; but 4 or 5 times through the night the *officers* of the guard attended by one or 2 sentinels patrol the room, stamping heavily down one aisle and up the other, waking everyone who chances to be asleep. In addition to this the guards who surround the building, every half hour in the night, bawl out at the top of their voice their watch cry. . . .

Monday, March 21st

. . . One of the greatest outrages ever perpetrated against prisoners of war was committed here yesterday. Lt. Morgan Kupp of the Penn. Inft. was cooking his supper in the kitchen of the lower west room and was standing by the stove with his hand on a pot he was boiling there; this brought him in front of the window, and he was looking out at a boat passing up the canal, but not within a foot or more of the grate, when the sentinel below shot him. The shot seems to have struck the bars, and flying to pieces struck him in several places on the hand and face. One buckshot entered his neck and is still there. Another entered his cheek, glanced upwards and out at the temple. . . . This happened at about 3 P.M. Kupp's wounds are all slight and will not probably give him any serious trouble. . . .

Friday, April 1, 1864

Another month is gone. I had hoped to have been at home today, but am badly "April fooled." . . . I have a low dull fever and am sick most of the time. I used to think I could stand anything but lightning or a shell, but I believe 6 or 8 months more of this prison life would knock the pins from under me.

Tuesday, April 12, 1864

I have now been a prisoner 9 months. I think it quite time for my delivery. I remember that I started my career in this world by an imprisonment of 9 months; but my jailor then was much more tender of me than these rebs. . . . This morning as the guard was

mounting in front of our windows, a gun was fired into one of the windows which killed Lt. Forsythe of the 100th Ohio and wounded Lt. Kelly of the same. They pretend the discharge was "*accidental,*" but several of the officers saw the guards laughing and chuckling among themselves after the murder had been committed. This makes one officer killed and 3 men wounded by firing at us through the windows of our prison.

Sunday, April 17th, 1864

All is excitement and expectation on the exchange. Those who have money in the hands of the Rebels are notified to send in their names and told they will receive tomorrow as much "Confed" currency as their *money* will buy at the market rate. . . .

Monday, April 25, 1864

Well! All hope of exchange is gone. A boat came in to the Point on Saturday but brought no *prisoners*. . . .

Saturday, April 30, 1864

This morning twenty-odd officers, including my friends Maj. Henry and Capt. Pollock, got off and are now on their way to God's country. There is no rule nor order of any kind about their going. The truce boat brings up a number of officers, and the rebs send a lot back in place of them without any reference to their date of capture. I think most of those who have been sent so far have had some friend or acquaintance here to ask for their release and others seem to get off mysteriously. These, I think, bribe the prison officials; but we have no evidence of it. . . . Capt. Pollock's going was a Godsend to me. I was out of everything but a little coffee. He left me some Butter, sugar, flour, meat, and coffee. I am very thankful.

Friday, May 6, 1864

All Richmond is wild with excitement. The battle is raging on the front. Lee telegraphs that he "has repulsed the enemy, taking many prisoners and 4 cannon" and has "lost many brave and gallant officers including Gen's Jones and Stafford" and that he had "by the blessing of God been able to maintain his positions till night." All this sounds very much as though he had been a good deal worsted. This evening we have a set of wild rumors. One is that Grant has been badly whipped and driven back 5 miles. . . . This morning early 4 officers from here and some 24

out of the hospital were sent off by the truce boat. Yesterday we got a very heavy mail. . . . Will write you on Sunday if here.

That was the last Libby entry in Lodge's diary. At midnight, Friday, May 6, 1864, he and other prisoners were roused, marched to the Richmond depot of the Danville Railroad, and sent to the latter city. But another ten months of confinement lay ahead before release and freedom would be his, on March 1, 1865.

Following his release Lodge returned to Illinois and moved to Chicago. He died there on October 27, 1911, just twenty-five days before his eighty-fourth birthday. He is buried at Monticello, Illinois.

P. J. STAUDENRAUS

"The Empire City of the West"— A View of Chicago in 1864

P. J. Staudenraus, who edited the following description of Chicago by Civil War correspondent Noah Brooks, is also editing Brooks's dispatches from Washington, to be published later this year. Now an assistant professor of history at the University of California at Davis, Staudenraus took his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865, *published by Columbia University Press in 1961.*

IN THE FALL of 1864, during the fourth year of the Civil War, Noah Brooks, one of the foremost newspaper correspondents in Washington, D.C., toured the midwestern states – officially to cover the Democratic National Convention for his newspaper, the *Sacramento* (California) *Daily Union,* and unofficially to sample both Copperhead strength and Union sentiment for his close friend and idol, President Abraham Lincoln. Beginning in December, 1862, Brooks had lived almost continuously in the national capital, covering congressional debates, military preparations, executive department activities, and partisan maneuverings within and between the Union and Democratic parties. Brooks's trip to Chicago in 1864 was one of the few occasions he left the capital.

At that time Brooks was an experienced and imaginative newspaperman of thirty-four. Born in Castine, Maine, in 1830, he had worked for the *Boston Atlas,* the *Dixon* (Illinois) *Telegraph*, and the *Marysville* (California) *Daily Appeal.* In the years following the Civil War he was to hold high editorial positions on the *Alta California* (San

Francisco), *New York Tribune, New York Times,* and the *Newark* (New Jersey) *Daily Advertiser.* In later years he found time also to write juvenile books describing his early western adventures; a filiopietistic biography of Lincoln; and his personal reminiscences of the great war President and of wartime Washington, D.C., *Washington in Lincoln's Time,* first published in 1895. A new edition by Herbert Mitgang appeared in 1958.

Early in his career Brooks showed a flair for vivid writing, an eye for the colorful and unusual, and a devotion to the Republican Party's programs and heroes. Unlike some fellow "Bohemians," as Civil War correspondents called themselves, Brooks was more interested in recording the grand aspects of the epochal war he witnessed than in writing about unrelated and useless data of transitory importance. His account of Chicago in 1864 reveals his talent for grasping the mood and temper of his surroundings.

Chicago's manifest wartime growth surprised and delighted Brooks. He had first visited the city in the mid-1850's. A decade wrought changes that astonished the beholder. Duly impressed, Brooks departed from his customary correspondence chores to record what he saw in the shining city beside Lake Michigan, "one of the handsomest, as it is one of the busiest, cities in the United States" – a city of many bridges, lavish new buildings, and still uncompleted engineering miracles. On every hand he saw evidence of extraordinary prosperity, exuberant self-confidence, and an overflowing faith in a steeply ascending future. In short, he felt and recorded the spirit of a great western city. Brooks's forgotten but still fresh description of Chicago first appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Union* on November 5, 1864, over the pen name "Castine."

CHICAGO, October 12, 1864

THE EMPIRE CITY OF THE WEST

Ten years have wrought great changes in this city since I last beheld it. Then the sloppy, low, and neckbreaking streets ap-

Civil War reporter Noah Brooks. This picture was made around 1872.

peared to be sinking in the ooze of Michigan's shore, and squalid shanties, vile saloons, and dens of infamous resort spread all over the margin of Chicago river and its branches. A few large grain warehouses were regarded as mighty monuments of Chicago's rising prosperity, and wooden stores clustered thickly about some of the bridges which connect the various "sides" of the city, subdivided by the river and branches. The raising of the grade of the streets had been just begun, and here and there were ambitious buildings rising up with the streets, while the majority of the blocks were below the new grade, and dangerous steps and slopes – a terror to near-sighted people – afflicted the wayfarer from one end of the city to the other.

Now Chicago may fairly be called one of the handsomest, as it is one of the busiest, cities in the United States. Everywhere one sees solid evidence of commercial prosperity and thrift, and here on the shore of Lake Michigan has risen a great and growing city, worthy to bear the title of the Empire City of the West. The streets are wide, straight, dry, and clean, and are lined with business blocks, which for beauty and apparent durability cannot be surpassed anywhere in the Republic. Along the harbor and river margins are gigantic warehouses, stores, and railroad depots, where one might suppose the commerce of the world could be handled, but only barely sufficient for the demands of the great West, of

which Chicago is the metropolis. In every direction stretch the far-reaching arms of railroads, which hug close to this city all of the trade of the Northwest, while the blue lake on the East is dotted with sails, or clouded with steamers, from the many ports on the chain of inland seas which wash the frontier. Truly, we may well say "Great is Chicago and great are its profits."

Street architecture has received a great deal of attention here, if one may judge from the handsome buildings which tower on either side of all of the principal arteries of the city. Great quarries of a light, cream-colored limestone, known as the "Athens stone," are found about twenty-five miles from here, and this, with the cream-colored Milwaukee brick, forms the principal material for the best structures in the city, an agreeable intermixture of dark-hued iron fronts of ornate styles being the only variation from the general tone of color. Perhaps, if there were less of the carved gingerbread in the very composite character of the architecture, a correct taste would be better satisfied. But Chicago affords a fair type of the lavish profligacy of "style" so peculiar to America and to all new and prosperous communities. Indeed, architecture appears to run riot here among all of the ancient schools of design, which have been pillaged to decorate the piles of carved, fluted, and pillared stone piles which rise on every hand; while in the unpromising and unkept suburbs are dropped down Etruscan villas, French chateaux, Gothic monstrosities, and crystallized architectural fancies of every style – the efflorescent outcroppings of the "new riches" of Chicago, a city grown rich and richer by the war, and evincing its prosperity in material things, rather than in great works of art, science, literature, or social achievement.

It would seem that materialism was the leading characteristic of Chicago, and that she had learned to be forever content with the greatest warehouse, the tallest grain elevators, the biggest pork trade, the largest and handsomest stores and fancy dwellings, the most overgrown of hotels, the most railroads, and most street bridges of any city in the Union. If this be so, her ambition is in a fair way to be gratified; and if it be not so, it is because these things appeal most sensibly to the sense, while more delicate and refining characteristics are modestly kept in the shade.

A City of Bridges

It was Childe Harold – wasn't it? – "who stood in Venice on the Bridge of Sighs"? If he had extended his pilgrimage to modern Chicago he might have stood on a great many bridges of sighs, not

to make fun or a pun on the size of these long-armed bridges, which are forever swinging to and fro to accommodate the great traffic which passes up the main water-artery of the city, and the T-like arms extending widely apart. A great many of the principal streets extend across these water courses on pivot bridges, which no sooner discharge one accumulation of people and teams than they fly open wide to allow the passage of some sort of lake craft, and smoking funnels and screeching steam-whistles go past in an almost unceasing stream. As soon as the bridge closes in again the impatient crowd rushes madly on, giving a stranger the impression that Chicagonians [*sic*] are an active race, given to gymnastics and slightly crazed. Necessarily, however, everything involving time is very uncertain in Chicago, as everything depends upon the bridges, which may bring you up at a round turn everywhere, and it is not surprising that the people consider the great nuisance of the city is in its . . . drawbridges. Accordingly, it is seriously proposed to tunnel the river in various places, but as the city is on a dead level, it is difficult to invent a plan of tunneling which will not involve a great incline at either end of the tunnel – too great for loaded teams to overcome.

A Great Bore

Speaking of tunnels reminds us of one of the wonders of this wonderful city by which pure water will be sucked up from the body of Lake Michigan by the Chicago people, who are greatly addicted to water – when mixed with other things. At present water is pumped up from the margin of the lake, which is mixed with impurities from slaughter yards, distilleries, and kindred abominations along the river, which discharges near by a volume of cominations not agreeable to think of, though the Chicagonians [*sic*] drink of it and live thereafter. At a distance of a mile or more from the shore the lake water is clear and pure, and it is proposed to tunnel under the lake bed for two miles, then run up a shaft to the surface, and the water flowing in will be thence distributed through the city by the present pumping system.

Last night, accompanied by a former member of [Colonel Isaac I.] Stevens's Pacific Railroad Expedition, A. W. Tinkham, now Secretary of the Board of Public Works, I made the "grand tour" of the tunnel . . . through a submarine bore, where one walks under the keels of lake vessels and steamboats. . . . We descended a perpendicular shaft eighty-seven feet in depth and nine feet in diameter, the upper half of which was smooth iron tubing in jointed

Chicago's first water-supply crib. Noah Brooks founds that this "artificial island . . . a mass of mighty timber" was "nearly completed" in 1864.

sections, and the lower part of brick laid in cement. Great difficulty was experienced in sinking this shaft, as it is near the lake shore, surrounded with quicksands and filling with water. Twenty feet of sand and gravel overlays the smooth, damp clay which forms the next strata, and also the bed of the lake. Arrived at the bottom of the shaft, we enter the tunnel and grope our way painfully along the brick-walled tube, which is five feet in diameter, smoothly and firmly lined with choice brick laid in cement, and forming a wall eight inches thick, the compact clay outside the brick being a tolerable wall of itself. Overhead we have sixty-five feet of superincumbent earth, and as we grope to the outer end of the tunnel we travel 700 feet, and have the body of the lake raging overhead with thirty feet of clay to defend us from any danger of drowning. Still one cannot help thinking, while so far from the cheerful light of the sky, what would become of a wandering newspaper correspondent if the bottom of things should suddenly drop out.

Curious things are found in the stiff clay sometimes, the pickmen getting out detached crystals of sulphuret of iron, bits of broken white spar, stone which have been scratched and worn by rushing

tides before Adam was ever heard of, pebbles of smooth quartz and rough stones, which, when broken, yield petroleum as ill-smelling as that of any Pennsylvanian who has "struck ile." Men who dig in these subterranean depths are subject to like passions and appetites as others, and they exact from visitors a fee, called "footing," which goes for grog – to "keep out the water," I suppose. The excavators work sixteen hours in the twenty-four, and the bricklayers follow up during the other eight hours, both sets of workmen being aided by a steam engine at the mouth of the shaft and cars on a trainway in the tunnel.

But what appears to be the greatest work of the whole project is the sinking of the artificial island which will defend the opening to the tunnel two miles from shore. This structure, a mass of mighty timber, is now nearly completed and will soon be launched from the lake shore, where it towers up an uncouth blockhouse, watertight and massy. This work is a five-sided crib of solid square timber, bolted and braced in every useful way, and measuring eighty feet in diameter, forty-five feet in height, and having a well or pentagonal opening perpendicularly through the center. This huge affair will be launched, towed out, moved by strong chain cables to moving screws, and then sunk by filling the space between the inner and outer walls thereof with stone. Thus an island, eighty feet across, will be made, and down the open space, which is thirty feet in diameter, will be sunk iron tubing nine feet in diameter to the bottom of the lake, forty-odd feet below the top. The lower edge of the tubing being forced far into the soft bed of the lake, the water will be pumped out, and a shaft twenty-five feet deep will be sunk to the level of the tunnel. From this shaft the work will run in to meet the slowly-advancing bore from the landward end. I hope that they will be able to make both ends meet, for it would be funny if they should miss each other and go on with their burrowing until time should be no more. The crib is divided into five watertight compartments, which are eventually to be filled with solid masonry, and upon the island so made will be space for the required beacon light and for all the machinery necessary for prosecuting the work below. Water is admitted through the crib by three gates, which open into ducts running through the twenty-five-feet-thick sides and discharge into the thirty-foot well within, where an undisturbed surface will remain. The entire work is to cost about $500,000, and will be completed in two years from this time. Chicago people regard the costly project with more skepticism than circumstances appear to warrant,

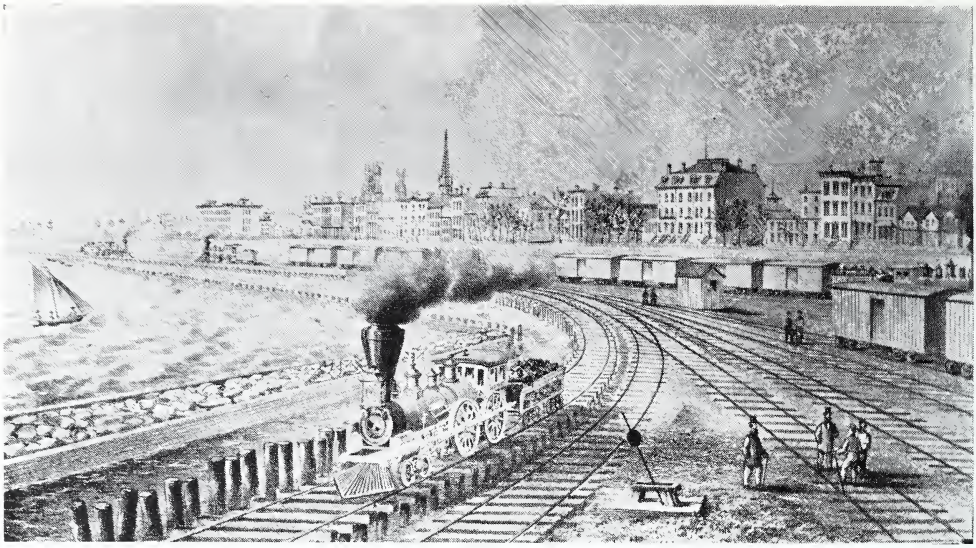
but many men of science in this country and in Europe, who have watched the progress of the work, believe that it will be very likely to prove a triumph of the skill and genius of the chief engineer, E[llis] S. Chesborough.

The Grave of Stephen A. Douglas

The spot, consecrated to the memory of the favorite son of Illinois, is not one favorable to any quiet pensiveness or grand thought over the ashes of the dead statesman. It is on the lake shore, at the edge of a pretty grove, in an open space where the spray from the restless lake often flings itself far beyond the little brown enclosure which protects the grave. The property was owned by Douglas, and was subdivided into building lots fifty by one hundred feet, of which Mrs. Douglas owns two, the Douglas Monument Association owning two more, and two or three more being owned by [Leonard W.] Volk, the sculptor, connected by marriage with Douglas. No beginning has yet been made upon the monument which is to mark the spot; but the grassy grave, unmarked save by a few faded wreaths of cedar, lies with its foot pointing eastward. Hard by is the cottage in which Douglas lived, now owned by Volk; and upon the adjoining lot is a hut where photographs of the grave and of the unborn monument are sold. If a traffic in faded wreaths from the grave is not also carried on here, I am mistaken. A beginning will be made on a costly monument next spring, and it is expected that the state of Illinois will give liberally toward the work which will mark the last resting place of him who has linked her name with his own illustrious statesmanship.

The University of Chicago

At least one splendid building for educational purposes graces this practical and money-getting city, not to speak of the handsome school edifices of Chicago. The university itself is yet in embryo, having but one professorship endowed, but the building – of the beautiful Athens stone – rises in all of its castellated grandeur near to completion, being situated near Douglas Place, a mile or more out of the heart of the city. This edifice is great on towers, oriels, and pinnacles, and is broadly generous in its proportions, being 336 feet long and 187 feet wide, with a battlemented tower 150 feet high. An observatory tower of great solidity as well as beauty is semi-attached to the building in the rear, and the whole structure, graceful in proportions, but slightly mixed in style, is pleasant to look upon. It is, undoubtedly, the finest building of



Chicago's lake front and Michigan Avenue as they appeared around 1864.

the kind in the United States, except, perhaps, Girard College, Philadelphia.

A Rebel Army in Illinois

There are 11,000 rebel prisoners at Rock Island, and 8,000 in this city at Camp Douglas, making quite a formidable corps, were the whole 19,000 under arms and marching on Chicago. These prisoners are well cared for at Camp Douglas, and look sleek and comfortable – enjoying themselves much more at ball playing, foot racing, etc., than when fighting Yankees or raiding in Kentucky and Tennessee. . . .

During my visit yesterday the Pennsylvania 196th Regiment, now doing guard duty at Camp Douglas, was holding an election for congressmen, and a liberal display of funny electioneering placards was made by means of lettering on old wagon covers such phrases as "Old Abe's Last Joke – 500,000 More!" "How are You, Gunboat Mack?" etc. The vote stood 209 for the Union, and 47 for the Copperhead ticket; one company detached at Springfield voted solid for the Union ticket. Who said that the Democrats did all the fighting in this here war?

Political Items

There was great rejoicing last night over the news from Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania, whose elections have virtually decided the Presidential contest. Every loyal heart beat quicker as we

learned the joyous and unexpected news, and speedily the streets were filled with an enthusiastic crowd, hurrahing for the Union candidates, singing "John Brown," and making the night noisy after the usual sort. Indiana has agreeably disappointed the most sanguine, and now Illinois is ready to follow in her glorious wake.

The politics of Chicago is mixed, the balance of power being near an equilibrium; the present mayor (Copperhead)[1] was elected a year ago by 125 majority, but last spring subordinate city officers were elected on a Republican ticket. The solid men, the thinking men, the leading taxpaying citizens, are all Unionists; but the Irish and the Roman Catholic Germans are Copperhead almost to a man. The Common Council is evenly divided, but in all public matters referred to the public spirited citizens, anti-slavery Unionism is largely and strongly predominant.

The corporation newspaper, unfortunately for the good name of the city, is the *Times* – a bold, bad sheet, edited with devilish ability and backed by large capital. Unscrupulous and mendacious, the *Times* sticks at nothing to carry its ends, and just now enjoys the bad eminence of being the most open sympathizer with secessionism printed inside our army lines. As a specimen, look at the following "headlines" of yesterday's half-suppressed good news, printed in type as bold-faced as its own treason:

"Electioneering documents from Stanton." "Ineffectual attempt to place the military situation in a roseate light." "Sherman engaged in repairing railroads destroyed by the rebels." "Forrest escapes across the Tennessee." "Sheridan falls back to Woodstock." "Devastation by Federals in the Shenandoah Valley." "Burbridge's repulse at Saltville." "The assault upon Butler's lines." "Capture by the rebels of 10 cannon, 400 to 500 prisoners, and 200 to 300 horses." "Bogus report of a victory by Sheridan over Longstreet." "Federal retreat in East Tennessee." "More failures in England."

This was to influence the election, of course; but the news heralded thus by a shallow artifice carried its own weight with it, and was unmixed good, every reported Union victory being genuine, and the disguised rebel gains being only half the story. These desperate villains, thank Heaven, are losing heart, and soon Northern and Southern allies in treason will lie in one common grave of infamy.

1. Francis C. Sherman, Democrat, elected in 1862 by a majority of 1,183 and reelected in 1863 by a majority of 157.

DONALD F. TINGLEY

The Clingman Raid

Donald F. Tingley, professor of history and chairman of the Division of Latin-American Studies at Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, is a specialist in the field of intellectual history, and wrote his doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois on "The Rise of Racialistic Thinking in the United States in the Nineteenth Century." His interests are catholic, however, and he has the reporter's sense of a good history news story. He has previously contributed articles to this Journal *on such diverse subjects as Daniel Parker, the eastern Illinois Baptist preacher who established a colony in Texas in 1833 (Winter, 1958), and the diary of a Spanish-American War soldier, which appeared in the Spring, 1963, issue.*

DURING THE SUMMER of 1864 the three counties of Montgomery, Fayette, and Bond in south-central Illinois were terrorized by an armed gang of desperadoes in a fashion that would gladden the heart of a producer of television westerns. This episode of the backwash of the Civil War has been known as the Clingman raid, so-called after the alleged leader of the band. The leader was said to be one Thomas L. Clingman, and frequently it was said that he was a Confederate officer. The Clingman raid is mentioned in some of the histories of the period, but these books usually dismiss the incident with a few lines and uniformly assume that the raid was a part of a great Copperhead plot to take part or all of the Middle West away from the Union.[1]

Rumors of an encampment of renegades somewhere in the area between Ramsey in northwestern Fayette County and Van Burensburg in southeastern Montgomery County

1. See, for example, Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War* (*The Centennial History of Illinois,* III, Springfield, 1919), 307, and Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War* (New York, 1942), 182.

became widespread in the summer of 1864. At first the Hillsboro newspaper tended to depreciate the problem, saying that the numbers of the gang had been "variously estimated and exaggerated." The editor commented:

> What they proposed to do, is for the most part conjecture, but as they were the enemies of the Government, their object could not have been consistent with the public good. We are told they said their intention was "to defend the Democracy." Alas! what now will the Jeff. Davisites do, without these heroic defenders.[2]

The *Daily Illinois State Journal,* of Springfield, also a Republican paper, reported that the band was "under the command of two men, reported to be a Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel in the rebel service. . . . They . . . stated . . . that they intended to ravage the country as the South had been ravaged."[3] The *Journal* variously reported that the gang was from Missouri or from Arkansas.[4] From the beginning the reports in the press appeared to be based on rumors, but at once it was alleged by the Republican papers that this was an operation of the Confederacy.

The rumors continued to circulate and grow after several crimes of violence were committed in the area. An attempt was made to wreck and rob a paymaster's car on the Chicago and Alton Railroad a few miles west of Nokomis, a little to the north of where the band was supposed to be camped.[5] Several citizens were robbed, usually of guns, money, and horses. These events raised a good deal of terror in the hearts of the residents of the area, especially in view of the widespread claims that these were Rebel forces. A climax was reached on the night of July 21 when the homes of two respected citizens were robbed. The gang used a fence rail to break down the door of the home of Jefferson

2. *Union Monitor* (Hillsboro), June 24, 1864, p. 2; a local correspondent, in a letter published in the *Chicago Tribune,* Aug. 4, 1864, p. 4, estimated the number of the gang at two to three hundred.

3. *Daily Illinois State Journal,* July 28, 1864, p. 3.

4. *Ibid.,* July 26, 1864, p. 2; July 28, 1864, p. 3; July 29, 1864, p. 3.

5. *Ibid.,* July 26, 1864, p. 2; *ibid.,* Aug. 2, 1864, p. 2, quoting *St. Louis Union*; *Union Monitor,* July 22, 1864, p. 2.

Lynn, near Van Burensburg, and robbed him of $380, clothing, a watch, a rifle, and a bridle. According to one account, the renegades, before taking their leave, forced the terrified Lynn to swear an oath of allegiance to the Confederacy and made him pledge that he would not report the robbery on pain of death. The same night Bryce Prater of Bond County was similarly robbed and cruelly beaten.[6] The *Union Monitor* reported that "the village of Ramsey, in Fayette county, has been literally sacked and the inhabitants have mostly fled." Hillsboro had also been threatened.[7]

On July 22, the day after he was robbed, Jefferson Lynn appeared in Hillsboro and told his story and requested action on the part of the civil authorities. There was considerable discussion of the matter by the community. Some irate citizens wanted warrants issued for the arrest of Clingman and his men. Curiously enough, in view of the reports of the sympathy of the group for the Confederacy, it was decided to send one Robert W. Davis of Hillsboro to persuade them to go away or at least to find out what they were up to.[8] If all the reports about the gang were true, this was a most unusual action, for Davis was notoriously antagonistic to the war and had earlier been indicted by a grand jury of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Illinois, on the charge that

> on the first day of September A.D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty three at the district aforesaid and within the jurisdiction of this Court [Davis] did then and there knowingly willfully and unlawfully counsel Philip Stout, Foster Hunter, Henry Hiske, McKling Hunter, William Tennison to resist a draft of men enrolled under the act entitled and [*sic*] "An act for enrolling and calling out the National forces, and for other purposes," said persons so counselled as aforesaid being then and there enrolled under said act. Contrary to the form of the statute in such cases made and

6. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1864, p. 2; Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Montgomery County* (Chicago, 1918), 835; *Illinois State Journal,* July 29, 1864, p. 3; *Chicago Tribune,* July 30, 1864, p. 1.

7. *Union Monitor,* July 29, 1864, p. 2.

8. *Ibid.,* Aug. 5, 1864, p. 2.

provided and against the peace and dignity of the United States of America.[9]

Later the case was remanded to the circuit court, but apparently Davis, a lawyer, was never brought to trial.[10] Davis had been appointed a delegate to the Democratic National Convention which was held later in the summer in Chicago, and the Springfield *Journal* referred to Clement L. Vallandigham and Davis as "twin cherries on one stem."[11] In any case, apparently the mission of Davis to treat with the bushwhackers came to nothing.

The next step of the citizens was to send a delegation to Springfield to consult with military and state officials about the situation. They got an interview with Colonel James Oakes, assistant provost marshal general for the state of Illinois.[12] Governor Yates had already received appeals for help from numerous citizens[13] as well as from D. L. Phillips, the United States marshal for the Southern District of Illinois. Always zealous in his pursuit of those he regarded as disloyal, Phillips got the Governor to endorse his request to General William S. Rosecrans, in command at St. Louis, for troops to help in execution of writs in Montgomery and Fayette counties for the arrest of the "Scoundrels."[14] Rosecrans turned him down.

Colonel Oakes, meanwhile, ordered Captain William M. Fry, provost marshal of the Tenth District of Illinois, with headquarters at Jacksonville, to proceed to Hillsboro and

9. United States v. Robert W. Davis, Counseling Resistance to Law, 480 District Court. The file of this case, which is in the Federal Records Center, Chicago, contains nothing but the indictment. William J. Littell, clerk of the United States District Court, Southern District of Illinois, Springfield, April 3, 1961, to Donald F. Tingley.

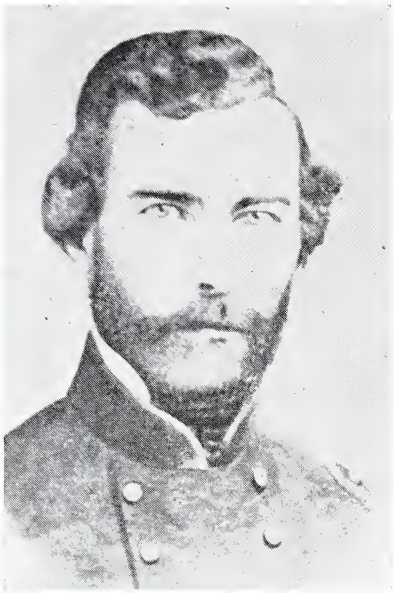
10. *Ibid.* quotes General Record Vol. 2, p. 511, indicating transfer of case to the circuit court.

11. *Illinois State Journal,* July 7, 1864, p. 2.

12. *Union Monitor,* Aug. 5, 1864, p. 2.

13. N. M. McCurdy to Yates, Vandalia, July 27, 1864, in Yates Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.

14. D. L. Phillips to Yates, Springfield, July 29, 1864, Yates Papers. This contains a copy of Phillips's appeal to General Rosecrans and Yates's endorsement of it.



Colonel James Oakes, assistant provost marshal general for the state of Illinois during the Civil War.

investigate the situation. A similar order was sent to Captain E. S. Condit, provost marshal for the Eleventh District, to proceed to Vandalia and Ramsey on an identical mission. Captain Fry spent two days in Hillsboro and called a meeting of leading citizens to discuss the situation. He decided that the matter was a civil affair, not a military one. Fry reported to Oakes that the "outrages are committed wholly in violation of the *Civil laws.* And that the parties are all, so far as I can learn, citizens and refugee or renegade Missourians." Fry said that the meeting of citizens brought forth the conclusion that the whole purpose of the Clingman gang was "that of horse-thieving and robbery." Fry's report continues:

> It is fully ascertained that about 200 desperate characters have organized and established a camp in that vincinity which is made a depository for their plunder in general.
>
> It is also understood that this organization is under the leadership of a man named Clingman who is represented as intelligent and desperate, as well as well versed in military regulations.
>
> They keep up their picket guard and permit nobody to pass their "lines" without the "countersign."[15]

15. Fry to Oakes, Jacksonville, July 28, 1864, Yates Papers.

Captain Condit went to Ramsey as ordered and interviewed a number of citizens, some of whom had left their homes out of fear of personal injury. His report is less cautious than that of Captain Fry and definitely asserts that the band had a political character. A part of his report is as follows:

There is certainly a band of desperadoes infesting a portion of Fayette and Montgomery counties, committing depradations [*sic*] on the union citizens, robbing them of their arms and in some instances of money. They make their Headquarters in Montgomery County, between VanBurensburg and Ramsey, and are variously estimated from forty to two hundred: from what I can learn there are about twenty five strangers supposed to be guerillas from the border slave states, the others are residents of Montgomery Fayette and Bond counties. Their principal object seems to be to obtain arms and horses, and to intimidate and drive off union citizens.[16]

Condit made no recommendation to Oakes as to a course of action, but the following day he wrote to Governor Yates with further information:

The Leader Clingman is a Southern desperado a bold daring energetic man of sufficient ability and force of character to obtain and hold an influence over the men among whom he operates – He has had lately in his gang about fifteen Southern desperadoes and five or six deserters which form the nucleus of his band to which are added as circumstances require or policy may dictate from fifty to one hundred men who are residents of the surrounding county. His policy seems to be to unite organize and drill as many men as possible. Their depredations and acts of lawlessness here consisted mostly in taking arms and supplies for their own support. But lately they have been more defiant and violent and have robbed and maltreated several union citizens a number of whom have been compelled to leave Ramsey for personal safety.[17]

Once the decision was made that this was no military matter, the citizens of the area were again faced with the necessity of protecting themselves. A writ was issued for

16. Condit to Oakes, Vandalia, July 30, 1864, Yates Papers.
17. Condit to Yates, Centralia, July 31, 1864, Yates Papers.

the arrest of Clingman and others, but the sheriff failed to serve the warrant, saying that it was impossible to do so. Much was made of the fact that the sheriff was a Democrat and therefore suspect in the matter. At this juncture the leadership of the situation was taken over by W. S. Stephenson, a constable and also a Democrat. Stephenson called for a force of men, and the following morning, July 29, was joined by a group numbering between three and four hundred. In Litchfield, farther to the west, the call for volunteers was put out the previous evening and at dawn on the morning of the twenty-ninth, a cannon was fired to signal the time for assembly. About forty men, half on horseback, turned out and traveled to Hillsboro; there they were reinforced by home guard units from Bond and Fayette counties.

At the rendezvous the group elected officers. D. R. Sparks of Litchfield was chosen colonel; Paul Walter of Hillsboro, lieutenant colonel; and Thomas M. Davis of Bond County, major.[18] From Hillsboro the entire force set out for Clingman's camps. Near Van Burensburg the force was split, with Colonel Sparks taking about a hundred men through the village and on directly to the camp sites of the gang. They found the camps deserted, but considerable evidence of a hasty departure.

Lieutenant Colonel Walter, meanwhile, took his group and camped to the south of Van Burensburg. During the night his unit engaged in two skirmishes with bushwhackers. There was little damage to either side in the first encounter, but later, in the second brush with some of the gang, Mayor James Jefferis and John Ferguson, both of Litchfield, were wounded. These were the only casualties suffered at the hands of the enemy, although there were several accidental injuries. One young man shot himself when he caught the hammer of his shotgun on a log and discharged it. William Witherspoon of Hillsboro suffered a similar ac-

18. *Union Monitor,* Aug. 5, 1864, pp. 2, 3.

cident while taking his gun from a wagon. Willis Simmons was injured when a pistol was accidentally discharged by one of his comrades. On another occasion some of the party from Greenville were mistaken by the Hillsboro force for the guerrillas, and a man from Greenville "who obstinately refused to surrender, was shot in the hip." It would seem that the forces of law and order faced more danger from themselves than from the Clingman gang.[19]

No further trace of the main body of Clingman's men was ever found by the home guard unit. But Robert Davis, who had accompanied the force, stayed in the camp talking with the various persons who showed up from time to time. According to the newspaper account, "His position seemed to be to persuade the citizens out of the affair and to secure the arrest of Clingman and his men."[20] Eventually some of the local citizens named in the warrant agreed to give themselves up to the authorities, and the various units of the expedition then returned to their respective homes. Seventeen persons were subsequently arrested and indicted on charges of "adhering to the Enemies of the United States." These were all local people, and none of the outsiders that were alleged to be involved were ever apprehended. Attorney Robert Davis gave bond for the prisoners.[21] In the March, 1865, term of the circuit court, the indictments were quashed on motion of the state's attorney. Apparently there was not enough evidence to sustain a trial.[22]

Editor J. W. Kitchell of the *Union Monitor* concluded his account of the expedition as follows:

> Clingman and his men knew all the movements – spies were all the time giving him information. It was improbable under the circumstances thus to surprise him. It was not indeed expected. Yet if the citizens do their duty he will be caught with his despera-

19. *Ibid.* J. W. Kitchell, editor of the *Union Monitor,* was adjutant of the force. Thus the story of the expedition is an eyewitness account. See also *Chicago Tribune,* Aug. 3, 1864, p. 1.
20. *Union Monitor,* Aug. 5, 1864, pp. 2, 3.
21. *Ibid.,* 2.
22. Montgomery County Circuit Court Record, Book F, pp. 80, 85, 112.

does or driven from the county. This Clingman is a robber – but at the bottom of all this – he is a rebel – an acknowledged one. His principal followers are rebels, and he works upon the prejudices by instilling into the minds of the people disunion sentiments, and in this he has had the co-operation of too many of our people. Will they see where this tends, and stop now on the verge of the precipice?

The march was a very disagreeable one. The heat was severe, and the dust was almost intolerable. Men of all professions, pursuits and ages were associated together in the one common object, of doing their duty regardless of personal risks or inconvenience. Farmers left their grain in the fields, and merchants their counters. The spirit manifested generally, was excellent.[23]

Apparently Clingman and his men scattered and regrouped at some other nearby place, because the crimes continued in the area. On August 12 the *Monitor* reported three more robberies that had taken place during the previous week. Edmond Carriker was robbed of $75, a revolver, and a shotgun. John Lipe lost a watch, a shotgun, and a rifle. Captain Pete Wood was robbed of his uniform and $475 by thirteen men as he passed through Van Burensburg on his way home on furlough. Editor Kitchell commented, "And shall we sit still with our fingers in our mouths and do nothing?"[24]

Meanwhile Governor Yates continued to get complaints and pleas for action. H. H. Bodman, a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune,* who said he had traveled through the disturbed area, added to the claims that this was an organized Confederate effort:

When armed men are allowed to parade the streets of our larger towns and villages and openly proclaim defiance to the government and a determination to resist the enforcement of the laws; when a band of traitors sworn into the confederate service and officered by men who hold confederate commissions are allowed to occupy a court in one of the counties of the state and plunder loyal men without . . . hindrance; when . . . citizens are allowed

23. *Union Monitor,* Aug. 5, 1864, p. 2.

24. *Ibid.,* Aug. 12, 1864, p. 1. See also *Illinois State Journal,* Aug. 10, 1864, p. 2, Aug. 11, 1864, p. 2.

freely to cheer for Jeff Davis and announce their determination to shoot abolitionists and loyal men on sight, it occurs to me that the occasion has arrived for the authorities to take official notice of the fact and apply the remedy.[25]

At this juncture Colonel Oakes was absent from Springfield, but one of his assistants, Newton Bateman, asked Governor Yates to request the dispatch of troops to Fayette County.[26] Apparently Yates complied, and so on August 10 the 41st Illinois Regiment, under the command of Colonel Isaac Pugh, was ordered to Vandalia with instructions to report to United States Marshal Phillips for service.[27] We have little information about the activities of the 41st there, but apparently they scoured the country for Clingman with no success. The only report of their activities deals with a detachment of the regiment that shot and killed sixty-eight-year-old John Sears and his wife.[28] The *Illinois State Journal* said that Sears was reported to be a "rank secessionist."[29]

Apparently the gang was still not frightened away by the troops, for there continued to be rumors and reports of crimes being committed in the area. Late in August there was a series of stories about disreputable characters who were moving north from the area of Vandalia. It was reported that twenty or more wagons filled with men and more on horseback were seen passing through Nokomis headed north. Editor Kitchell reported that they "wore *white* badges and said they were on their way to the Chicago Convention. Rather singular proceeding and not a very plausible story. There's something else on foot. Let the people beware."[30] Still later the same, or a similar, group

25. H. H. Bodman to Yates, Chicago, Aug. 6, 1864; William E. Robinson to Yates, Laclede, Ill., Aug. 8, 1864; both in Yates Papers.

26. Newton Bateman to Yates, Springfield, Aug. 9, 1864, Yates Papers.

27. Extract from Special Orders, No. 300, Aug. 10, 1864, Yates Papers.

28. Bateman and Selby, *Montgomery County,* 835-36; *History of Fayette County* (1878), 80. Sears was a veteran of the War of 1812 and had fought with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans.

29. *Illinois State Journal,* Aug. 13, 1864, p. 3.

30. *Union Monitor,* Aug. 26, 1864, p. 2.

was seen at Illiopolis. It was reported that these men said they came from the vicinity of Vandalia. The *Illinois State Journal* printed a letter from a correspondent in Illiopolis describing the group:

This morning, about seven o'clock, there was seen approaching the town a long procession of wagons, horsemen and footmen. First came a couple of men on horseback, who seemed to officiate as marshals of the day. Next came the band wagon, which also bore the colors. The band consisted of four or five men, one of whom officiated as teamster, while the others with a single exception, seemed to be passengers. . . .

Next came other teams, twenty five in number, moving with all the pomp and pride of Pharaoh and his host. The last wagon also bore a National Flag, which looked exceedingly out of place in such a crowd, judging by their remarks. One of them was heard to say, "This is a d—n town." "How do you know?" – asked another of the party. "Don't you see that d—n sign? It says, 'Union Hotel,' and, confound it, it ought to be torn down." . . .

Every man, or at least all that I saw, had a revolver or knife, or both, stuck in his belt. I heard from a reliable source, also, that they had guns concealed in their wagons under their hay and grain or camping equipments.

Several stoped [*sic*] in the stores and inquired for revolvers, cartrid[g]es &c., &c. Others got some cheese and crackers. I asked one where they were going. He said they were going to the Chicago convention – that they intended to go as far as Bloomington with their teams, and then they would take the cars to Chicago. . . .

It is believed by some (judging from their appearance) that *they are the very men who have been committing the recent outrages in the vicinity of Vandalia.* There was not a respectable looking man in the whole procession, and I doubt whether there was a responsible man among them.[31]

On August 26 the group was seen in Bloomington, where they took the St. Louis and Alton Railroad to Chicago. The *Pantagraph* reported that twenty-three of them wore butternut clothing and three were in Confederate gray:

Altogether it was a perfect specimen of the unwashed, unterrified, and untamed Democracy. . . . They were said to be from Bond

31. *Illinois State Journal,* Aug. 29, 1864, p. 3.

and Montgomery counties, which lie west of Vandalia. . . . They will fraternize capitally with the five thousand Plug Uglies from Philadelphia and New York.[32]

The Democratic National Convention began in Chicago on August 29, having been postponed from an earlier date.[33] Rumors had been circulating throughout the summer that a great plot was afoot to free the Confederate prisoners held in Camp Douglas in Chicago. The stories had it that this event was to coincide with the convention. Reports of the arrival of these men from southern Illinois helped to confirm in the minds of many the truth of the allegations. When the plot failed to come off at this time, tales were then passed about that the prison break would take place in November at the time of the national election.

When November came, there were again rumors of arrivals from the area of the Clingman raid,[34] and after many arrests were made, Colonel (later General) B. J. Sweet, commandant of Camp Douglas, testified that some of the Clingman band were among the conspirators.[35]

These are the facts of the Clingman gang as far as they can be ascertained. But they are sketchy and leave many questions unanswered. Who, for example, was Clingman? Was there, for that matter, any such man? Was this a great sinister plot, as many newspapers alleged and many reputable historians have agreed, or were the Clingman gang merely bandits, who operated on the fringes of the war and used the uncertainty and fear of the times to intimidate their victims? These questions cannot be answered with any certainty.

A great deal has been written on the subject of Copper-

32. Reprinted in *ibid.,* Aug. 31, 1864, p. 2.

33. An account of the convention is found in James Garfield Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), 619.

34. *Chicago Tribune,* Nov. 6, 1864, p. 1; Nov. 7, 1864, p. 1; Nov. 9, 1864, p. 1.

35. I. Winslow Ayer, *The Great Northwestern Conspiracy* (Chicago, 1865), 83; William Bross, *Biographical Sketch of the Late General B. J. Sweet and History of Camp Douglas* (Chicago, 1878); E. B. Tuttle, *The History of Camp Douglas* (Chicago, 1865).

head activity during the Civil War. Until recently the best work on the subject was that of Wood Gray.[36] Professor Gray generally took the stories of the Radical Republican politicians and journalists at face value and assumed that there was, indeed, a great plot to detach portions of the Middle West from the Union.[37] Recently a more moderate and realistic view has been taken by Professor Frank Klement. Professor Klement believes that the stories of the conspiracy were greatly exaggerated. He demonstrates, for example, that the Camp Douglas conspiracy was largely an incident created by the *Chicago Tribune* and certain Republican politicians for political purposes in the weeks before the election of 1864.[38]

The Republican press used the term "Copperhead" to describe any Democrat, referring constantly to the "Copperhead press," the "Copperhead convention," and the "Copperheads" in general.[39] Politicians used the term in the same promiscuous manner, and over-zealous United States marshals such as D. L. Phillips arrested Democrats on the slightest provocation. Name-calling and witch-hunting took on enormous proportions during the Civil War. Democrats – dismayed by such attacks and disheartened by their lack of political success – divided rather naturally into three groups. At one extreme was a group called the "Peace Democrats," who favored ending the war by whatever means that might prove expedient. This portion of the party was small, but many of the group were actually disloyal and some were quite sympathetic to the Southern cause. At the other extreme were the "War Democrats," who actually supported the Lincoln administration with

36. Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War* (New York, 1942).

37. The standard view of the conspiracy is also taken in the unreliable book *Confederate Agent* (New York, 1954), by James D. Horan.

38. Frank Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago, 1960); for the Camp Douglas conspiracy see pp. 199-202. See also Klement's "Copperhead Secret Societies in Illinois during the Civil War," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLVIII (Summer, 1955): 152-80.

39. See, for example, the *Illinois State Journal,* July 15, 1864, p. 2.

such devotion that they consistently voted with the Republicans both at the polls and in the legislatures. But the great mass of Democrats lay between these two extremes. They were critical of the Lincoln administration at times but generally performed their duties as citizens in an unqualified way. They paid their taxes, served in the army, and hoped to preserve the Union.

Looking at the Clingman incident in the light of these facts, one can draw certain conclusions. Montgomery County, where most of the activity took place, was a Democratic county. In the election in November, 1864, the Democrats carried the county by about seven hundred votes.[40] On this basis, then, it would appear that the Clingman gang could be better described as bandits than as guerrillas and that their chief concern was more along the line of horse thievery than in planning a great conspiracy to win the war for the Confederacy. It is probable that the leadership of the group was from outside the state. The gang seems to have had no large permanent membership but to have been composed of local citizens who came and went as they chose. Most of them were probably of the lower classes economically, and probably most of them were Democrats with but little interest in the issues of the war. Some of them may have been actually disloyal to the Union. On the question of their being a part of a Confederate conspiracy, one would have to express doubt.

The charges that these people were Copperheads comes almost entirely from Republican sources. The Democratic papers rarely mentioned the incidents at all. It must be assumed that little evidence of disloyalty existed against the men arrested at the time of the expedition against Clingman, or the indictments would not have been quashed. The report of Captain Fry after his visit to Hillsboro would seem to be evidence also that this was purely a matter of thievery and not of disloyalty.

40. *Union Monitor,* Nov. 11, 1864, p. 2.

ROBERT HUHN JONES

Uncle Dan Emmett's "Dixie"

Robert Huhn Jones is visiting research professor of economic history at the University of Illinois during the current academic year, on leave from Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, where he teaches Civil War history. He received his Ph.D. degree from Illinois in 1957 and is the author of The Civil War in the Northwest *(Norman, Oklahoma, 1960).*

DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT, author of "Dixie," might better have written for himself, "In Buckeye Land whar I was born in, early on one frosty mornin'," for he was born in Mount Vernon, Ohio, late in October, 1815.

In the early 1840's he formed one of the first minstrel troupes, the Virginia Minstrels. The costume – white pants, striped calico shirt, and blue calico coat cut in dress-suit style with exaggerated swallowtails – was designed by Emmett. His first company was well received in New York and Boston, and other groups sprang up in imitation. In 1857 he joined the Bryant Minstrels of New York City, as a minstrel, musician, and composer of Negro ditties and plantation walkarounds.[1]

"Dixie," his most famous song, was written on September 28, 1859, and later appeared in many variations. It is unlikely, however, that Emmett ever tucked his fiddle under his lamp-blacked chin and played this version:

On! ye patriots to the battle
Hear Fort Moultrie's cannon rattle!
Then away, then away, then away to the fight!

1. Material for this article is based on C. B. Galbreath, "Song Writers of Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* XIII (Oct., 1904): 504-50. This was the first of a series on Ohio song writers and dealt

Go to meet those Southern traitors
With iron will
And should your courage falter, boys,
Remember Bunker Hill!
Hurrah! Hurrah! The Stars and Stripes Forever!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Our Union shall not sever!

Called "Dixie for the Union," the words above were written by Francis J. Crosby[2] after the evacuation of Fort Moultrie but before Sumter fell. Emmett did assent to this version, which continued:

As our fathers crushed oppression,
Deal with those who breathe Secession;
Then away, then away, then away to the fight!
Though Beauregard and Wigfall
Their swords may whet,
Just tell them Major Anderson
Has not surrendered yet.
Hurrah! Hurrah! [etc.][3]

Emmett's melody was preserved but his words were revised into a stirring Southern fight song by General Albert Pike which first appeared in the *Natchez Courier* of April 30, 1861.

Southrons, hear your country call you!
Up, lest worse than death befall you!
To arms! To arms! To arms, in Dixie
Lo! all the beacon fires are lighted,
Let all hearts be now united!
To arms! To arms! To arms, in Dixie
Advance the flag of Dixie! Hurrah! Hurrah!
For Dixie's land we take our stand and live and die for Dixie!

directly with Emmett. Included are versions of his works, with material not available elsewhere or previously published. Galbreath's account is based on Emmett's manuscripts and papers, Mrs. Emmett's recollections, accounts of Emmett's contemporaries, and interviews with the songwriter himself. It is valuable source material.

2. *Ibid.*, 516, 533-34.

3. Confederate Brig. Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard was in command at Charleston, S. C.; Louis Trezevant Wigfall was a Texas senator and active secessionist; Union Maj. Robert Anderson commanded Fort Sumter, S. C.

To arms! To arms! And conquer peace for Dixie!
To arms! To arms! And conquer peace for Dixie![4]

North and South alike, hearts thumped time to the minstrel's catchy air. Abraham Lincoln is reputed to have first heard "Dixie" fitted with Republican words during the 1860 presidential campaign.[5] On both sides of Mason and Dixon's line, "Dixie's" fame mushroomed fast from its inception in 1859, when Emmett looked out over a dreary-cold, rain-swept New York City and muttered to himself a nostalgic phrase common to showmen of the period (when playing winter engagements in the North), "I wish I was in Dixie land."[6]

Emmett explained this show business phrase in the original first stanza:

Dis worl' was made in jiss six days,
An' finish'd up in various ways;
Look away! look away! look away! Dixie Land!
Dey den made Dixie trim an' nice,
But Adam call'd it "Paradise."
Look away! look away! look away! Dixie Land!

The Bryants objected to that stanza because, they said, "in some religious homes it might be regarded as making light of the Scriptures," and the second verse became the first:[7]

I wish I was in de land ob cotton,
Old times dar am not forgotten;
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land!
In Dixie Land whar I was born in,
Early on one frosty mornin',
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land!

Den I wish I was in Dixie! Hooray! Hooray!
In Dixie's Land we'll take our stand, to lib an' die in Dixie.

4. Galbreath, "Song Writers of Ohio," 532. Southron was a word coined by Sir Walter Scott, whose works were very popular in the South. It was applied by Southerners to themselves; see, for example, T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1959), I: 392.
5. Galbreath, "Song Writers of Ohio," 516.
6. *Ibid.*, 510.
7. *Ibid.*, 511, 514.

Away! away! away down South in Dixie.
Away! away! away down South in Dixie.[8]

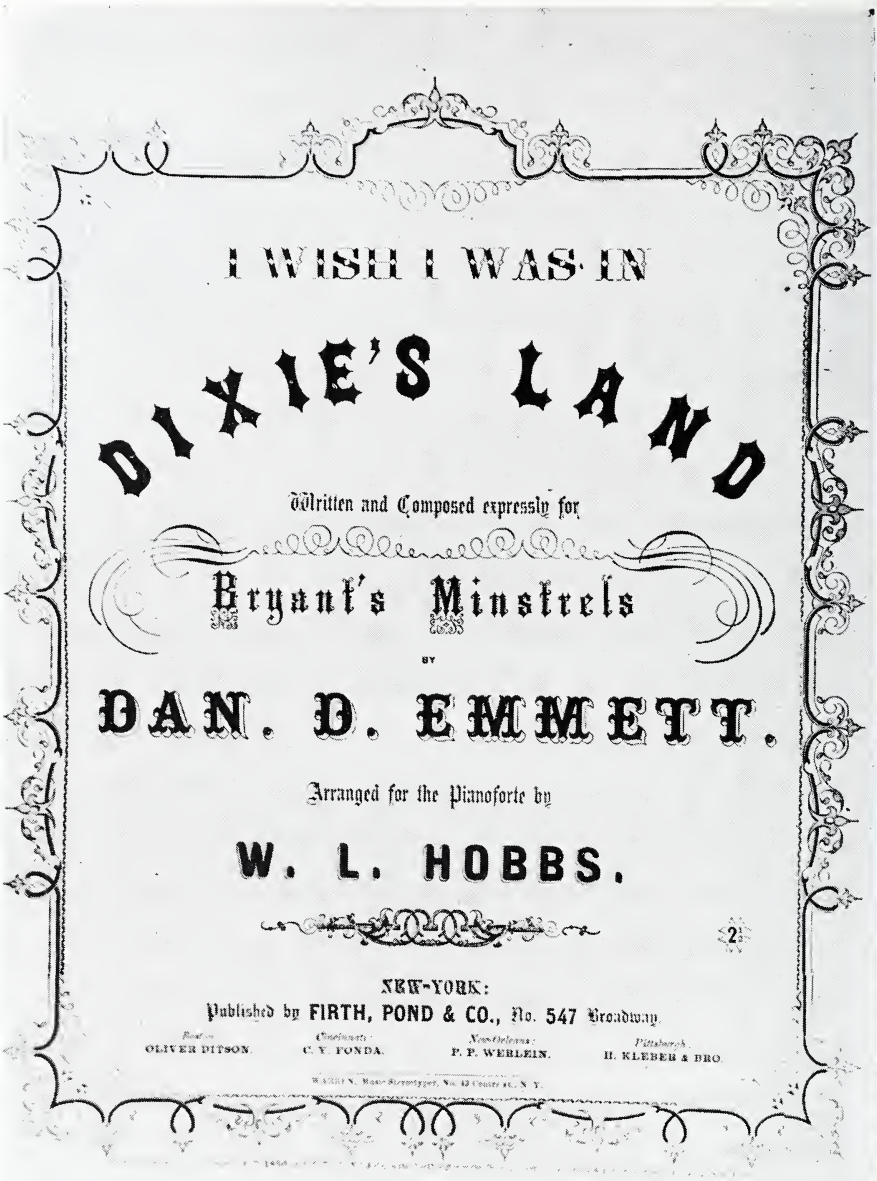
Firth, Pond and Company, 547 Broadway, New York, first published the music under the title "I Wish I Was in Dixie's Land," but in subsequent editions it appeared as "Dixie's Land" or just "Dixie." Soon after it was printed in New York a New Orleans publisher also released "Dixie," but was forced to recognize the legal right of Firth, Pond and Company to the piece.[9]

Its popularity in the South was assured in the spring of 1861, when the Varieties Theatre in New Orleans included "Dixie" as a background song for a zouave march in the last scene of John Brougham's production "Pocahontas." The selection was enthusiastically received, and before long, houses, saloons, and streets all over the South echoed to the infectious tune. No one can deny that it became the unofficial anthem of the Confederacy. The irony of this, that an Ohioan in New York should compose the No. 1 Confederate tune, was no greater than that involved in the ominous "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which was based on a hymn widely sung on the plantation. The irony was not lost on Emmett. He was a Union man, whose father was an Underground Railroad operator. As a youngster in Ohio, Dan knew the Shermans, John and William. Emmett received letters of indignant protest from patriotic Unionists, who called him a traitor and suggested he would look best hanging from a scaffold.[10]

Those who maligned Emmett did not pause to remember that as a boy he had written "Old Dan Tucker," another popular melody which served abolitionists and Unionists as "Dixie" served the South. Abolitionists sang these words to Emmett's tune:

Roll it on through the nation,
Freedom's car, Emancipation!

8. *Ibid.*, 514.
9. *Ibid.*, 516, 529.
10. *Ibid.*, 506-7, 517-18.



I WISH I WAS IN

DIXIE'S LAND

Written and Composed expressly for

Bryant's Minstrels

BY

DAN. D. EMMETT.

Arranged for the Pianoforte by

W. L. HOBBS.

2

NEW-YORK:

Published by FIRTH, POND & CO., No. 547 Broadway.

Boston: OLIVER DITSON. Cincinnati: C. Y. FONDA. New-Orleans: P. P. WERLEIN. Pittsburgh: H. KLEBER & BRO.

Front cover of the first publication of "Uncle Dan" Emmett's "Dixie" — "Written and Composed expressly for Bryant's Minstrels" and "Arranged for the Pianoforte by W. L. Hobbs." The publisher was Firth, Pond & Co., No. 547 Broadway, New York. The original cover is 10½ by 13 inches in size.

and taunted,

Get out of the way, old Jeff. Davis,
Out of the way, old Jeff. Davis,
Out of the way, old Jeff. Davis,
You're too late to come to enslave us.[11]

For the campaign of 1864, Emmett, a Democrat, wrote "Mac Will Win the Union Back":

Mid cheers that rend the air,
Mac's soldiers now prepare,
In Presidential chair
Their gallant chief to bear.
    Then cry hurrah, hurrah, for little Mac
    For he's the boy to win the Union back,
    And sail the ship of state on safer track.
    Hurrah, hurrah for little Mac.[12]

But it was the more popular and enduring "Dixie" that boosted him to fame. If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, then Emmett must have been pleased by the many verses others added. The *Baltimore Sun* attributed this stanza to Harry McCarthy, an Arkansas comedian:

Old Tennessee has not forgotten
Her good old friends in the land of cotton.
Look away! Look away! Oh, I wish I was in Dixie!
In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand
To live and die in Dixie
Away! Away! Away down South in Dixie.

In early 1861 the *Charleston Mercury* set a song called "The Star of the West" to the tune of "Dixie." Except for the chorus and the last verse it was Emmett's number. The last verse ran:

Dat rocket high a-blazin' in de sky,
Tis sign dat de snobbies am comin' up nigh—
    Look away, look away, lads in gray!
Dey bin braggin' long, if we dare to shoot a shot
Dey comin' up strong and dey'll send us all to pot.
    Fire away, fire away, lads in gray.

11. *Ibid.*, 507, 525.
12. *Ibid.*, 535-36. Mac is Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan.

Confederate soldiers were said to prefer another version, one line (the second) of which appeared in an early Emmett manuscript:

> Away down South in de fields of cotton
> Cinnamon seed, and sandy bottom!
> Look away, look away, look away, look away.
> Den 'way down South in de fields of cotton
> Vinegar shoes and paper stockings
> Look away, look away, look away, look away.
> Den I wish I was in Dixie's Land, Oh-oh! Oh-oh!
> In Dixie's Land I'll take my stand,
> And live and die in Dixie's Land,
> Away, away, away, away down South in Dixie.[13]

Many a Union boy sang the melody as well. According to Carl Sandburg, President Lincoln rather hoped "Dixie" might be a good-will song of the reunited states. On April 8, 1865, when the lanky, tired President boarded the steamer *River Queen* to begin his return journey from Richmond to Washington, he asked the military band to play Emmett's tune. After his return to Washington, when visited by a celebrating crowd the day after Appomattox, he called upon the musicians in their midst to play "Dixie." On both occasions the President remarked that the tune had become the lawful property of the Union.[14]

And "Dixie" did not die with the war. It was too happy a piece, too popular. It did not evoke sorrowful memories of defeat, but more felicitous ones of a bygone way of life and a spirited army. For northerners, it was still an expressive and entertaining minstrel air, full of nostalgia and as catchy as ever. In 1895 Uncle Dan, as he was then known,

13. *Ibid.*, 534-35. The *Baltimore Sun,* in July, 1904, claimed that McCarthy authored "Dixie." Galbreath successfully refuted the claim in a letter to the *Sun* (528-30). The *Star of the West* was the relief vessel unsuccessfully sent to Sumter with supplies in January, 1861.

14. For example, see Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years* (New York, 1959), III: 808; Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington: 1860-1865* (New York, 1941), 382; Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion D. Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), VIII: 393.

Daniel D. Emmett — this drawing was made from an early portrait.

was persuaded to come out of retirement (he had been living quietly in Mount Vernon, Ohio, since 1888) to appear with the A. G. Field Minstrels. On tour for almost a year, he sang his famous "Dixie" in the old style, complete with gestures and the weak voice of an eighty-year-old. He proved a star attraction everywhere, especially in the South. It seemed to prove Lincoln right: "Dixie" was the property of the whole Union! Emmett retired again in 1896, and lived on quietly until June 28, 1904.[15]

Uncle Dan's heart would have been gladdened by an episode in Baltimore in 1898. On May 20 the 6th Massachusetts Regiment marched through the city for a second time, on its way to another war. The first time had been in 1861, when it was greeted with boos and stones. In 1898 the regimental band played Emmett's "Dixie" as evidence of new national unity, and the missiles the cheering crowds threw were roses. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, one of the spectators, was so moved he wept, for "the great country for which so many men died was one again."[16]

15. Galbreath, "Song Writers of Ohio," 518, 520, 526.
16. Robert H. Ferrell, *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1959), 205.

DIANA WHITEHILL LAING

A Tuscolan in the War and Afterward

Diana Whitehill Laing is a great-granddaughter of her subject, whose diary is owned by her father, Walter Muir Whitehill, North Andover, Massachusetts. Mrs. Laing, who lives at Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania, has written a biography of Mary Crowninshield Endicott (daughter of William Crowninshield Endicott, Secretary of War, 1885-1889), the American wife of British statesman Joseph Chamberlain.

JOHN THOMAS WILLIAMS, my paternal great-grandfather, was a humble participant in the American Civil War. His service took him through the Gulf area; and afterward he followed odd jobs through Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa, and the printer's trade through Indiana, Illinois, and many of the eastern seaboard states. Williams's record of his life is in a small red copybook; his account of the period through 1865 was written in the early 1870's, and from then on he kept a diary. Selected sections from this diary are presented here – with the spelling and punctuation unchanged – together with some explanatory chronological background.

It has not been my intention to "glorify grandpa" by depicting him as a Civil War boy hero, because he was nothing of the kind. On the contrary, I have had the conviction that I was dealing with a simple and straightforward man, hardworking and sincere, and perhaps distinguished more for the variety of his experiences than for anything else. I was especially interested in the accuracy of his memory for particular Civil War campaigns, and was impressed by the fact that although he never seems to have made more than

fifteen dollars a week for his short-term jobs, he was able to leave enough to provide for his widow and daughter for twenty years after his death at the age of thirty-three.

I have tried to present a picture of the man as he lived and as he thought – without drawing too many conclusions. Williams was a microscopic part of his time, but family circumstances had given him an unusual spirit with which to challenge that time. He begins his story:

> I was born at Covington, Fountain County, Indiana, August 14, 1848, where I lived until about nine years of age. My parents were poor, and we had a hard struggle with poverty. My father was raised in Ohio. Of his ancestors I know nothing. My mother was born in the State of New York, but came West, and settled near Terre Haute, Ind., before that city had an existence.
>
> About 1857 Father having got some money ahead moved to Rockville, Ind., where he opened a Jewelry store, (being a Jeweler by trade) and done business there nearly three years. Bad debts and a lack of business qualifications caused him to "break up," but he paid every debt he owed, and came out without anything.

Williams's family ties were not particularly strong, but there is little reproach in his remarks. His father, Ira Williams, appears as a rather incongruous figure on the midwestern agricultural scene. After another unsuccessful year in Montezuma, Indiana, the family moved to Tuscola, Illinois, where Ira continued to repair watches and sell trinkets. His son's estimate of the elder Williams's ability as a provider is telling indeed:

> The first winter after going to Illinois, I worked for my uncle R R Reeves, who lived six miles west of Tuscola, on a farm, and as I had never done such work before it went rather hard. We were about as poor as people got to be. We had nothing much to eat but potatoes and corn bread made without sifting as we had no money to get a seive [*sic*]. — I earned a pair of boots, a pair of jeans pants and a cow, that winter and went to school half the time.

By the spring of 1861 Tom was earning a princely eight dollars a month on the farm, and he says of himself, "I saved all my money and clothed myself and went to school that

winter. I was no expense to my parents after that time as I made my own living and helped them also."

Tuscola had then been laid out only four years, and probably had between two and three hundred inhabitants. The Civil War had begun, and before long the boy became restless:

> In 1862 I wanted to go in the Army as the Rebellion was in progress, but I was too small and too young. I worked on a farm in 1863 until in Aug. when I went into the Dry Goods and Grocery Store of H G Griswold at Tuscola as clerk. I had only staid with him until Christmas until I took another notion to go into the Army which I did on Jan. 3, 1864, enlisting in Co. F, 2nd Ill. Cavalry Volunteers. Tom Townsend a young boy of my own age went with me. The "old folks" were opposed to my going, but I was determined to go. I staid at Camp Butler about nine miles from Springfield for about 3 months when the 2nd Regiment came home on veteran furlough and I had an opportunity to go home for 20 days.

After another two weeks of encampment in Springfield and a reception in St. Louis, the company moved by steamboat to New Orleans. The 2nd Illinois Cavalry, led by Major Benjamin F. Marsh, was engaged in skirmishing operations from the spring of 1864 through the early months of 1865. These operations formed a minor part of the ambitious but unsuccessful Red River campaign, led by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks and Admiral David D. Porter. Rather than proceeding directly to Mobile and storming it, the forces were ordered to try to strengthen the Union's hold on Louisiana and East Texas.[1] A good many of the 1864 raids in Tennessee and Mississippi were also designed to distract Southern attention from the preparations for Sherman's march.[2] Albert Lindley Lee, who had advanced from colonel of the 7th Kansas Cavalry to the

1. J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1937), 592; R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-1888), IV: 345-62.

2. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), Benjamin H. Grierson biography.

position of brigadier general of volunteers, in November, 1862, commanded the cavalry division. After the disastrous defeat at Sabine Crossroads on April 8, 1864, Lee was replaced by Brigadier General Richard Arnold.[3]

After a two-week trip to New Orleans, where they arrived about April 15 and "could go around in shirtsleeves, comfortable," the 2nd Illinois Cavalry re-embarked for Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Williams relates: "Were camped at B[aton] R[ouge] nearly all that summer – 1864 – making frequent excursions into the enemy's country, one trip as far as Liberty, Miss." By April 23 the augmented regiment was ordered to the Cane River, where, near Alexandria, Louisiana, it crossed the stream and pursued the enemy enthusiastically until dark.[4] The overall picture of the next few months, however, was not bright. Colonel John G. Mudd was killed in early May, and the summer, militarily speaking, was one of slim pickings. In late July the regiment crossed the Amite River, routed three hundred of the enemy near their encampment, and withdrew, having taken four prisoners and killed "some twenty" men, losing only four horses.[5] The rest of the summer and autumn passed in similar engagements.

On a foraging expedition in October from Baton Rouge through Chester, Greensburg, Osyka, and Camp Moore, stores of Confederate supplies of leather and clothing were destroyed, as well as "4000 pounds of bacon, 12 barrels of whisky . . . and large quantities of corn and meal." General Albert L. Lee reported, together with this news, that "our stock is in good condition, Endless niggers have followed us in."[6] Meanwhile, Grant was besieging Peters-

3. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1900), III: 656.

4. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, pp. 460-61 (Arnold's report); cited hereafter as *O.R.*

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 42 (report of Maj. Franklin Moore, 2nd Illinois Cavalry).

6. *Ibid.*, 881.

burg, and Sherman, on September 2, captured Atlanta.[7]

The most ambitious expedition of the West Mississippi cavalry forces for that season, however, was a failure. Under the command of Brigadier General John W. Davidson, a Virginian of considerable ability who had remained loyal to the Union, the forces moved against the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.[8] Having crossed the Chickasawhay River, they proceeded through swampy areas, laying corduroy roads and building bridges as they went toward Mobile. The Confederate general in charge of the District of the Gulf, Dabney H. Maury, noting this activity and the unusual amount of traffic in Pensacola Bay, suspected an imminent attack on Mobile,[9] and soon acquired dispatches confirming this suspicion, with the result that the Union and Confederate forces clashed near the Pascagoula River. General Davidson reported on December 13 that "on account of the state of the roads and swollen condition of the streams, and their perfect knowledge of our movements, celerity and surprise were impossibilities." Bridge-building supplies and food were short, and it seemed wisest to Davidson to request at the close of his report that "barges and lighters may be sent here, and the troops moved over to East Pascagoula, from whence they can successfully operate. For the last seventy miles, my rear has had no forage."[10] Williams recalled of this particular expedition that

> in December we started from B[aton] R[ouge] for Mobile, Ala., but from some cause, the expedition failed, and after a good deal of skirmishing and privation in the matter of food, not having much to eat but sweet potatoes, we went back to B[aton] R[ouge] by way of N[ew] O[rleans.]

As General Maury had so accurately surmised, plans were underway in the early months of 1865 for the attack on Mo-

7. S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1937), I: 621, 625.

9. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia,* II: 87.

9. *O. R.,* Ser. I, Vol. XLV, Pt. 1, p. 789.

10. *Ibid.,* 788-89.

bile. Williams reported that "after staying in Baton Rouge until some time in January 1865, we went again to Carrollton, 10 miles above N.O. and stayed some 4 or 5 weeks when we got on board an Ocean Steamer and went to Pensacola, Florida. Were a night and day on the voyage." Pensacola was merely a jumping-off spot for the forces, who were being provisioned and equipped and had no other special duties or maneuvers to perform, and hence plenty of time for sight-seeing. Williams did his duty in this respect:

> Pensacola has a good harbor in the Bay of that name, and is the best guarded of any, I think. There are 4 forts there to guard the harbor — Barracas, McCrea, Ridout, and Pickens — Fort Pickens was the strongest of the four and was never taken by the Rebels during the war.
>
> There is a Light House near the harbor entrance said to be 259 feet high, built on an elevation 60 feet above the water level. I was up in the extreme top part and could see for 25 or 30 miles. The top was reached by a spiral, Iron stairway. There seemed to be no soil but sand and that was white as snow, and glistened in the sunlight so as to hurt our eyes. After staying at Pensacola for a few weeks we left on a steamboat and went up the Blackwater River some 75 to 100 miles, and disembarked, our main objective point being Mobile, as a seige [*sic*] had been begun there.

The 2nd Illinois Cavalry had evidently landed at Creigler's Mills, Florida, whence

> we made some fearful rides — often of 60 miles in a night, and was on the alert all the time for fear of a surprise by the enemy. We went within 20 miles of Ala. capital, — Montgomery — and at the Ala. and Fla. RR at Gravel Hill captured two trains, 50 prisoners, and the paymaster of Mobile Rebel forces with his money, some 2 million dollars, 1 car of provisions, 1 car of clothing and some forage, besides the mail — 5 sacks, express, and a big lot of postage stamps.

Lieutenant Colonel Andrew B. Spurling of the 2nd Maine Cavalry was in command of a cavalry brigade which consisted of the 1st Florida, 2nd Illinois, and 2nd Maine. He had marched on ahead to Evergreen, Alabama, where an-

other successful wrecking was recorded.[11] Major Franklin Moore of the 2nd Illinois supported Williams's memory of the events in his official report:

> I placed a portion of my command between the train already captured and Montgomery to place obstructions on the track to prevent the retreat of the train in case of discovery of the wrecked train, which was done. The train arrived and was captured with 170 prisoners, a portion of which were citizens and paroled soldiers, which were afterward released by order of Colonel Spurling. The rebels fired on my regiment, killing one horse and wounding another. My regiment returned the fire, killing one man who was trying to make his escape. The train was loaded with clothing, grain, horses, mail, tobacco, &c. Burned everything and resumed march; joined Colonel Spurling at Evergreen.[12]

Williams's story goes on with an exhilarating day's work: "The same day [March 24] we turned on our steps and went down the RR track to Evergreen. Burned the Depot and 10 cars, broke the switches and tore up the RR track, and burned a large tobacco warehouse filled with manufactured tobacco."

Colonel Spurling's command arrived at Pollard on the evening of March 26, having torn up tracks and derailed cars all along the way. After weeks of inaction the men found it eminently satisfactory to engage in such activity. From Pollard to Canoe Station the march continued in a driving rain which rendered the roads almost impassable. Spurling's troops joined Major General Frederick Steele's infantry there, and they then commenced the march to Mobile, fifty miles distant. Williams's memory either became a bit confused at this point, or his pen grew over-eager, for he relates that

> on the morning of April 1st, our Regiment was in advance of the main body of troops and attacked the main picket posts of the enemy near Blakely, about 4 miles from Mobile. We captured 375 prisoners at one dash and one stand of colors, without losing but one man.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. XLIX, Pt. 1, pp. 309-10.
12. *Ibid.*, 312.

According to General Steele's report, Colonel Spurling's command "found the road barricaded, and a strong picket or outpost, composed of cavalry and infantry, which he charged, capturing the battle-flag of the 46th Mississippi Infantry and 74 prisoners, including 3 commissioned officers."[13]

At any rate, it was a satisfactory "take," and, according to Williams,

> we staid in the rear of Blakely and Spanish Fort until the morning of the ninth of April, when Spanish Fort surrendered and then Mobile was an easy prey. We then started out and rode from Blakely up to Montgomery, Ala., thence into Tuscaloosa, one of the prettiest cities of the South, where we staid some days.

The purpose of this side trip to Tuscaloosa was an exciting one, as recorded by General Benjamin H. Grierson, who was in command of the West Mississippi cavalry forces:

> On the road from Montgomery, at a point near Marion, I sent the Second Illinois to Tuscaloosa, and with numerous detachments scoured the country and watched the crossings of the Black Warrior and Tombigbee Rivers, with a view of capturing Jeff. Davis, who was reported to be trying to reach the Trans-Mississippi Department through Alabama. . . . On the 27th of May . . . I ordered Gen. T. J. Lucas to move with his brigade by the most practicable route to Vicksburg, Miss.[14]

During the stay in Tuscaloosa, Williams and the rest of the regiment heard of Lincoln's assassination. While there, they were kept busy paroling returning Confederate soldiers affected by the surrender of Generals Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston. Then, "after leaving Tuscaloosa, we went into Mississippi, arriving at Vicksburg June 4th after an terribbl [*sic*] ride of near three months."[15]

13. *Ibid.*, 281.
14. *Ibid.*, 301.
15. *Ibid.* Grierson continues his report of post-surrender activities thus: "During the entire march of my command in this expedition, private property, except where it was necessary for the sustenance of men and horses, was respected. . . . The utmost good order prevailed, as was testified to by the inhabitants along the entire line of march."

Brigadier General Lucas had moved, with a force including a detachment of the 2nd Illinois Cavalry, from Blakely on April 9 and swept down upon an enemy line near Mount Pleasant and "utterly demoralized" it.[16] Two weeks later the brigade reached Greenville, Alabama, and was ordered to Union Springs and thence to Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, and on to Columbus, Mississippi, and finally Vicksburg. From there Lucas reported

> much suffering among the people for want of food, and an attempt by women from the neighborhood of Tuscaloosa to break into the Government commissary store-house at that place and obtain relief for themselves and suffering children. . . . It was with difficulty that forage for the command was obtained after leaving Columbus. The guns . . . were sent from Columbus by railroad . . . to be forwarded . . . to Vicksburg, the horses being deemed unable to haul them over the road.[17]

Small wonder that Williams called it a "terribbl" ride!

From Vicksburg the regiment went by water to Shreveport, Louisiana, spending the Fourth of July there. Williams continues:

> I had been acting Chief Bugler for nearly a year previous to that time when on July 12 I was commissioned Chief Bugler. Tom Townsend was accidentally shot near Shreveport by one of our men and died in 24 hours. On 29th of July we started over land to San Antonio, Texas, about 600 miles, passing through Austin. Were mustered out of service Nov. 28 but had to go to Springfield to get our pay. We turned our horses over to the 4th Reg. Cav. and footed it to Columbus, . . . took the train to Harrisburg, from thence to Galveston where we staid about two weeks and then got on board the "Tonawanda," an Ocean Screw Propeller for New Orleans, over 600 miles. We arrived in N O after a great deal of rough weather, on Christmas eve, and slept on the levee that night. On Christmas Day we laid around all day with our coats off as it was very warm and comfortable. Christmas night we boarded the steamboat M I Nephann [?] bound for home. Arrived at Cairo,

16. *Ibid.*, 304. Lucas reported of this engagement that "among the results . . . were the capture of 2 commissioned officers and 70 men, 2 battle-flags (1 taken by the Second Illinois), horses, arms, &c."

17. *Ibid.*, 307.

Ill., on Jan. 1st, 1866 and from thence to Springfield, Ill., via Decatur. On 3rd of Jan. I received my pay amounting to some $256.00 and on the morning of the 4th was at home.

After being mustered out, Williams faced a problem common to young veterans: he was too young when he left for the war either to have finished his education or to have established himself in business, and now he was obliged to do both at once. His report of the situation "back home" is matter-of-fact, but it could not have been an easy place to step back into:

I was glad to see them all, but soon got tired, and came very near enlisting in the Regular Army, but didn't. . . . I sent home during the time I was out $410.00 of which I have never got a cent, as I gave it to Father, and he used it. . . . I went to school for a short while after I returned home and some time in April worked on a farm, and also worked setting out hedge plants. Went to school part of the time that winter and worked when I could get anything to do. Unloaded considerable coal for H. Griswold.

At barely eighteen Tom Williams was a completely independent spirit. One difficult situation succeeded another, and he faced them with equanimity. The picture he gives of his family – a father, lacking "business qualifications" and probably gumption also, a mother constantly pressed to make ends meet – is certainly not a prepossessing one. Tom disposes swiftly of his brother Silas: "During the time I was out my bro. Silas enlisted in Co. B 135 Ill. Inf. – 3 mos. service and was out 5 mos." The next time Tom writes of Silas, he is in the furniture business, and even though the brothers were apparently perfectly friendly, there is no further mention of him. Discouraging though the domestic outlook must have been, Tom's energy did not give out. In terse fashion he runs through the most important occurrences of the seven years following his return from the war:

I worked on a farm from April 1867 until Aug. 1st when I started to learn the printing trade with Siler and Lindsay who were then running the *Tuscola Journal*. I received $225 the first year and

boarded myself. I worked in the *Journal* office until some time in the spring of 1870 when I quit on account of having trouble with Lindsay who was then running the paper alone — I then kept books for A. Mann and Bro., who [were] running the mill north of the I[llinois] C[entral] depot where I staid 3 months, then went back to the *Journal* at an advanced salary. In October I bought a half interest in a photograph tent and went with it to Maxville where we staid 3 weeks and done very well. From there to Lovington, Ill. and didn't make anything from here, after buying my partner's interest in the business for $150, I went back to Tuscola and from there in the latter part of November 1870 to Greenup, Cumberland Co., where I essayed to take pictures but I was not a success in that line. I went back to Tuscola and engaged to clerk in Beach House for Mrs. Beach, one year at $35 per mo. and board. In Jan. 26, 1871, I joined the Baptist Church in Tuscola and was baptized by A. J. Riley of Zionsville, Ind. Aug. 29, 1871. I was united by marriage to Miss Ella Hancock of Scott Co., Ind., at the residence of Wilson Simmons of Tuscola. After our marriage went to Scott Co., Ind., and staid 10 days, and then back to Tuscola. When I got back I had just $100; was to get $30 and board per mo. at Beach House. In November I had a severe attack of the old dengue fever [which he had caught in Texas on his way home from the war] and was not able to attend the duties of clerk, consequently on Jan. 1, 1872 I threw up my situation, and done nothing for about two months, when I went out with a surveying party and located the Danville, Tuscola, and Western RR. Ella taught school at Henson's school house — 9 miles northeast of Tuscola for 3 mos. In Aug. I went to St. Louis with C. T. C. Smith and bought materials with which to publish the "Tuscola True-Republican" a Liberal Democratic paper. It was published until about the last of Jan. 1873 and was then sold to O B Lester. I still continued to work in the office until the 11 of March when a great fire occurred and everything of the office was consumed. My Bro. was in the furniture business on Sale St., and I worked my hand that night to save his goods, etc. I set up a *Gazette* Extra [Lester's new name for the *True Republican*] before 4 o'clock on the morning of the 12th. There was no cap case of the font of type saved, so I had to set it in lower case.

By this time Tom's reputation for earnest application to his work had spread, and Lindsay, having purchased a new office after the fire, welcomed him back to the paper. The

new office boasted the first power newspaper press brought to the town, and by October, Lindsay felt enough confidence in Williams's handling of it to leave him and one W. A. Chapman in charge of the office. Williams relates:

> We were to have ½ of the net receipts for running it. I done the principal part of the writing, and in Jan. 1874 we started a 5 col. daily, which made the work so hard that I was sick a great deal, so much so that on the 4th of March I threw up and settled with them at 11 a week for my time. After my valedictory in the *Journal* of Mar 22 Lindsay wrote the following:
>
> "We are sorry to part with him. His faithfulness to the best interests of the paper, and his untiring energy have been of great value to us, and our connections have been of the most pleasant character. . . . Wherever he may go, or whatever he may engage in, that is legitimate, he can rest assured that our warmest wishes for his good will follow and rest with him."

Fortunately for Williams's finances and health, a friend of his happened about this time to be organizing a band for a circus, which he joined. Starting in St. Louis, the group traveled through much of southeastern Kansas, concluding its tour at Shelbyville, Illinois, where it "bursted up." One of Williams's letters to the *Journal* during this tour reflects a familiar and emphatic opinion:

> I have passed through some 33 towns and villages, and as nearly all of them are not more than three years old, you can imagine about the kind of town they are . . . . the land . . . . is the poorest for farming purposes I have ever seen. The opinion I have formed of what I have seen of the State is the same Daniel Webster said of New Hampshire, It is a good place to emigrate from.

A brief association with the *Edinburg* (Indiana) *Watchman* ended when that paper did, and the Williams household, now augmented by a daughter, Mahala Elsie, moved its goods to Indianapolis. A visit to Tuscola resulted in this *Journal* item: "Tom Williams, an old typo on the *Journal,* is visiting among us, and sports eye glasses and a new plug hat. Tom now hangs up at Indianapolis, and holds cases on the *People.*"

Williams's wife had been unwell ever since the birth of her child, and visits to her family and frequent rests had not helped her. In March, 1876, she was committed to an insane asylum, while Williams's mother took over the care of their child in Tuscola. Desperately unhappy, Williams was left to continue life as best he could. At this point his diary is interrupted by fourteen pages of clippings, chiefly containing poetry of the familiar "Into-each-life-some-rain-must-fall" variety. It was an understandably despairing young man of twenty-eight who wrote: "Oh how bad and lonesome I feel – no one but God knows, with my wife where she now is, my baby at Tuscola, and myself here [at this time, Litchfield, Illinois]. Will we ever be united here?"

By October he was back in Indianapolis, and things looked a little better. His interest in politics was revived, and he reports:

> The state of Indiana has just passed through a general election and elected "Blue Jeans" Williams Governor (Democrat) which doesn't reflect much credit on the intelligent people of our state. I have joined the Hayes Drum and Bugle Corps for the campaign.

Pictures of the victorious Hayes and Wheeler are carefully pasted into the succeeding pages of the diary.

At this time Williams was working steadily in the office of the *People* for $15 a week, and now and then getting a cheerful letter from his mother to the effect that "baby was well and getting into everything accessible." This gave him renewed hope that perhaps his wife might soon recover. His dream was ended forever by his being called suddenly to her deathbed on May 1, 1877. There follow obituary clippings, and the actual writing of the diary was not resumed until the end of that year.

Unable to remain at home with his memories any longer, Williams set out for the East. In Washington, D.C., he held a position on the *Post* and in his spare time fought off loneliness by a vigorous sight-seeing schedule. During this period he sent numerous letters back to the *Journal* de-

scribing in enthusiastic detail the important sights of the city and listing the cost of such items as the bronze doors of the Capitol. His record reads something like the itinerary of a rubberneck tour: "Visited the Capitol, Smithsonian Institution, Navy Yard, Patent Office, Medical Museum, War Department, Washington Monument, Naval Observatory, Treasury, Signal Office, White House, and all other places of interest."

While in Washington, Williams met the colonel of his regiment, Benjamin F. Marsh, and Joseph G. ("Uncle Joe") Cannon, who is mentioned as a prominent citizen of Tuscola. Both were then congressmen. His correspondence home became quite cheerful after a time:

> The people of Washington are without exception the most friendly and sociable I have ever met. . . . They dote on surprise parties, and although I have only been here four weeks I have attended three. A young Virginian rooming with me says, and I guess he's about correct, that there are more pretty girls, and big oysters in Washington than any other city in the Union, according to the size and number of them (I mean the girls, oysters, Washington and the Union.)
>
> The principal industry of the citizens is in keeping hotels and boarding houses. Take the government buildings away from Washington with all the officers and employes, and it wouldn't amount to as much as Pesotum [a small town nine miles north of Tuscola].
>
> I attended one reception of President and Mrs. Hayes. It was a very pleasant affair. The Marine Band, a much puffed organization, made sweet music, perspired, and — smelled bad.

After leaving Washington, and making a four weeks' stopover in Philadelphia, Williams headed for North Attleboro, Massachusetts, where he was offered the job of foreman on the *Chronicle*. He was very much impressed by that part of the country, especially noting the fact that a town of twelve thousand received the Boston newspapers almost as quickly as Boston itself did. He wrote home that

> the hard times do not seem to have "struck in" on the people here yet. They are highly cultured, and pronounce the letter "a" soft. . . . This is the land *par excellence* of clam bakes and baked beans. . . .

I will endeavor to inform you of the "true inwardness" of a genuine, old-fashioned Rhode Island clambake sometime soon.

In the guise of a roving reporter he found himself summering in Clarendon Springs, Vermont, whence he reported:

The ladies here outnumber the gentlemen two to one. The Paris Exposition has taken away the young gentlemen who had the money to spend and the hard times has been instrumental in keeping a great many foreign counts (barbers in disguise) away, and hence many a Flora McFlimsey is disconsolate, and chews her gum in private.

Evidently it was not long before the young foreman of the *Chronicle* made a favorable impression on one of the workers in the office. Flora Greenwood, born and brought up in Presque Isle, Maine, probably was influenced by the cold winters and isolation there to leave home and go to visit relatives in North Attleboro. She had learned to set type in Maine, and thus was able to secure a position in the *Chronicle* office. Such enterprise was unusual for a young woman in the 1870's, and Williams could not but have been impressed. At any rate this notice appeared in the *Tuscola Journal* for May 24, 1879: "Married, in Lincoln, R. I., May 13, 1879, by Rev. Geo. Ballou, Mr. J. T. Williams of North Attleboro, Mass., formerly of Tuscola, and Miss Flora Greenwood of Presque Isle, Maine."

Almost immediately, to his bride's dismay, Williams found an opportunity to return to Tuscola. C. N. Walls, then the proprietor of the *Journal,* was retiring because of ill health, and Tom eagerly purchased the paper. For his own health he appeared to have little concern, assuming probably that the various fevers and attacks he had undergone were a thing of the past. Upon his departure Walls commended the *Journal* to the hands of its new owner, who continued for a time to publish its motto: "Enlisted in the cause of Republicanism, News, Education, Literature, and the Local Interests of Douglas County." The editor declared in his first issue, June 7, 1879:

It is not the policy of the *Journal* to occupy a neutral or equivocal position. I want the *Journal* to be the exponent of public sentiment, and invite the public to use its columns for that purpose, always remembering to condense their communications to the smallest possible space.

The work of reorganization was considerable, and Williams's bride, left behind in North Attleboro, quite naturally began to wonder how he was getting along. Tom reports amusedly in the following Saturday's *Journal*: "Our 'better half' at North Attleboro, Mass. being alarmed in regard to the health of the writer telegraphed $2 worth Thursday night, making inquiry, etc. The information wasn't worth the money invested."

After the office was running smoothly, Williams's wife joined him in Tuscola, which seemed friendly to them both, though there were, of course, the usual financial difficulties, with subscribers reluctant to pay up and small tiffs with newspaper rivals. The issue for August 2, 1879, contains two short notices which dispose of representative issues very neatly:

Some of our subscribers desired to pay for the *Journal* with wood. We are ready for the wood. If you can't bring us wood, remember us in your prayers. It will be consoling this winter, to know as we sit and shiver, that we are not forgotten if the stove is cold.

Thurber of Newman has another lot of idiotic drivel in the *Oakland Herald* this week, which it is not our intention to answer. In regard to what he says about the *Journal* being cheap at $3000, he is correct. It is no business of his how we became possessed of our wealth. We will say, however, that it was honestly earned, and perhaps if he would stop swilling as much whisky as he has been in the habit of doing, he might be able to go into some respectable business — or buy a printing office. Ta, ta, Thurber.

Even as late as March of the next year, there were local jealousies to be dealt with. For a short time in 1878, following the election of Representative Cannon, whose campaign he had vigorously supported, Williams held a position as "route agent" on the Peoria, Decatur and Evansville Rail-

road, and evidently there were rumors that while in Washington he had obtained a position in the Government Printing Office through similar patronage. He denied this vigorously, stating that he had been an applicant for a position and had had the support of Senator James G. Blaine, the Honorable Joseph G. Cannon, and the Honorable B. F. Marsh, but that "Mr. Defrees was on his Civil Service dignity, and no power outside of Mr. D. could at that time put anybody in the Govt. Printing Office."

The *Journal* was filled with the usual accounts of railway disasters, moral sayings, advertisements for little liver pills and similar panaceas, and the local stories which constituted an important part of the interests of the people of Douglas or any other midwestern county. Full coverage was given, of course, to such events as the high school graduation, with the speeches of the graduates reproduced in full, not a flowery phrase or figure of speech being lost. Church sociables and private receptions also received considerable attention. What there was of national and world news was reprinted from such larger papers as the *Chicago Tribune.*

One of the biggest items of local, as well as national, interest in the *Journal* was the record of a visit paid by Stephen A. Douglas, son of the Senator, to the Tuscola Opera House on January 19, 1880, when he delivered a speech on conditions in the South. The better part of three issues was devoted to his talk, from which this is a representative extract:

> The South is solidly Democratic, not because the mass of its people are of that particular faith, but because a determined and ignorant minority intimidate and defraud a demoralized and ignorant majority. . . . I have spoken to you as a Southern man speaking of the South. A peaceful future can come to them only when they cease their attempt to boss the rest of creation, and learn to be content in attending to their own business.

So ran the *Journal,* reporting speeches, visitors, entertainments, marriages, and deaths, and listing delinquent tax-

payers along with the new babies. Many columns were filled with advertisements, some of which were charming and ingenuous, such as one reading: "This space is reserved for W. P. Miller in J. M. Smith building who has just received such a large stock of dress goods, prints, clothing, and boots, and shoes, that he has not time to enumerate them all."

The educational and literary department was amply looked after, there being frequent selections from the *Youth's Companion,* and other worthy publications. A particularly dreadful tale was that about two young people who undertook, on a bet, to try to kiss each other ten thousand times. Shortly thereafter the girl died of brain fever, and her lover lay languishing of lip paralysis. A stern court ruled that the girl's family should pay her share of the lost bet. There was nothing in bad taste, although some of the selections now appear eccentric. The *Journal* was all it promised to be in the way of enlightenment and entertainment.

Although it retained its previous spheres of activity, the *Journal* adopted a more political heading shortly before the elections in the fall of 1880: "A Republican newspaper – devoted to the best interests of Douglas County." And when Indiana elected a Republican governor, Williams's commentary was, "Governor Albert C. Porter. That sounds better than 'Blue Jeans' Williams."

On May 30, 1880, a daughter, Florence Marion, was born to the Williamses, and it was somehow typical of Tom that mention of this event was omitted from the local news columns. The original reference to his "better half" seems to constitute the entire extent to which he inserted his personal affairs upon the notice of the public.

Ironically, it was Williams's own death notices which were to fill the final pages of his diary. In the summer of 1881 he acquired a fever; and fatigue, as well as improper medical attention, undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the lowering of his resistance and his death on July 24, 1881.

With the newspaper valedictories, which refer to him, among other things, as a boy hero of the late war, the public picture closes. His widow continued to run the *Journal* until arrangements for its sale could be completed. Then, returning the child of her husband's first marriage to its mother's relatives for care, she took her own daughter back with her to North Attleboro. There she bought a house and brought up her child, occasionally visiting in Maine but never returning to Tuscola.

A copper and brass bugle, the red copybook, a few photographs, and two bound volumes of the *Tuscola Journal* are the records of John Thomas Williams. Through his short lifetime he stands out as a gentle but determined figure. Notes of bitterness crept quite understandably into some of his writing, but in general he made his failures a challenge to new goals and applied all his energies to their realization. Against a background of "hard times" he was a hard worker. The national news of the day would not include him – it was a sensational age in many ways, and Williams an unspectacular figure moving through it. Only locally could he be acclaimed as a boy hero; only locally would he be remembered for any length of time by others than his relatives. Yet there is truth and more value than one might suppose in the judgment the *Arcola Review* applied to John Thomas Williams: "We cheerfully recommend him as a gentleman in the true sense of the word; he is sober and industrious, and a journalist of considerable experience, and above mediocrity in ability."

A Douglas County history recalls him with simple appreciation: "He . . . merited and received on the whole the best respect of his associates. We could have better spared a better man, if there was any."

A Basic Civil War Library

A Bibliographical Essay
By Ralph G. Newman and E. B. Long

"WHAT SHALL I read next?" This question, the late Douglas Southall Freeman said, was the one most frequently asked by newcomers to the literary adventure of Civil War history. Dr. Freeman answered, in part, the oft-repeated query with his excellent volume *The South to Posterity,* now unfortunately out of print. A series of articles in the quarterly publication *Civil War History* attempted to explore the problems of a Union bookshelf, and Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., executive director of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, is currently working on a book devoted to this subject.

It has been estimated that there are now more than 40,000 titles — books or pamphlets — relating in some manner or other to the Civil War. This total includes books on military, naval, and political subjects, biographies of the major and minor figures of the time, as well as fiction, poetry, and drama. The titles listed in this article are those the compilers consider essential to a basic Civil War library. With these books a library — private or institutional — will be equipped for the exploration, with some degree of scholarly exactness, of that most exciting, yet most confusing, period of American history. Obviously the most difficult problem encountered by the compilers of this list was that of selection. Because of space limitations, fiction, poetry, and drama are not included, though we willingly concede the great influence of works such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Red Badge of Courage, John Brown's Body, Gone with the Wind, Long Remember, Bugles Blow No More,* and *Abe Lincoln in Illinois.*

We have attempted to list all the major Civil War titles, though there are no doubt many omissions. Occasionally a volume of lesser merit is listed because it is the only one available on the subject or is the best of several mediocre works. Such books are included, however, only when the subject could not be overlooked; we hope that a better book in every such field will ultimately be written.

Many major works concerning the Civil War which are not yet available but have been scheduled for publication will be important additions to the basic Civil War library. These include the *Collected Writings of Ulysses S. Grant,* edited by John Y. Simon and sponsored by the Ulysses S. Grant Association; the *Collected Writings of Jefferson Davis,*

being prepared under the supervision of Frank E. Vandiver; the *Southern Historical Society Papers Index,* by George F. Markham, Jr.; *The North to Posterity,* by James I. Robertson, Jr.; the *Centennial History of Illinois in the Civil War,* by Victor Hicken and Harold Sinclair, under the sponsorship of the Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois; and the *Impact Series* and a *Guide to the Literature of the Civil War,* both under the sponsorship of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission. Many major, multivolume works have been partially completed. These include Allan Nevins's *Ordeal of the Union,* Bruce Catton's *Centennial History of the Civil War,* and Shelby Foote's *The Civil War.* The volumes completed are listed herein.

The basic Civil War library suggested below is divided into fifteen general classifications:

I. Basic Reference Works
II. General Histories
III. Maps, Atlases
IV. Photographic Collections, Picture Books
V. Bibliographical and Literary Studies
VI. The Confederacy
VII. Military Studies, Battles and Campaigns
VIII. Naval Operations
IX. Weapons and Uniforms
X. Foreign Affairs
XI. Illinois
XII. Personal Narratives, Diaries, and Letters
XIII. Biographies of Outstanding Civil War Personalities
XIV. Periodicals
XV. Special Studies, Monographs, Miscellaneous Works

Within these classifications titles are arranged alphabetically by the authors' surnames, except where the title is more important than the name of the author or editor and in the biographical section where the arrangement is generally according to subject, with a few obvious and understandable exceptions. Parentheses ( ) are used to indicate comments by the authors on the content of the volume or edition. The edition listed is the earliest, unless the work has been superseded by a better edition, in which case both editions are recorded; paper-bound editions are also listed if currently in print and known to the compilers.

All titles appear in standard form as to punctuation and capitalization. Dates appear in arabic numerals though they may appear on the title page of the book in roman. Brackets [ ] are used to indicate the publication date if it does not appear on the title page of the book.

I. *Basic Reference Works*

[Appleton's] *American Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events . . . ,* 14 volumes, 1861-1874, New York: Appleton, 1862-1875. (The 6 volumes 1861-1866 are of particular significance to students of the Civil War.)

Battles and Leaders of the Civil War . . . Being for the Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers, based upon "The Century War Series" and edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, 4 volumes, New York: Century, 1887-1888.

NEW EDITION, with Introduction by Roy F. Nichols, 4 volumes, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, [1946]. (Issued originally in serial form in *The Century* magazine and reissued in many forms including an eight-volume GRANT-LEE EDITION, with identical text, and a one-volume PEOPLE'S PICTORIAL EDITION, New York: [c 1894]. Occasionally referred to as "The Century War Book." NEW AND REVISED EDITION, 1 volume, edited by Ned G. Bradford, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956.)

BOATNER, MARK MAYO III, *The Civil War Dictionary,* with maps and diagrams by Major Allen C. Northrop and Lowell I. Miller, New York: David McKay, [1959].

Dictionary of American Biography, edited by Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr, 20 volumes and Supplement, New York: Scribner's, 1928-1944. CENTENARY EDITION, 11 volumes on thin paper, 1946. SUPPLEMENT TWO, edited by Robert Livingston Schuyler and Edward T. James, New York: Scribner's, [1958].

DORNBUSCH, C. E., compiler, *Regimental Publications & Personal Narratives of the Civil War: A Checklist – Volume One: Northern States (Part I, Illinois; Part II, New York; Part III, New England States; Part IV, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; Part V, Indiana and Ohio; Part VI, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin; Part VII, Index),* New York: New York Public Library, 1961-1962.

DYER, FREDERICK HENRY, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion . . . ,* Des Moines: Dyer Publishing, 1908. NEW EDITION, with Introduction by Bell Irvin Wiley, 3 volumes, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, [1959].

EVANS, CLEMENT ANSELM, editor, *Confederate Military History: A Library of Confederate States History . . . ,* 12 volumes, Atlanta: Confederate Publishing, 1899. NEW EDITION, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, [1962].

FOX, WILLIAM FREEMAN, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865 . . . ,* Albany: Albany Publishing, 1889.

HEITMAN, FRANCIS BERNARD, *Historical Register of the United States Army, from Its Organization, September 29, 1789 to September 29, 1889,* Washington: The National Tribune, 1890. NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION, with a slightly altered title: "*to March 2, 1903,*" 2 volumes, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903.

Livermore, Thomas L., *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1900. NEW EDITION, with Introduction by Edward E. Barthell, Jr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957.

MOORE, FRANK, editor, *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events . . . ,* with Introduction by Edward Everett, 11 volumes and Supplement, New York: Putnam's, 1861-1863; Van Nostrand, 1864-1868.

MUNDEN, KENNETH W., and HENRY PUTNEY BEERS, *Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War,* Washington: National Archives, 1962.

NEWMAN, RALPH G., and E. B. LONG, *The Civil War Digest,* New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1960. PAPER-BOUND EDITION (Universal Library #84), New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1960.

Personnel of the Civil War, edited, with Introduction, by William Frayne Amann, *Volume I: The Confederate Armies; Volume II: The Union Armies;* New York: Thomas Yoseloff, [1961]. (This two-volume set contains Marcus Wright's pamphlets on the Confederate armies and their leaders and the War Department pamphlets on the Union armies and leaders [Fallon Report]. Except for an inadequate three-page Introduction, the work is a photographic reproduction of the original pamphlets.)

RHODES, JAMES FORD, *History of the United States from the Compro-*

mise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877, 7 volumes, New York: Macmillan, 1892-1906.

The Union Army: A History of Military Affairs in the Loyal States, 1861-1865 . . . , 8 volumes, Madison, Wis.: Federal Publishing, 1908.

U. S. Congress, *The Congressional Globe* . . . [23rd Congress to 42nd Congress, December 2, 1833, to March 3, 1873], 40 volumes in 111 parts, Washington: Printed at the Globe Office for the Editors, 1834-1873. (Edited by Blair and Rives, 23rd-30th Congress; by John C. Rives, 31st-38th Congress, 1st Session; by F. & J. Rives, 38th Congress, 2nd Session-39th Congress; by F. & J. Rives and George A. Bailey, 40th-42nd Congress. Indexes included, except that for the 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, which was published separately; each appendix has its own index. The publishers' imprint varies between 1835 and 1873. At times it reads, "Printed at the Globe Office for the Editors"; volumes issued during the 31st Congress often carried the imprint, "Printed at Office of John C. Rives." *The Globe* continues past 1873 as the *Congressional Record.*)

U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* 70 volumes in 128 parts, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901. (Popularly known as the "*Official Records*" or "*O.R.,*" this is the great indispensable reference work on the Civil War.)

II. *General Histories*

Angle, Paul M., and Earl Schenck Miers, *Tragic Years, 1860-1865,* 2 volumes, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960.

Barker, Alan, *The Civil War in America,* Garden City: Doubleday, 1961. PAPER-BOUND EDITION (Anchor Books #A274), New York: Doubleday, 1962.

Catton, Bruce, *This Hallowed Ground,* Garden City: Doubleday, 1956. PAPER-BOUND EDITION, New York: Pocket Books #GC95. (A one-volume history of the war from a Northern viewpoint.)

———, *The Coming Fury* (*Volume I, The Centennial History of the Civil War*), Garden City: Doubleday, 1961.

———, *Terrible Swift Sword* (*Volume II, The Centennial History of the Civil War*), Garden City: Doubleday, 1963.

Commmager, Henry Steele, *The Blue and the Gray: The Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants,* with Preface by Douglas Southall Freeman, 2 volumes, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [1950]. ONE-VOLUME EDITION REPRINT, [1954].

Dupuy, R. Ernest, *Compact History of the Civil War,* New York: Hawthorne, 1961. PAPER-BOUND EDITION, Collier Books #BS132. (Trevor Nevitt Dupuy, coauthor.)

Eisenschiml, Otto, *The Hidden Face of the Civil War,* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961. PAPER-BOUND EDITION, Charter Books #131. (The author advances some highly controversial theories about the cause of the war, the relative merit of its leaders, and other aspects of the war's history.)

———, and Ralph G. Newman, *The American Iliad: The Epic Story of the Civil War as Narrated by Eyewitnesses and Contemporaries,* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [1947]. REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION, *The Civil War: The American Iliad as Told by Those Who Lived It,* with Introduction by Bruce Catton, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, [1956]. PAPER-BOUND EDITION WITH NEW TITLE, *Eyewitness: The Civil War As We Lived It,* Universal Library #71.

Foote, Shelby, *The Civil War: A Narrative, Fort Sumter to Perryville,* New York: Random House, 1958. (The first volume of a projected multivolume work.)

Hanson, Harry, *The Civil War,*

New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1962. PAPER-BOUND EDITION, Mentor Books #MQ332.

HESSELTINE, WILLIAM BEST, editor, *The Tragic Conflict: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, New York: George Braziller, 1962.

MIERS, EARL SCHENCK, *The Great Rebellion: The Emergence of the American Conscience*, Cleveland: World, 1958. PAPER-BOUND EDITION, Collier Books #AS1.

MILTON, GEORGE FORT, *Conflict: The American Civil War*, New York: Coward-McCann, [1941].

NEVINS, ALLAN, *The Ordeal of the Union — Volume I: Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852; Volume II: A House Dividing, 1852-1857*; New York: Scribner's, 1947.

———, *The Emergence of Lincoln — Volume I: Douglas, Buchanan, and Party Chaos, 1857-1859; Volume II: Prologue to Civil War, 1859-1861*; New York: Scribner's, 1950.

———, *The War for the Union — Volume I: The Improvised War, 1861-1862; Volume II: War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863*; New York: Scribner's, 1959-1960. (The six volumes by Nevins are part of a larger work, still in progress, which will cover the balance of the Civil War and also the Reconstruction period.)

PRATT, FLETCHER, *Ordeal by Fire: An Informal History of the Civil War*, New York: H. Smith & R. Haas, 1935. REVISED EDITION, with maps by Rafael Palacios, [1948]. LATER EDITION, *An Informal History of the Civil War*, with Preface by D. W. Brogan, London: John Lane, [1950]. PAPER-BOUND EDITION, *A Short History of the Civil War*, Pocket Books #C7.

RANDALL, JAMES GARFIELD, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, Boston: D. C. Heath, [1937]. REVISED EDITION, with Supplementary Bibliography, [1953]. SECOND EDITION, edited by David Donald, [1961].

———, and DAVID DONALD, *The Divided Union*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1961.

RHODES, JAMES FORD, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, edited, with Introduction, by E. B. Long, New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961.

III. *Maps, Atlases*

Atlas of American History, edited by James Truslow Adams and R. V. Coleman, New York: Scribner's, 1943.

ESPOSITO, VINCENT J., *The West Point Atlas of American Wars — Volume I: 1689-1900; Volume II: 1900-1953*; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, [1959].

———, *The West Point Atlas of the Civil War*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, [1962].

MITCHELL, JOSEPH B., *Decisive Battles of the Civil War*, New York: Putnam's, 1955. PAPER-BOUND EDITION, Premier Books #T147, Fawcett.

STEELE, MATTHEW FORNEY, *American Campaigns*, 2 volumes (text and atlas), Washington: B. S. Adams, 1909. REPRINT, Washington: United States Infantry Association, 1935. NEW EDITION IN LARGER FORMAT, Volume I (the text), published in Washington: Combat Forces Press, [1951]; Volume II, *Atlas to Accompany Steele's American Campaigns*, edited by Colonel Vincent J. Esposito, with Foreword by Colonel T. Dodson Stamps, West Point: United States Military Academy, 1953.

U. S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion . . . : Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, compiled by Calvin D. Cowles, 175 plates, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895. NEW ONE-VOLUME EDITION, *The Official Atlas of the Civil War*, with Introduction by Henry Steele Commager, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, [1958]. (The original edition was issued in 35 parts and bound in both a two-volume and a three-volume edition.)

IV. *Photographic Collections, Picture Books*

The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War, with narrative by Bruce Catton, New York: American Heritage, 1960. (Issued in two editions, as a deluxe two-volume work, and as a single volume.) The text has been issued as a paper-bound edition, *American Heritage Short History of the Civil War,* Dell #0112.

BARNARD, GEORGE N., *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign, from Negatives Taken in the Field by George N. Barnard, Official Photographer of the Military Division of the Mississippi,* New York: [Privately Printed], 1866.

BILL, ALFRED HOYT, JAMES RALPH JOHNSON, and HIRST DILLON MILHOLLEN, *Horsemen, Blue and Gray: A Pictorial History,* with pictures by Milhollen and text by Johnson and Bill, New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.

BLAY, JOHN S., *The Civil War: A Pictorial Profile,* New York: Crowell, 1958.

BUCHANAN, LAMONT, *Pictorial History of the Confederacy,* New York: Crown, [1951].

The Civil War: A Centennial Exhibition of Eyewitness Drawings, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1961.

DAWSON, WILLIAM FORREST, *A Civil War Artist at the Front: Edwin Forbes' Life Studies of the Great Army,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.

DONALD, DAVID, HIRST D. MILHOLLEN, MILTON KAPLAN, and HULEN STUART, editors, *Divided We Fought: A Pictorial History of the War, 1861-1865,* New York: Macmillan, 1952.

GARDNER, ALEXANDER, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War,* 2 volumes, Washington: Philp & Solomons, [1865]. NEW ONE-VOLUME EDITION, with Introduction by E. F. Bleiler, New York: Dover, [1959] (poor reproductions and cheap format).

HORAN, JAMES D., *Mathew Brady: Historian with a Camera,* pictures collated by Gertrude Horan, New York: Crown, [1955].

MEREDITH, ROY, *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man: Mathew B. Brady,* New York: Scribner's, 1946.

———, *The Face of Robert E. Lee in Life and Legend,* New York: Scribner's, 1947.

MESERVE, FREDERICK HILL, and CARL SANDBURG, *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln,* New York: Harcourt, Brace, [1944].

MIERS, EARL SCHENCK, *The American Civil War,* New York: Golden Press, 1961.

MILLER, FRANCIS TREVELYAN, and ROBERT S. LANIER, editors, *The Photographic History of the Civil War,* 10 volumes, New York: Review of Reviews, 1911. NEW EDITION, with Introduction by Henry Steele Commager, 5 volumes, reproduced from the original edition by photographing the pictures and text, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, [1957]. (Often called "Miller-Brady," this is the great photographic source work for the war. The Barnard and Gardner volumes are so excessively rare that few collectors or institutions have copies, and the reprints of those works are inadequate. This work, however, was widely distributed. The text has many errors, but the photographs are superb.)

PRATT, FLETCHER, *Civil War in Pictures,* New York: Henry Holt, [1955]. (This work is illustrated with drawings and other illustrative material from the files of *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.*)

The Soldier in Our Civil War: A Pictorial History of the Conflict, 1861-1865, Illustrating the Valor of the Soldier as Displayed on the Battle-field, from Sketches Drawn by Forbes, Waud, Taylor, Hillen, Becker, Lovie, Schell, Crane . . . and Other Eye-witnesses, edited by Paul F. Mottelay and T. Campbell-Copeland, assisted by the most notable generals and commanders of both sides, 2 volumes, New York: J. H. Brown, 1884-1885. (A

fine reference work containing, in addition to the effective illustrative material, an excellent chronological history of the war and other useful reference data.)

STERN, PHILIP VAN DOREN, editor, *They Were There: The Civil War in Action as Seen by Its Combat Artists,* New York: Crown, [1959].

WILEY, BELL IRVIN, and HIRST D. MILHOLLEN, editors, *They Who Fought Here,* New York: Macmillan, 1959.

V. *Bibliographical and Literary Studies*

ANGLE, PAUL M., *A Shelf of Lincoln Books: A Critical, Selective Bibliography,* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1946.

BARTLETT, JOHN RUSSELL, *The Literature of the Rebellion: A Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the Civil War in the United States . . . ,* Providence: Sidney S. Rider, 1866. (The first Civil War bibliography. 250 copies were printed in octavo and 60 in quarto. It is interesting to note that within a year of the end of the war, this work listed 6,073 titles, including pamphlets and periodical articles.)

A Bibliography of the American Civil War, New York: New York and Pennsylvania Co., 1962. (Actually a checklist of all the Civil War titles in print.)

COULTER, E. MERTON, *Travels in the Confederacy: A Bibliography,* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948.

CRANDALL, MARJORIE LYLE, *Confederate Imprints: A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum,* with Introduction by Walter Muir Whitehill, 2 volumes, [Boston]: Boston Athenaeum, 1955.

FREEMAN, DOUGLAS SOUTHALL, *The South to Posterity: An Introduction to the Writing of Confederate History,* New York: Scribner's, 1939.

HARWELL, RICHARD BARKSDALE, *Cornerstones of Confederate Collecting,* Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1952. SECOND EDITION, WITH FACSIMILES, and Introduction by Clifford Dowdey, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1953.

———, *More Confederate Imprints,* 2 volumes, Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1957. (A continuation of Crandall's *Confederate Imprints.*)

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Book Reviews

SOLDIERS' BATTLE: GETTYSBURG
By James Warner Bellah. (David McKay Company: New York, 1962. Pp. ix, 204. $4.50.)

James Warner Bellah is a prolific writer of short stories and serial novels, both of which have been the trademark for the *Saturday Evening Post* for the last several decades. Now he has turned his talents for such writing to a nonfiction work about the fighting around Gettysburg in 1863. The result, as one may quickly gather from scanning the book, is a somewhat historical treatment of the great turning point of the Civil War, done in the manner of a *Post* short-story writer. In his foreword, for instance, Bellah volunteers that he is a "lifelong enemy of the footnote and the broken page"; therefore, he places his few sources at the end of each chapter, and in a quite simplified manner. But what are his sources? One finds that they are mainly reminiscences and regimental histories. All of this might have been fine, of course, had the author held to his original theme, that of telling the story of the battle in the words and phrases of the combatants. He commits a minor mistake, however, by launching into a rather prolonged account of the movements of corps and divisions, all of which is based upon his own interpretations of reminiscences, some of which were written some thirty to forty years after the conflict.

This is not to say that Bellah made mistakes, or that his book is not immensely readable. In respect to the latter, it is very much so, but the reader must have fair warning as to what he is getting into. The treatment, as indicated previously, is that of an accomplished short-story writer who is attempting to handle a grand theme. The appropriate comparison would be that of a Van Gogh, well used to small canvases and short strokes, attempting to copy El Greco's "View of Toledo" upon the same grand scale. What one finds, for example, is a short sketch of Lee midway through the book, with the author attributing the Confederate general's defeat to a sudden attack of dysentery. One finds the same sort of treatment given to Meade. The canvas is much too large — the strokes much too small.

Furthermore, the reader will be forced to accustom himself to the staccato prose so often found in commercial writing. The troops fight with a "taut-boweled fury"; a general "kneed his mount" to action; and, to this reviewer's

amazement and limited admiration, Bellah writes of certain Union troops "bugging out on an informal basis." Yet, as one must admit, the writer accomplishes one of his purposes. He does hold the reader until the last short volley of musketry and prose.

Who did fire the last shot at Gettysburg; or, for that matter, who fired the first? As Bellah tells the story, the first brisk exchange was probably begun by Colonel William Gamble's 1st Brigade of the 8th Illinois Cavalry, and the last by mounted troops commanded by young General Elon J. Farnsworth, also from Illinois. And, though not mentioned by Bellah, it took an Illinois President to express properly the nation's sentiments concerning those who gave their lives in the fighting near the Pennsylvania town.

All of this, therefore, should create some sort of affinity between the Illinois Civil War buff and the greatest of Civil War battles. And it should be enough to inspire the same individual to follow James Warner Bellah's account of the fighting with considerable interest.

VICTOR HICKEN
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LINCOLN
By Roy P. Basler. (Grove Press, Inc.: New York, 1962. Pp. 192. $.95.)

This small volume, published in paperback, is not the complete biography claimed on the cover by the publisher, but is rather an appreciation and an analysis of Lincoln's life, a "profile" in the true sense of the word. It is a brief essay, liberally interspersed with illustrations, in which the author, one of the nation's most noted Lincoln scholars, has allowed his subject to tell much of his own story. Lincoln's letters and statements are effectively used and frequently quoted at length to illustrate the changing moods and thoughts of our sixteenth President.

Basler has not attempted to present the facts of Lincoln's life – this has been done so many times that one more such presentation would have little justification. The reader will, however, gain a greater insight into Lincoln's character from this small book than he will from most of the more detailed biographies. The author also attempts to assess Lincoln's role in the context of his own time. "It was no accident," Basler writes, that Lincoln became President at a time when more than the usual amount of "political talent and human energy" was required to save the country. Lincoln was "elected by a destiny within himself to do the things he wanted

and deserved to do." His most appealing quality, we are told, was "the mystical certainty . . . with which he lived and acted in the midst of an overwhelming uncertainty." Of some interest is the author's conviction that the events of 1860-1861 might have developed in a vastly different manner had the Southern press given Lincoln a hearing before the people of the South.

The author has not engaged in the kind of hero worship one too often finds among Lincoln scholars, nor has he reduced the men around Lincoln to the stature of mere foils to Lincoln's greatness. The book is a refreshing, balanced, and judicious analysis, written, it is obvious, by one who knows his subject.

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COMMANDERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC
By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1962. Pp. xxi, 281. $6.00.)

Each new book on the American Civil War should be viewed with a critical eye. Such a flood of material has poured from the presses during the centennial period that not every volume could contribute something new or add to our understanding of this epoch of our nation's history. Fortunately, here and there a book stands above the mass of warmed-over material which comprises so much Civil War fare and gives us a fresh view of a familiar scene. Professor Hassler's *Commanders of the Army of the Potomac,* while it postulates no startling new theses, does view one phase of the war from a new perspective and thus deserves a niche on the Civil War bookshelf.

Hassler set himself the task of analyzing and evaluating the seven different men who commanded the Army of the Potomac. Not all seven actually headed a force called the Army of the Potomac, but the author uses this device quite legitimately and effectively to tell the story of the men who led the Federal forces in the eastern theater of operations. McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker, Meade, and Grant: one after the other the generals fall under Hassler's careful scrutiny. One does not find many detailed battle descriptions, because the author's goal is to show the relationships between the general in the field and the government in Washington, along with the success or failure of the strategy and tactics adopted by each of the seven. In this purpose he succeeds handsomely.

Irvin McDowell emerges from these pages as an overly cautious leader, not forceful enough or self-confident enough to carry out

his own basically sound ideas over the objections, awkwardness, and incompetence of both his inferiors and superiors. McDowell's defeat at First Bull Run is not glossed over, but Hassler is kinder to McDowell than many other historians have been. He explains the debacle in a way that enables us to understand McDowell's actions even though we cannot excuse them.

George B. McClellan gets two chapters to one for each of the other men because he commanded the Northern forces for two different periods. As might be expected from his previously published work on McClellan, Hassler is quite sympathetic in his treatment of the second commander of the Army of the Potomac. He describes in detail the handicaps under which McClellan labored, especially the orders of President Lincoln and the activities of Secretary of War Stanton and Radical Republicans in Congress. Discussions of the Battle of Seven Pines (May 31–June 1, 1862) offer a means of telling the pro-McClellan man from the anti-McClellan man. In Hassler's view this encounter was a McClellan victory; the anti-McClellan critic tends to see the same battle as a draw or as a typical Northern failure to secure a victory when the opportunity was at hand.

The second McClellan chapter takes the reader through the Battle of Antietam and McClellan's removal for the second time. One of the intriguing touches Hassler brings to his study is a description of the subsequent career of each general after his removal from command. Just at the point where the reader might wonder what happened to a general in later life, the author supplies the information.

John Pope gets short shrift at Hassler's hands — which is just what he deserves. While Professor Hassler does not dwell upon the Porter-Pope controversy, the reader is left with the impression that Porter was in the right.

Professor Hassler draws upon excellent contemporary descriptions of each general so that one gets an accurate feeling of each man's bearing and capabilities. The latter seem primarily negative in the case of Ambrose Burnside, who was, says Hassler, "probably the most incompetent of all the general officers . . . serving with the Army of the Potomac" at the time of his appointment; few experts would question that evaluation. The disaster of Fredericksburg is placed squarely on Burnside's shoulders. That Burnside himself doubted his own ability to lead the Army of the Potomac, Hassler makes abundantly clear.

Burnside's reign enables Hassler to display the purpose of his book at its best, *i.e.*, analyzing the interplay of politics between Washington and the army in the field. The actions of Stanton, the indecisive-

ness of Halleck, the inability of Lincoln to follow a firm and consistent strategy — all of these worked to Burnside's detriment and played into the hands of the Confederates.

Joseph Hooker's brief tenure as head of the Army of the Potomac lasted long enough for him to be soundly thrashed at Chancellorsville. This episode provides Hassler with an opportunity to describe the almost incredible confusion which so often occurred during the maneuvers of the Civil War. Hooker had some good qualities (which he was to display later in the war), but he was such a braggart and egotist that Lee must have gained considerable satisfaction in beating him. How Hooker was maneuvered into resigning is an incident in which Hassler displays his skill at clarifying and simplifying complicated military-political issues.

George Meade had the misfortune to assume command at an awkward moment, a moment when both Northern and Southern armies were maneuvering for position. Meade's handling of the Battle of Gettysburg covers thirty-eight pages of text, compared to five or less for most other military actions. Considering the importance of this battle, perhaps this space is justified. Hassler's account of Gettysburg gives Meade a judicious measure of both credit and censure. Unlike his predecessors, Meade was not removed from command, but was given a commander.

Ulysses S. Grant, as Hassler states in a quotation opening his analysis of the last of the seven, is something of an enigma. He remains so at the end of the chapter. Hassler misses no opportunity to point out the deficiencies in Grant's character and abilities. And yet Grant succeeded where the other six failed. The reader is left with the impression that Grant won primarily because of the groundwork laid by McClellan and the superior resources of the North.

A final chapter sums up the seven. Hassler dismisses McDowell, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker as being poor stewards of the responsibility granted them, while McClellan, Meade, and Grant emerge as able and competent, if not brilliant. And in the final analysis none of the seven is found to be the equal of his opponent, Robert E. Lee.

A few minor irritants must be mentioned. Some of the maps lack a distance scale, and the map symbols are not always as clear as they could be. A twentieth-century reader is somewhat startled to read that Pope died of "nervous prostration." Critics who like to play the numbers game with army sizes and casualty estimates might quarrel with some of Hassler's figures, but this is an endless and fruitless controversy.

An essay on sources is a wel-

come find at the back of the volume. Hassler consulted most of the standard references and, happily, the manuscripts of his leading characters. Some readers may find a few of their favorite sources missing (most startling, the lack of mention of Williams's monumental *Lincoln Finds a General*), but no doubt space limitations forced Hassler to be rigidly selective in his bibliography.

WILLIAM L. BURTON
Western Illinois University

DECISION IN MISSISSIPPI

By Edwin C. Bearss. (Mississippi Commission on the War between the States: Jackson, Miss., 1962. Pp. xvi, 636. $5.95.)

Edwin Bearss is convinced that the decisive campaign of the Civil War was fought in Mississippi. It was the campaign for Vicksburg, and the decisive battle was fought at Champion Hill. Then came the siege following which General John C. Pemberton capitulated. This was concurrent with the drawn battle at Gettysburg. Vicksburg and Gettysburg together made the collapse of the Confederacy only a question of time.

After Vicksburg, the great war of movement began — the battles around Chattanooga, the Atlanta campaign, Sherman's march to the sea and then through the Carolinas. During this time the remainder of the war was confined to a few hundred square miles of Virginia.

Edwin Bearss is a thoroughly trained historian — at Indiana University and with the National Park Service for years. For the background of his book he knows the official records page by page and the territory foot by foot.

The book was sponsored by the Mississippi Commission on the War between the States as a contribution to the Civil War centennial commemoration. It was printed by Pioneer Press of Little Rock, Arkansas. After 532 pages of text and footnotes, it goes into a record of local committees in the centennial observance, centennial records, battle actions in Mississippi, the state's military units, bibliography, and index. Thus it is a weighty tome.

The maps are excellent, but require the aid of a reading glass. In some portions the detail may be a bit too extensive for the ordinary reader. Those are technical observations. The broad view is that Bearss has compiled a book that truly represents Mississippi's important role in the War between the States.

Bearss has recorded the flow of war in Mississippi, with brief attention to minor actions, and thorough treatment of the high spots. Thus, his account of the Earl Van Dorn raid on General U. S. Grant's Holly Springs sup-

ply depot — which set Grant back for months — is perhaps the best you will find anywhere. The Vicksburg campaign is given in detail — the fencing around on the Yazoo River, the operations on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi, and the crossing at Bruinsburg after the heights of Grand Gulf proved too great an obstacle.

From there on the battle action is in detail — in front of Port Gibson, at Raymond, at Jackson, and then Champion's Hill. Illinois troops were in larger numbers than those of other states in this campaign, and Grant's lieutenants from Illinois show in a good light. And here, also, is where William T. Sherman and James B. McPherson came to the front.

The inability of Confederate Joseph E. Johnston and Pemberton to make any joint use of their forces is well detailed — with the hand of President Jefferson Davis, who had a plantation in the shadow of Vicksburg, showing through. The remainder of the war in Mississippi is dealt with in brief accounts.

The foreword to the book is by Major General U. S. Grant III, retired, a grandson of the victor at Vicksburg. Bearss does justice to the campaign in Mississippi, and his book can well be enjoyable reading and a standard reference, too.

GILBERT G. TWISS
Chicago

CENTENNIAL TALES: MEMOIRS OF COLONEL "CHESTER" S. BASSETT FRENCH
Compiled by Glenn C. Oldaker. (Carlton Press: New York, 1962. Pp. 150. $3.00.)

S. Bassett French was a Virginia gentleman of the old, old school. In 1861 he was forty-one years of age and had been commonwealth attorney in the circuit court of Chesterfield (where else?), assistant clerk of the Virginia House of Delegates, and secretary to Governor John Letcher. He was a little man — five feet five and one-half inches tall, weighing 130 pounds — with a fondness for fine food and drink and feminine companionship. When the Civil War began, he was commissioned "Extra Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief" with the rank of colonel.

Although Colonel French served in the Army of Northern Virginia until the end of the conflict, these memoirs begin with his assignment to the staff of Stonewall Jackson in August, 1862, and end with the death of the General in May, 1863.

Much of what Colonel French wrote is in the flowery wordage of the prewar Virginia politician but with such detail that it pre-

sents an insight into the characters of many Confederate leaders, particularly Jackson and Lee. With no regular duties the Colonel frequently "had a very pleasant time in running around to see friends." His accounts of such excursions include mention of the names and family connections of practically every officer in the area.

Two among the Colonel's escapades were particularly entertaining. In the earlier one he was trapped by a Yankee patrol while dining in a Boonsboro, Maryland, hostelry and had to flee to the basement to hide, without getting to eat his apple pie. But such was his luck that six hours later he was invited to partake of a second "old-fashioned Virginia dinner with a well-bred gentleman, with legs under real mahogany."

The other incident occurred after Jackson had been wounded and the Colonel was on his way to Richmond by train to make arrangements for moving the General to a hospital there. The train was stopped by the enemy at Ashland, and French escaped capture by masquerading as a doctor. When a Northern officer suggested that he might be "Colonel Chester," the phony doctor replied: "Chester like me! The jauntiest looking fellow in all the Army of Northern Virginia. . . . Sir, there is not enough money in the Confederacy to tempt Chester to appear in such a coat — such a hat as I wear! Ha! Ha! Ha!"

The compiler of this book has neglected his readers, however, by not providing identifying footnotes, maps, and an index. He does not even tell where the name "Chester" originated — presumably it had something to do with Chesterfield County but he never says so. H.F.R.

BEAST BUTLER: THE INCREDIBLE CAREER OF MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER

By Robert Werlich. (Quaker Press: Washington, D.C., 1962. Pp. 160. $3.95.)

Published for the Civil War market, three biographies of Ben Butler in the last nine years have added little to our understanding of the famous politician and general. The most recent biography is as "incredible" as its recent predecessors. The author's thesis is that Ben was "one of the most incompetent Generals and corrupt politicians this nation has ever seen." He has ransacked secondary sources for folklore and innuendo as well as solid evidence of Butler's infamy. Sentences begin with phrases like "Rumor had it," "Obviously, if Butler had," "An anecdote about Butler's Orders," and "Certainly dishonest acquisition was to be a lifelong

practice of his." In his choice of sources the author shows little understanding of the use of defamation in nineteenth-century political life.

The biography presents the usual imbalance between Butler's forty-three prewar and twenty-eight postwar years, which are covered in fifty-two pages, and his four Civil War years, which require 106 pages. Butler's highly successful legal career is dismissed with a few lines on page 9. The book also reflects a strong pro-Southern view, which criticizes Butler's occupation of New Orleans for crushing the people, currying favor with politicians, and seeking his personal fortune. These motivations may be easily supported by the record but were by no means unique among military commanders in either army.

On the credit side, the book contains many excellent reproductions of contemporary photographs, drawings, and cartoons. It is well printed and will grace any collection of Civil War literature. Unfortunately, it does not contribute to our understanding of an important political leader and his times.

MAYNARD BRICHFORD
Madison, Wisconsin

NINE MEN IN GREY

By Charles L. Dufour. (Doubleday and Company, Inc.: Garden City, N. Y., 1963. Pp. xi, 357. $4.95.)

Somewhere in the vicinity of the McLean house in Appomattox, Virginia, where Robert E. Lee surrendered to Grant, is a rather substantial monument dedicated to the lost cause by the Daughters of the Confederacy, or some such organization. Inscribed on one of its sides is a bit of southern rationale having to do with why the war was lost: Grant's overwhelming army, consisting of untold thousands of bluecoats, finally overcame a gallant and vastly outnumbered Army of Northern Virginia. It is a theme to be found in many books written by southerners upon the same war. The North, unfortunately for the noble cause of southern freedom, just had too many men, and despite the brilliance of its leaders and the bravery of its men, the Confederacy lost the war to the basically unworthy Yankees.

Somehow one finds a thread of the same sentiment running through this book by Charles L. Dufour. Here were nine lesser-known Confederate leaders, all incredibly brave, fighting off hordes of Yankee invaders. Sherman marches into Georgia, and the author does not fail to point to the vast Union numerical superiority of 110,000 to 61,000 men. General Richard Taylor, Dufour writes, defeated a Union army

at the Sabine Cross Roads and at Pleasant Hill through sheer tactical brilliance and Confederate courage, despite the Yankee General Banks's vastly superior force. General Billy Mahone holds off the butcher, Grant, at the Petersburg Crater through clever mental gymnastics. Virtually all Confederate leaders, it appears, were courteous, pious, and adored by their men. Of course, the less said about their enemies, the better.

So it seems to go with so many books written from the southern point of view. One wishes, for instance, that Dufour had included as one of his "nine men" that able and interesting Confederate general, James R. Chalmers, whose men were not quite so chivalric as they might have been at Fort Pillow in 1864. An excellent chapter could have been written upon John Henry Winder, who was in charge of all Confederate prisons east of the Mississippi, and who did away with far more Yankees than "Pat" Cleburne; or about the Confederate generals Floyd and Pillow, who deserted their men at Fort Donelson for fear of exposing themselves to public trial. As for the Sabine Cross Roads, one could well add that it was less the brilliance of Taylor and more the stupidity of Banks which brought about a Confederate victory at that place. Going one step further, the Battle of Pleasant Hill was a fairly resounding victory for the Union forces rather than the "smashing Confederate victory" which Dufour describes. It was only the incomprehensible Banks who again allowed the bravery of the victorious army to become a frustrating waste.

The fact of the matter about war is that victory quite often is won by those who are greatest in number, the best equipped, and the best led. In that respect, Forrest was correct when he made his unassuming statement that trumph was the result of "getting there fustest with the mostest." Yet, even in Dufour's book, one again reads about Sherman's numerical superiority over a brave foe, the implication being that the result most certainly would have been different had the odds been altered. Using the same argument, one might point to the important little Battle of Franklin, in which Union forces were greatly outnumbered by Hood's Army of Tennessee. Should not Hood have won a resounding victory? Well, as is well known, he didn't; in fact, he was given a sound thrashing by a Freeport, Illinois, general by the name of Schofield. Backtracking then to Sherman, why not overlook Sherman's unfortunate excess of men, and admit that the Union General made a darn good campaign over long distances and through hostile country?

But, then, what of Dufour's *Nine Men in Grey?* Realizing the point of view which the author

takes, one may find this to be a fairly interesting series of short vignettes about some lesser-known Confederate heroes who, had they not been faced with some lesser-known northerners, such as Logan, Canby, and Grierson, might have ended up considerably more important in the annals of American history than they were.

VICTOR HICKEN
Western Illinois University

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE: RADICAL REPUBLICAN FROM OHIO

By H. L. Trefousse. (Twayne Publishers, Inc.: New York, 1963. Pp. 404. $6.50.)

In 1956 David Donald called upon historians for a new assessment of the Radical Republicans. He charged that Abraham Lincoln had been made the hero of the Civil War and that after several attempts to select the proper villain, the Radicals had been singled out. Placed in such a setting, they had not received impartial treatment. Professor H. L. Trefousse of Brooklyn College has now written a balanced biography of one of the leading Radical Republicans, Benjamin Franklin Wade of Ohio.

A native of Massachusetts, Wade was born in 1800, the second youngest of eleven children. He was the direct descendant of fire-and-brimstone Puritan Michael Wigglesworth, two colonial governors, and a Revolutionary War veteran. When he was twenty-one, Wade moved west and worked at several jobs before settling in the Western Reserve of Ohio and reading law for his admission to the bar in 1828. In the following years he rose from an obscure country lawyer to become in succession a state senator, judge, and United States senator. Finally, as president *pro tem* of the Senate during Andrew Johnson's impeachment trial, he came within one vote of the presidency of the United States.

From the beginning of his political career in 1837, "Bluff Ben" was always a strong opponent of slavery. The biography follows his antislavery crusade and centers upon his activities on several key Senate committees during the Civil War. It was as the chairman of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War that he became the foremost Republican critic of the Lincoln administration.

Professor Trefousse encountered several problems in explaining Wade's actions. Although Wade is described as a practical politician who avoided third parties — even when they worked for his principles — and bills which could never pass, the biographer maintains that "Wade needed Lincoln's caution in order to retain his grasp

on the practical." Although he is presented as a man of uncompromising principle, Wade "had to be circumspect" when Democrats threatened to make a political issue out of Ohio's denial of suffrage to Negroes in order to turn the Union Party out of office in Columbus. Although Wade is consistently called a "radical," the Western Reserve, by the author's own assessment, was a strong abolitionist area and the Senator's whole family heritage forced him to advocate equality. Thus he was radical for the nation, yes; for Ohio, maybe; for his home area and family background, no. Although Wade is characterized as a compassionate man, he introduced a bill to give Confederate prisoners the same treatment that Union prisoners were receiving in the South. Although he was a vociferous opponent of a strong executive — even in his statements when his ascent to the presidency seemed imminent — it seems likely that as the Chief Executive he would have obeyed congressional dictates only if they had corresponded to his policies.

The major shortcoming of the book is the failure to deal with Wade's entire program. Trefousse maintains that Wade was a radical on many other issues besides slavery, and points out that several senators who were opponents of slavery were frightened by the possibility of Wade's becoming President. Thus, Wade's radical statements on woman suffrage, labor's rights, and monetary policy helped save Johnson from conviction. Trefousse, however, scarcely touches Wade's position on these issues, especially the last. When historians are delving more deeply into the economic aspects of Radical Reconstruction, it seems inexcusable that the biographer of a leading Radical should neglect his subject's monetary views.

Even with its deficiencies, this biography is of interest to Illinoisans and Civil War students because it portrays a leading Republican opponent of Abraham Lincoln.

WILLIAM C. MARTEN

A CIVIL WAR SAMPLER

Edited by Donald J. Sobol, illustrated by Henry S. Gillette. (Franklin Watts, Inc.: New York, 1961. Pp. 202. $2.95.)

This Civil War potpourri consists of seventy-nine pieces, each with an explanatory note, concerning the Great Conflict. Beginning with Winston Churchill's "The Union in Danger" and concluding with the text of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the book includes poems, addresses, autobiographical excerpts, letters, and military orders arranged in chronological order.

Among the more interesting items are a letter from Cornelius Vanderbilt offering his yacht to the Union cause; a description of Lincoln by Walt Whitman; and an appeal to the matrons of Alabama for blankets and rugs "to shield your noble defenders."

The book is a pleasant collection of short, easy to read items and would make a nice gift for the Civil War buff.

HELENE LEVENE

AN END TO BUGLING

By Edmund G. Love. (Harper and Row: New York, 1963. Pp. 150. $3.50.)

Edmund G. Love of *Subways Are for Sleeping* fame evidently thinks that history is too serious so he has set about to jazz it up a bit. Imagine, if you can, what would happen if Jeb Stuart's Confederate raiders, all three thousand of them complete with horses, were to come down out of a cloud at the Potomac River and ride up today's highways to Gettysburg for the centennial of the battle there.

That is what Love does, and the result is a historical hash with trucks, tanks, suburban children, Daughters of the Confederacy, the National Guard, state police, and even the governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania getting into the act. One scene involves a gentleman farmer's impromptu party, with belly dancers performing to the tune of "Dixie" played on bagpipes. Several others concern the difficulties of the Confederates with Jimmy Hoffa's Union teamsters.

Love, who served as a combat historian during World War II, keeps Jeb on the time schedule outlined in the histories and historical markers along the way until he finally disappears over a hill. These few historical facts are a light burden, however, to the fiction.

H. F. R.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, and photographs. The Historical Library specializes in Lincolniana and materials related to the Civil War and has large holdings in these two categories.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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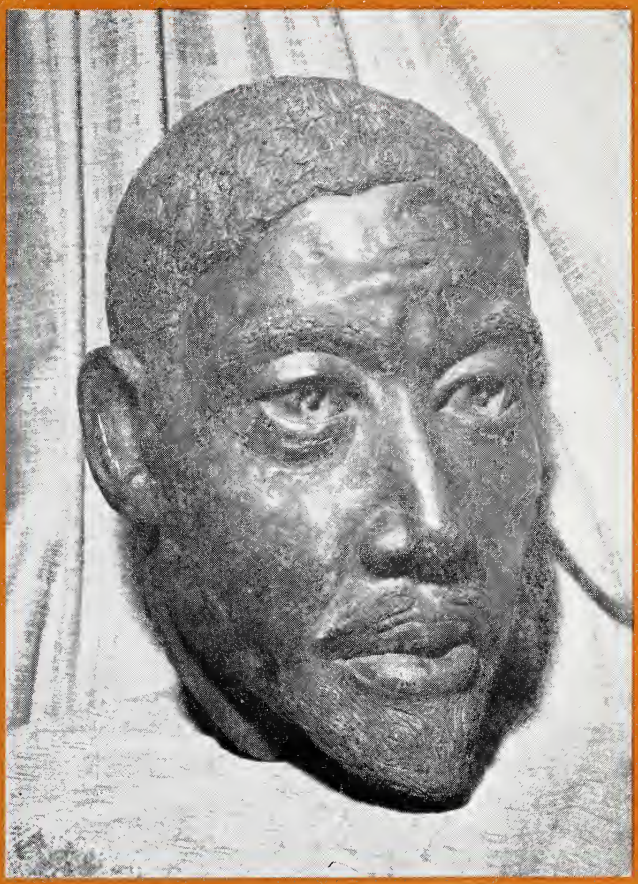

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Introduction

THE AMERICAN Negro Emancipation Centennial Commission of Illinois was created to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation. One of the goals of the commission is to produce works which will stimulate thought, inform the citizens of Illinois, and inspire the youth of our state with a new sense of history through an assessment of the growth and progress of the Negro in Illinois and the nation during one hundred years of freedom. The Emancipation Proclamation represents a milestone in the expanding history of our country and freedom for mankind everywhere and for all times.

One method employed by the commission to accomplish the above goal is the production of several publications concerning the Emancipation period and the history of the Negro in Illinois and the nation. This special issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* carries forward that program.

We are aware that the study of Negro life and history has been a neglected area of historical research. We believe that the dissemination of facts concerning the progress, achievements, and contributions of the Negro to American life will enrich the understanding of the crucial problems in human relations which we now face as a state and nation. Today the American Negro is engaged in a struggle to achieve a new sense of dignity as a citizen, and the same economic, social, and political rights possessed by all other Americans.

The articles in this issue of the *Journal* re-evaluate the heritage of freedom and further sharpen our historical appreciation of the events which transpired during the period of slavery, the struggle for freedom, and final Emancipation. It is the hope of the members of the commission that those who read these articles will share our concern that, although progress has been made to a remarkable degree, there remains much to be done before the American Negro shares fully in the promise of the American dream. May the readers dedicate themselves to share in the process of helping to

disseminate historical facts and impressions which will improve communications among all the people of the state of Illinois.

This publication represents a new thrust and a pioneering step in the history of the Negro in Illinois. The articles are appropriate and meaningful, for they capture for our times the spirit and drama of a unique era in American history. Each article is a creative, scholarly presentation and a manifest challenge to all who are concerned with solving the problems of the mocking paradoxes of race and caste in our free society.

CORNEAL A. DAVIS and WILLIAM H. ROBINSON

The Negro's Two Hundred Forty Years In Illinois — A Chronology

Compiled by Helen Horney and William E. Keller

1712 The French government authorizes Sieur Antoine Crozat to open slave trade in the province of Louisiana, which includes the Illinois country (Crozat never utilizes this right).

ca. 1720 Philippe Renault purchases slaves in Santo Domingo and brings a number of them to the Illinois country to work in the mines he proposes to develop.

1724 "Le Code Noir ou Recueil de Règlements," a stringent system of rules for holding and managing slaves in Louisiana, is issued.

1763 The Illinois country passes into the hands of the English following the French and Indian War.

1778 Illinois becomes a part of Virginia after conquest by George Rogers Clark during the American Revolution.

ca. 1779 Jean Baptiste Point du Sable settles at the future site of Chicago.

1784 Virginia cedes its western lands to the United States government.

1787 Northwest Ordinance, Article VI, prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude in the Northwest Territory, which includes Illinois.

1800 Congress creates Indiana Territory (which includes Illinois) from the Northwest Territory.

1803 The governing council of Indiana Territory draws up a "slave code," a system of long-term indentures providing for virtual slavery.

1805-1807 The Indiana territorial assembly re-enacts the 1803 code, legally authorizing the indenture system. This body of laws is later known as the Black Code.

1809 Illinois becomes a separate territory.

1813 Under territorial legislation further migration of free Ne-

groes into Illinois is prohibited, indentures are allowed, and all Negroes presently residing in the territory are required to register with the clerk of the court of common pleas of the county in which they reside.

1814 The Illinois territorial legislature authorizes the use of slaves in the salt works, thus providing a legal pretext for general slavery.

1818 Illinois becomes a state, adopting a constitution which prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude but permits an indenture system.

1819 Edward Coles, governor of Illinois, 1822-1826, migrates to Illinois from Virginia. He brings his slaves with him, but grants them their freedom when they reach the Ohio River.

1819 The state legislature passes a series of restrictive "black laws" known as the Black Code. They are similar to previous territorial laws.

1822-1824 The struggle over legalizing slavery dominates politics in Illinois. The legislature of 1823 passes a bill authorizing a constitutional convention to allow slavery, but voters reject the convention proposal in 1824.

1836 Elijah P. Lovejoy moves his abolitionist press from St. Louis to Alton, where he is killed by a mob in 1837.

1837 January 12 — The Illinois General Assembly adopts resolutions condemning abolition societies and approving the U.S. constitutional sanction of slavery in the slave-holding states. Abraham Lincoln and Dan Stone, members of the Illinois House of Representatives, officially protest against the sanctity-of-slavery section.

1837 October — The Illinois Anti-Slavery Society is organized at a meeting in Alton called by Elijah P. Lovejoy.

1847 The Illinois constitutional convention adopts a proposal (to be submitted separately to the voters) excluding immigration of free Negroes to Illinois. Voters approve both the constitution and this provision on March 6, 1848. The constitution specifically denies the rights of suffrage and militia service to free Negroes.

1853 The legislature makes it a crime to bring a free Negro into the state.

1862 September 22 — President Abraham Lincoln issues his preliminary emancipation proclamation.

This picture by Francis B. Carpenter of "The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet, September 20, 1862" is now in the Capitol, Washington, D.C. The artist painted the fourteen-and-one-half by nine-foot canvas in the state dining-room of the White House between February 5 and August 1, 1864. Seated in the picture are, left to right, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, President Lincoln, Secretary of Navy Gideon Welles, Secretary of State William H. Seward, and Attorney General Edward Bates. Standing are, left to right, Secretary of Treasury Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of Interior Caleb B. Smith, and Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. Secretary Chase said, "The picture well represents that moment which followed the reading of the Proclamation. It puts the two members who . . . believed in the measure on the right of Mr. Lincoln; the others (who, though they all acquiesced, . . . had . . . doubted or advised delay or even opposed) on the left."

1863 JANUARY 1 — Emancipation Proclamation is issued.

1863 The Twenty-ninth United States Colored Infantry is the first full Civil War regiment composed almost entirely of Illinois Negroes. Governor Yates was authorized to raise the regiment on September 24, 1863, and it was officially sworn into United States service on April 24, 1864.

1865 FEBRUARY 7 — The Illinois General Assembly repeals the state's black laws.

1871 John Jones of Chicago is elected county commissioner,

thereby becoming the first Negro to hold any elective office in Cook County.

1874 The Illinois General Assembly passes a law forbidding segregation in public schools. The statute provides for fining school officers from $5.00 to $100 for each offense if they exclude children from public school because of color; any person who, by intimidation, prevents a Negro child from attending public school is also liable to a fine of $25.

1876 John W. E. Thomas of Chicago is elected a state representative, the first Negro to hold this office in Illinois.

1878 The earliest Illinois Negro newspaper of which records are extant, the *Conservator,* is founded in Chicago (the paper is later published in Springfield).

1885 The Illinois General Assembly passes a civil rights act forbidding racial discrimination in restaurants, hotels, theaters, railroads, streetcars, and other places of public accommodation and amusement.

1891 Dr. Daniel Hale Williams of Chicago performs the world's first successful heart operation. The patient is a fellow Negro who has been stabbed in the heart, and the operation takes place in Provident Hospital, a Negro institution which Dr. Williams helped establish and which was the first hospital in the United States to offer nurses' training to Negro women.

1898 The Eighth Illinois National Guard Regiment, composed of Negroes principally from the Chicago area, is called to active duty. The unit later is sent to Cuba.

1905 The *Chicago Defender,* the largest Negro newspaper in Illinois today, is founded by Robert Abbott.

1908 August 14-15 — The Springfield race riot is sparked by a white woman's deliberately false claim that a Negro assaulted her. Crowds gather around the jail where the accused man was said to be confined. When they discover that he has been moved, they run amok. Toll: 2 lynched, 4 shot. This riot leads directly to the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) the following year.

1917 May 28 and July 2 — East St. Louis race riots. Estimates of Negro deaths alone range from two to three hundred, including women and small children. The first riot, less serious, starts when several white men beat a number of Negroes after

rumors circulate that a Negro killed a white. The second riot begins when Negroes retaliate against a raid into the Negro district in which shots were fired into homes from an automobile. A committee of the U.S. Congress which investigates the riots places the responsibility for them on white resentment of the influx of Negro laborers from the South, on corrupt city politics, and on the failure of the local police and state militia to do their duty.

1918 The Eighth Illinois National Guard Regiment is sworn into United States service as the 370th Infantry; it reaches France in June, 1918, and serves at St. Mihiel and Argonne Forest.

1919 July 27-August 2 — Chicago race riots are ignited by an incident at a beach where a Negro boy drowns, the Negroes claiming that the boy was stoned to death by whites after he drifted into the water of the white section of the beach while swimming. When a police officer refuses to arrest any whites, but arrests a Negro on a white man's complaint, Negroes mob the officer. Rumors of the incident sweep the city, and the riot is on. The death toll is ultimately thirty-eight. A study of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations cites Negro ghettos, existence of hoodlum gangs, and resentment of Negro labor, as basic causes.

1924 Albert B. George of Chicago is elected to the municipal court bench, thereby becoming the first elected Negro judge in Illinois.

Adelbert H. Roberts is the first Negro elected to the Illinois Senate.

1929 Oscar DePriest of Chicago is seated in the United States House of Representatives, thereby becoming Illinois' first Negro congressman and the first Negro congressman from the North (Negro congressmen had represented the South during the era of Reconstruction).

1933 The Illinois General Assembly passes a law forbidding racial discrimination on state contracts for public works and buildings.

1934 Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago is elected to the United States House of Representatives, thereby becoming the first Democratic Negro congressman in the United States.

1941 The Illinois General Assembly passes a law forbidding discrimination on all defense contracts in the state.

1943 An order of Governor Dwight H. Green establishes the Illinois Interracial Commission, an advisory committee which sponsors a program of public information and education designed to ameliorate racial problems.

1943 The Chicago Mayor's Commission on Race Relations, known as the Commission on Human Relations after 1945, becomes the first such municipal commission in the United States.

1945 The Chicago City Council passes an ordinance forbidding discrimination in employment in Chicago, with violations punishable by fine.

1953 Joseph D. Bibb becomes head of the Department of Public Safety — the first Negro in Illinois to hold such a high rank in the executive branch of the state government.

1961 The Illinois General Assembly passes a law forbidding discrimination in employment in Illinois, and setting up the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) with power to investigate and initiate judicial action against violators of the act.

THOMAS A. MEEHAN

Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, The First Chicagoan

The Very Reverend Monsignor Thomas A. Meehan is pastor of the Church of St. Basil, Chicago. A native Chicagoan, he has served his city and the state in many capacities in addition to that of religious leader. He has been an educator, editor, and labor arbitrator, and has conducted several radio and television programs. One of his major interests is history, and among the half-dozen books he has written are Catholic History of Chicago *(1934),* The Man with the Iron Hand and Heart *(1942), and* Christ's Career Women in Illinois *(1950).*

ON MARCH 4, 1963, Chicago celebrated her 126th anniversary as a city. It was 130 years in August that the straggling little village and trading post at the southwestern end of Lake Michigan was incorporated as a town in the state of Illinois,[1] but it was in 1837, with a population of 4,170, that Chicago made her debut as a city. In the brief course of a century and a quarter she has grown and expanded until today she ranks eleventh among the cities of the world.[2] Since she assumes worldwide importance and interest, her story is the world's story. Naturally, therefore, one would like to find the true history of her beginnings.

It would indeed be rash to consider Chicago's history as beginning on March 4, 1837. Over 150 years before that date Chicago was known to the Indians and to French woodsmen, trappers, and missionaries. In the latter part

1. A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884), I: 128, 142-43.
2. *The World Almanac* (New York, 1963), 297.

of the seventeenth century there was a flourishing Indian mission on the site, and in the last two decades of the eighteenth century an excellent farm and Indian trading post. In the beginning of the nineteenth century a military garrison was established there. All of these in their own way contributed to the future city. Because of her strategic position with Lake Michigan as her front door, opening to her the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence and through them Canada and even France, and with the Chicago Portage as her back door, giving egress to the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, and through them to St. Louis, the Arkansas country, Louisiana, Texas, and the Gulf of Mexico, she was known and utilized by white, black, and red man alike.[3]

The man who made the first *permanent* settlement in Chicago was Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a Negro. But there were others before him, and their works, though not enduring, at least contributed to the making of Chicago.

The first knowledge we have of the Chicago Portage, and hence of Chicago, comes from Father Jacques Marquette's journal,[4] wherein he describes the return trip with Louis Jolliet from their explorations of the Mississippi early in September, 1673. Somewhere near the present site of Starved Rock they came upon an Indian village; and one of the chiefs, together with some of his braves, escorted Marquette and Jolliet to the Lake of the Illinois (Lake Michigan). On this occasion the Indians exacted from Marquette a promise to return and establish a mission in

3. There were Negroes in the Illinois country from 1720. Rev. Frederick Beuckman, "Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* I (July, 1918): 65.

4. Marquette's journal — the word "journal" is used here because it is commonly used by most historians. However, Francis Borgia Steck, in *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* (Quincy, Ill., 1928) claims that Marquette had a journal only on the second trip to the Illinois country. He claims that the account of the expedition of 1673 (see pp. 261-312) was written by Father Dablon. The journal is authentic, however, whether the manuscript is a copy of one written by Marquette, or one composed by Dablon from Marquette's notes and Jolliet's narrative, or, finally, a copy of Jolliet's journal. The manuscripts of the dubious journal and the journal of 1674 are preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.

their midst. Marquette describes his journey through the Illinois country thus:

We leave it [the Mississippi], at about the 38th degree, to enter another river, which greatly shortens our road . . . to the lake of the Ilinois [*sic*].

We have seen nothing like this river that we enter, as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods; its cattle, elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beaver. There are many small lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is wide, deep, and still, for 65 leagues. In the spring and during part of The summer, there is only one portage of half a league.[5] We found on it a village of Ilinois called Kaskaskia, consisting of 74 Cabins. They received us very well, and obliged me to promise that I would return to instruct them. One of the chiefs of this nation, with his young men, escorted us to the Lake of the Ilinois,[6] whence, at last, at The end of September, we reached the bay des puantz[7] from which we had started at the beginning of June.[8]

The promise Marquette made to the Indians was no empty one, and the late fall of 1674 saw him returning by way of Chicago to their village.[9] On December 4 he entered the mouth of the Chicago River, which at that time was somewhere at a point between present-day Lake and Randolph streets.[10] Near that spot Marquette and his two companions, Pierre Le Castor and Jacques Porteret, encamped for a few days. They then proceeded up the river about six miles, where, because of the lateness of the season and Marquette's health, they decided to remain for the winter.[11]

There Pierre and Jacques constructed some sort of dwell-

5. This is a reference to the Chicago Portage, between the Chicago and Des Plaines rivers. See Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1900), LIX: 313-14, n. 41.

6. Lake Michigan is thus named on many of the early maps. See Jolliet's map of North America, *ibid.*, opposite 86.

7. The Bay des Puantz was Green Bay. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, 161-63.

9. This village was between present-day Ottawa and La Salle, Ill. *Ibid.*, 314, n. 42.

10. Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Chicago under the French Regime," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXVII (1930): 187.

11. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX: 171-73.

ing place. Marquette himself calls it a cabin.[12] From this, historian Milo Quaife argues that it was a wigwam or Indian hut, because when this term is used elsewhere in the journal, it always means a temporary dwelling.[13] Shea, Andreas, and others, taking its literal English meaning, call it a cabin.[14] Whether Indian wigwam or cabin, it was the first dwelling on the present site of Chicago. Other Europeans had undoubtedly preceded both Marquette and Jolliet in the use of the portage, for, as the journal indicates, there were at least two Frenchmen, La Toupine and a man known as the surgeon, living but eighteen leagues from Chicago.[15] But the stay of Marquette and his companions on the site of Chicago for almost four months establishes for them the honor of being her first dwellers – not the first inhabitants, since they had no intention of staying there. An accident forced the stay, an accident of weather and health.[16] Once both were remedied, they proceeded on their way to the Indian village of Kaskaskia on the Illinois River.[17]

The next resident at the site of Chicago was another Jesuit missionary, Father Pierre François Pinet, who in 1696 established the Mission of the Guardian Angel of Chicago. The mission flourished for a year, having nearby two Indian villages of over 150 cabins each, but it was suppressed by Frontenac, governor of New France, in 1697. Through Bishop de Laval of Quebec, it was reopened in 1698 and continued for about two years, when it was finally closed.[18] The reason for the second and final closing was undoubtedly the same as for the first closing – namely, the opposition of the missionaries to the liquor traffic amongst the Indians.[19]

12. *Ibid.*, 173.
13. Milo Milton Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), 25.
14. Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 44.
15. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 175-77.
16. *Ibid.*, 173.
17. *Ibid.*, 181-83.
18. Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago* (Chicago, 1921), 20.
19. Milo Milton Quaife, *Checagou* (Chicago, 1933), 24-25.

As to the location of the Guardian Angel mission, the consensus of the foremost authorities places it at the northern extremity of the present-day Loop,[20] in all probability very close to Michigan Boulevard and Wacker Drive.[21]

Although it is certain that Father François Pinet, the Jesuit missionary, was the first resident priest assigned to Chicago, he, like Marquette, is denied the title of "First Chicagoan" because as a religious leader he undoubtedly established and abandoned the mission at the instance of his superiors. (In obedience to their commands he moved first to the Jesuit mission at Cahokia early in 1700, and finally to the mission on the Des Peres River, at the site of St. Louis, where he died about 1704.[22]) For more than seventy years after he left, the site of Chicago was uninhabited, and Father Pinet's work, unfortunately, perished with his departure.

The curtain then dropped on the scene of Chicago's history and was not raised until 1765. The reason for the blackout, as Quaife states, was the difficulty between the Fox Indians and the French. Just as the Foxes had closed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway to the Mississippi, so now they barred egress by way of the Chicago Portage.[23]

The curtain was first lifted by hearsay evidence. Governor John Reynolds of Illinois claims to have met an old lady at Cahokia, Illinois, who said that she and her husband, Pilette de St. Ange, lived in Chicago about the year 1765. This woman, who was later remarried twice, to one La Compt and to Tom Brady, died at Cahokia in 1843.[24] Tra-

20. Garraghan, *Church in Chicago,* 15-17; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 40-42; Quaife, *Checagou,* 24.

21. The location of the Guardian Angel Mission is given in a letter of Father St. Cosme, printed in *Relation De La Mission Du Mississippi du Seminaire de Quebec en 1700 par MM. De Montigny, De St. Cosme, et Thaumur De La Source* (New York, 1861), quoted in Garraghan and Quaife.

22. Garraghan, *Church in Chicago,* 21n.

23. Quaife, *Checagou,* 28-29. Here Quaife also brings out the reason for their enmity. The Foxes objected to the French practice of supplying provisions and guns to their western rivals, the Sioux.

24. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 137; Quaife, *Checagou,* 30.

dition also has it that as early as 1778 a trader by the name of Guary or Guillory had settled at Chicago. Gurdon S. Hubbard, who visited Chicago in 1818, heard of Guary from Antoine De Champs, one of Chicago's early settlers.[25] Neither of these claims, however, has ever been substantiated.[26]

The title "Father of Chicago" or "First Chicagoan" has been given to many. Mrs. John H. Kinzie claims it for her father-in-law, John Kinzie. Concerning him she has woven a story more fanciful than true in which, among other things, she says: "This gentleman was, for nearly twenty years, with the exception of the military, the only white inhabitant of Northern Illinois."[27] So well did she foist her tale on a non-critical age that even today many look upon him as Chicago's first permanent settler. Quaife in an early work urges the honor for Captain John Whistler, builder and first commandant of Fort Dearborn.[28] And James Ryan Haydon has devoted an entire book to the claim of Thomas J. V. Owen, government Indian agent and president of the first board of trustees of the town of Chicago.[29]

In spite of these various assertions the title and honor of "First Chicagoan" belongs to Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a man whose claim can be substantiated by at least three contemporary documents. He resided in Chicago for almost twenty years, reared two children there, and even, in the last years of his residence, saw a grandchild born in almost the heart of the present-day city.

At the close of the eighteenth century and at the very dawn of the nineteenth Du Sable, a Negro or mulatto, had a spacious, cultivated, and well-stocked farm, together with

25. Quaife, *Checagou,* 30.

26. Garraghan, *Church in Chicago,* 25; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 138.

27. Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun, the "Early Day" in the North-West* (New York, 1856), 191.

28. Milo Milton Quaife, "Detroit Biographies: John Whistler," *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* (Detroit, Sept., 1926), 5.

29. *Chicago's True Founder: Thomas J. V. Owen* (Lombard, Ill., 1934).

a mill and an Indian trading post, on the very site that today is studded with skyscrapers and ribboned with drives, streets, and boulevards. From this ingenious, resourceful, and seemingly well-educated Negro, Chicago draws her permanency.

There are many gaps in the life of Du Sable which are as yet unfilled. Many details are unknown and not a few are hazy. One of the shadowy periods of his life is its beginning. Where and when was he born? Who were his parents? These are questions to which we do not yet have the answers.

Until about 1933 it was generally accepted that Point du Sable was a free Santo Domingo Negro or mulatto.[30] However, Quaife has brought forth the supposition that Du Sable was not a Santo Domingan but a base-born descendant of the famous Dandonneau family, originally from Bourges, France. Soon after 1627 Jacques Dandonneau, together with his wife Isabella and their son, Pierre, migrated to Three Rivers and later to Champlain in Canada. This son, Pierre, acquired the title "Sieur du Sable." His descendants became known by both names, Dandonneau and Du Sable. In the course of time the family spread to Montreal, Mackinac, and St. Joseph, and many of its members were engaged in the fur trade.[31] It is a fact that there were many Negroes, both slave and free, in the Northwest Territory.[32] From these two facts, the presence of Negroes and the similarity of names, Quaife concludes that Jean Baptiste Point du Sable was the offspring of a Negro woman and one of the numerous male descendants of Angélique du Sable (wife of Charles Chaboillez and, after his death, Ignace Jean), many of whom were engaged in the Indian trade. This account, however,

30. Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 70-71; Garraghan, *Church in Chicago,* 24; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 139.

31. Quaife, *Checagou,* 31-36.

32. In "Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Illinois," 65, Beuckman says Phillippe Renault brought five hundred Negro slaves to Fort Chartres in 1720. Also see Quaife, *Checagou,* 36. Quaife states that the baptismal records of both Detroit and Mackinac contain many references to Negro slaves.

is merely a supposition, as Quaife himself admits.[33] Until some documentary evidence can be produced, it does not seem strong enough to overthrow the tradition that Point du Sable came from Santo Domingo.

The qualities and characteristics of Du Sable which make Quaife speculate that he was of a famous French family[34] could also be accounted for by accepting the usual tradition. By the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 the Spanish ceded the western part of Haiti to the French, who had come there as early as 1638 and had had definite settlements since 1659. Negroes had been imported into Haiti and Santo Domingo [Spanish east Haiti] since the year 1517, and mixed bloods were common.[35] Under the French régime many of the Negroes were cultured and well educated and became landowners of wealth.[36] Many of them, because of the kind treatment of the French, migrated to Louisiana and thence up the Mississippi to various other French possessions. Beyond these two facts there is another which strongly supports the tradition that Du Sable derived from Santo Domingo. About the year 1720 Philippe Renault arrived at Fort Chartres with Negro slaves from Santo Domingo. In 1723 a large tract of land, situated about five miles from the fort, was granted to him,[37] as well as another tract of 14,000 acres near Peoria.[38] This last fact is important for the reason that in 1783 Point du Sable proved U.S. citizenship, in order to receive a land grant from the government of the United States, by showing that he had developed a farm in the vi-

33. "In absence of any specific record concerning his parentage, we can only resort to speculation, based on the reasonable probabilities of the case. Evidently he was 'base born', and his mother was probably a slave." Quaife, *Checagou,* 36.

34. "His occupation and place of residence, his ability and good repute with his contemporaries, his French name and speech — all support the conclusion that he was, on his father's side, a member of the ancient and widespread family of Dandonneau *dit* Du Sable." *Ibid.*

35. *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1910), VII: 114; V: 110.

36. Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 71.

37. Beuckman, "Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Illinois," 65.

38. Joseph J. Thompson, "The French in Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* II (July, 1919): 21-22.

cinity of Peoria as early as 1780.[39] From these facts it seems possible that Du Sable could have had a French name, have spoken their language, have been fairly cultured, and still have been a Santo Domingan or one of their descendants, since the Santo Domingans were exposed to French culture for more than 120 years before Point du Sable is mentioned in contemporary records. This is not a refutation of Quaife's supposition. Both theories are in need of further investigation. But until stronger proof is forthcoming, there is merit in the traditional account that Du Sable was a Santo Domingan.

As to when he was born and who his parents were, absolutely nothing is known. Our first definite knowledge about him dates from 1779 and appears in an official report by Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster, British commandant at Mackinac, who mentions him as "Baptiste Point DeSaible, a handsome negro, well educated, and settled at Eschikagou [Chicago], but much in the French interest."[40] This report was entered on July 4, 1779. A few months later a report from Lieutenant Thomas Bennett of the "King's Regiment" to his commander at Mackinac reads:

> I had the negro, Baptiste Point au Sable, brought prisoner [to Detroit] from the river Du Chemin.[41] Corporal Tascon, who commanded the party, very prudently prevented the Indians from burning his home, or doing him any injury. He secured his packs, etc., which he takes with him to Michilimackinac. The negro, since his imprisonment, has in every respect behaved in a manner becoming to a man in his situation, and has many friends who give him a good character.[42]

From these two reports we get a pleasant introduction

39. John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813* (Stella M. Drumm, ed., St. Louis, 1920), 153-55.

40. Andreas, *History of Chicago* I: 70; Garraghan, *Church in Chicago,* 24. I have been unable to determine whether or not the original report is still in existence. However, it was published as *Miscellanies by an Officer* (Dumfries, Scotland, 1813).

41. Now Trail Creek, near present Michigan City, Ind.

42. Cited by J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders* (Chicago, 1912), I: 47.

to the first Chicagoan. Whatever his beginning might have been, he was now a man of station. The reports were made by two educated men, officers in the British Army, and one calls Du Sable "well educated," and the other pays him a compliment of which no gentlemen need be ashamed: "He behaved in a manner becoming to a man in his situation." Furthermore, from this same testimony, it is apparent that Du Sable was not lacking in friends, for many of them volunteered information as to his good character. This testimony is magnified if we consider that these writers were actually enemies at war, who strongly suspected that Du Sable was lined up with the other side. He must, indeed, have had a striking personality to draw such commendation from his captors.

In order to understand the reason for his arrest, we have to remember the events of the Revolutionary War period. In 1777 and 1778 Captain Charles de Langlade went through the Indian country trying to stir up the natives against the American cause. At this time the state of Virginia claimed all of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio as her territory, and in 1778 Colonel George Rogers Clark of Virginia was sent to this territory to win it for the Americans. His assistant in Illinois was Major Godfrey de Linctot. Du Sable is said to have been one of the Major's spies, and for that reason was forced to leave Chicago and go to Du Chemin to avoid capture by Langlade. There, however, he was apprehended by a British lieutenant, Thomas Bennett, and sent to Mackinac.[43] The story that Du Sable was a spy is doubtful, although it is supported to some extent by his ability to prove that he was a citizen of the United States.[44]

He does not appear to have been held prisoner long, for his name is entered in account books of various merchants of Detroit in the years 1782-1783. It seems that his personality so captivated Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair,

43. George A. Brennan, *The Wonders of the Dunes* (Indianapolis, 1923), 46-50.

44. See n. 42 above.

who succeeded De Peyster at Mackinac, that he placed Du Sable in charge of his own establishment, called the "Pinery," a few miles from present Port Huron, Michigan.[45] Again we see something of the character of this first Chicagoan: his ability to make friends and inspire confidence in others.

In the spring of 1790 Hugh Heward, clerk for William Robertson of Detroit, made a water journey through the Illinois country, and kept a diary of his trip. He and his party went through Chicago and stopped at Point du Sable's place, where they obtained provisions of flour, bread, and pork.[46] From Heward's account, which is still preserved at Detroit, it is certain that Point du Sable was living there in 1790. Also, we get some idea of his establishment, for a man some two hundred miles from the nearest center of civilization, who could supply flour, pork, and bread to a party of at least four, evidently had hogs, fields under cultivation, his own flour mill, and also someone to bake bread. Du Sable had all of these things and many other accommodations — which makes one wonder at the ingenuity of a man who could have such a fine establishment in the midst of the wilderness.

In the light of documentary evidence it is amusing to read the highly imaginary descriptions given by many historians to Point du Sable's settlement in Chicago. It has been referred to as a cabin, a small log cabin, a rude cabin, and a rude hut.[47] A document listing the property sold by Du Sable to one Jean Lalime in 1800 gives an entirely different picture of Du Sable's holdings at that time. His "rude

45. Quaife, *Checagou,* 37-38. The account books are still preserved in the Detroit Public Library.

46. A copy of the original manuscript of Hugh Heward's journal can be seen at the Chicago Historical Society Library. (According to Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 445, the original manuscript is in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library.)

47. Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 71 — "cabin"; E. O. Gale, *Reminiscences of Early Chicago* (Chicago, 1902), 11 — "a small log cabin"; Elias Colbert and Everett Chamberlain, *Chicago and the Great Conflagration* (Cincinnati, 1871), 17 — "rude cabin"; Everett Chamberlain, *Chicago and Its Suburbs* (Chicago, 1874), 24 — "a rude hut."

hut" was, in reality, an establishment consisting of a house 40 by 22 feet in size, a horsemill 36 by 24 feet, a bakehouse 20 by 18 feet, a dairy 10 feet square, a smokehouse 8 feet square, a poultry house 15 feet square, a workshop 15 by 12 feet, one stable 30 by 24 feet, a barn 40 by 28 feet, and all the wood necessary for a new barn.[48] In addition to these buildings Du Sable's establishment had more than the necessary farming implements; he sold Lalime one plank saw, one large ripsaw, one crosscut saw with a seven-foot blade, one cooper's handsaw, one plow chain, one plowshare (new), one plow (complete), and three carts.[49] The farm was well stocked, having two mules, thirty head of full grown cattle, two spring calves, thirty-eight hogs, and forty-four hens.[50] The household furnishings were equally impressive: one cabinet of French walnut, eight by four feet, with four glass doors, four tables, one bureau, one couch, seven chairs, one stove, one pair of candlesticks, two mirrors, two pictures, one hatchet, twenty large wooden dishes, three good pewter basins, four tin basins, one churn, two porridge pots, two funnels, one strainer, one gridiron, two spits, one iron coffee mill, one pair of scales with weights, one leather sack, one brass wire sack, one nettle wire sack, one large feather bed, one tin lantern, two bullet molds, three copper kettles (3½, 7, and 10 gallons), eight other copper kettles, one toasting iron, four planes, five pairs of door hinges, two copper bells, one bag of carpenter's tools, one iron mill, one box of assorted iron utensils.[51]

This enumeration of Du Sable's possessions not only refutes the "rude hut" idea but also gives a more complete picture of the accomplishments, tastes, and versatility of the first Chicagoan. He was a husbandman, a carpenter, a cooper, a miller, and probably a distiller. He was un-

48. Milo Milton Quaife, ed., "Property of Jean Baptiste Point Sable," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XV (June, 1928): 90-91 (original French document in Wayne County Building, Detroit).

49. *Ibid.*, 91.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, 89-92.

doubtedly a man of taste and refinement, for only such a man would have thought of having a feather bed, a cabinet of French walnut, a couch, and a bureau, to say nothing of mirrors and pictures, in the midst of a wilderness. One can only wonder how he transported all of these conveniences and implements to his home in Chicago.

In 1794, four years after Heward's visit, Parrish Grignon of Buttes des Morts, Wisconsin, journeyed through Chicago. He described Point du Sable as being "a trader, pretty wealthy, . . . [who] drank freely."[52]

It is remarkable that every contemporary report about Du Sable describes him as a man of substance. Undoubtedly he owned one of the most complete establishments in the Middle West outside of Detroit and St. Louis.

Not a few of the later writers of Chicago's history, for one reason or another, have completely ignored this man from whose settlement Chicago's history really begins. Others have pictured him as a crude trader – drinking freely, consorting with savage women, and rearing his dusky tribe in rude half-breed gaiety and contentment.[53] Such stories are but conjecture. None of the accounts written by men who knew him give any justification for these speculations. Further, baptismal records at St. Louis, as well as other documents, seem to indicate that his morals were of the same calibre as his business acumen.

The religion of the first Chicagoan was Catholic. From all extant records he appears to have been as practical in observing his religion as was possible. The practice of any formal religion was difficult on the frontier. This was true in the Mohawk Valley when it was the outpost of civilization. It was true at Fort Pitt and in the Albemarle country of western Virginia. It was equally true in the Great Lakes

52. Augustin Grignon, "Seventy-two Years' Recollections of Wisconsin," *Collections of the State Historical Society, Wisconsin* (Madison, 1856), III: 292.

53. John Moses and Joseph Kirkland, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1895), I: 28-29.

regions and in the basins of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri rivers. It later was true beyond the Missouri in the mining camps of the West, the ranges of Texas and Oklahoma, and in the forests of the great Northwest. The frontier was hard, wild, rough, and untamed. The best that can be said about it, no matter how much novelists and television scriptwriters try to dramatize and romanticize it, is that it was, if not immoral, at least amoral. It was a place of sudden fortune, uncontrollable greed, unharnessed lust, quick ruin, and violent death. It is essential to keep this knowledge of the frontier in mind if we are to understand how religious a man the first Chicagoan – Jean Baptiste Point du Sable – actually was. Whether a man is religious or not must be judged by his worship of Almighty God and his conformity to God's law. A man may say he is religious; but if he cheats and steals, lies and defrauds, has no respect for his wife, his children, his neighbor, or God, then the only one who thinks he is religious is himself. In truth he is a fraud and a faker. On the other hand, if a man marries a woman and is faithful to her, rears his children in love of God, shows respect for and is respected by his neighbors and enemies as well, observes the laws of God, and respects the dictates of what he considers God's church, such a man is religious according to his lights.

Jean Baptiste Point du Sable took a Potawatomi wife named Catherine some time in the 1770's. In 1778 he had this marriage solemnized before a Catholic priest in Cahokia, Illinois, some 280 miles from Chicago. By this wife he had two children, Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, Jr., and Suzanne. Suzanne was married in either 1793 or 1794 to Jean Baptiste Peltier by one of the priests from either Cahokia or Prairie du Rocher, Illinois. Suzanne later had her daughter, Eulalia (born October, 1796, in Chicago), baptized in the Catholic church in St. Louis by the acting pastor, Father Lusson, a Franciscan, on October 7, 1799. To Father Lusson we are indebted for the statement, preserved in the records

in St. Louis Cathedral, that Eulalia was the daughter of a legitimate marriage between Jean Baptiste Peltier and Suzanne Point du Sable, his spouse, inhabitants of Chicago.[54]

These two records give us some insight into the diligence and devotion to duty of the first Chicagoan. He himself traveled nearly three hundred miles to have his marriage solemnized by a Catholic priest, and his daughter, in turn, traveled to St. Louis to have his granddaughter Eulalia baptized by a Catholic priest.

Sometime after Du Sable's departure from Chicago in 1800, he became a resident of St. Charles, Missouri. There, during an illness in 1813, he signed over all his properties and holdings to this same granddaughter, Eulalia, in exchange for her promise to care for him in his old age and to bury him in the Catholic cemetery there.[55]

The record does not have to be embellished in any way. Here was a frontiersman who was truly religious in all aspects of his life when religion was not easy to follow, practice, or even uphold. Here, indeed, was a rare frontiersman who lived and knew (to quote Gilbert Keith Chesterton) that "the root of religion is to know we are nothing so we can thank God for making us something." Jean Baptiste Point du Sable did just that.

54. Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Early Catholicity in Chicago," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* I (July, 1918): 19.

55. Quaife, *Checagou,* 45.

The Journal's *Front Cover Picture*

The head of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, "The First Chicagoan," pictured on the front cover of this *Journal* is the work of Chicago sculptor Marion Perkins. This fifteen-and-one-half-inch tall, bronze conception of Du Sable is now a part of the collections of the Ebony Museum of History, 3806 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Perkins was born in Marche, Arkansas, in 1908 and died in Chicago in 1961. Although he was largely self-taught he received a Rosenwald Fellowship and studied privately with Simon Gordon. Perkins exhibited nationally and in Europe and received a number of prizes, including the top award for sculpture at the 1951 Chicago Art Institute exhibition for artists of Chicago and vicinity (his entry was a black marble head titled "Man of Sorrows"). The *Journal's* cover photograph is by "Pics Chicago."

ELMER GERTZ

The Black Laws of Illinois

Chicago Attorney Elmer Gertz has been the recipient of numerous awards and citations for public service, the latest (earlier this year) being the Third Annual Civil Liberties Award of the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union, as "counsel for the defense, for exemplary service in the causes of literary freedom and equal justice under law." Early next year the Follett Publishing Company will issue the latest of his books, A Handful of Cases, *and the next few months will see the publication of four other books to which he has contributed chapters. Among his other writings are a number of articles for this* Journal, *including "Charles A. Dana and the* Chicago Republican" *(Summer, 1952) and "Three Galena Generals" (Spring, 1957).*

TO UNDERSTAND the so-called black laws of Illinois, one must cast a backward glance at the situation elsewhere, and particularly in the states of the South, which, from the moment of independence, and even earlier, passed bodies of laws (the Black Codes) governing every aspect of the lives of slaves and colored people generally.[1] Here and there one might find differences in the laws from state to state, but the pattern was a similar one, and rigid in philosophy. The basic point of these laws was that slaves were not *persons* (as were even the most degraded white men) but *property*: this was the principle later embodied by the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision. A second, almost equally important point was that Negroes

1. The summary of the black laws of the South and the country generally is derived from the standard histories of slavery in the United States — particularly John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York, 1947), Chaps. VI and XIII especially. The commentary and conclusions are mine. Franklin's work and others similar to it should be consulted for all material herein up to n. 2.

(it was not usual to capitalize the word), even if emancipated in some way (and the way was limited), were distinctly different from the white population and had to be subordinated in such fashion that they would never be tempted to think of themselves as coequal. As property, the ownership in them was to be fully protected by law; as an inherently dangerous kind of property, the law was to go to great and even inhuman lengths for such protection.

Otherwise decent people made few apologies for the legal restrictions, even the most savage. Their viewpoint was much like that of generally kind people who go to the bullring or a professional boxing match or even the vicious contests between gamecocks, and applaud the bloodthirsty displays. You may be exempt from ordinary charity if you are brought up to think that a black object who talks, eats, prays, sings, breeds, and, above all, works and appears, at least superficially, like a white person is somehow a piece of property, and not a man. Today this is almost impossible to believe, and many sensitive people even then were shocked at the callous attitude, but not your ordinary man, whether he was a clergyman, schoolteacher, merchant, or farmer.

In brief, a slave had no standing in the courts. He could not sue or be sued; he could not testify (except against his own kind – another slave or a free Negro); his oath was not binding. He could make no contract; he could own no property (except in some states where he could possess certain purely personal items); he could not touch a white person, even in self-defense; if he were killed without cause or provocation, it was not considered murder, although, like the rape of a female slave, it might be regarded as an injury to property, like squashing a carton of eggs or invading another person's land.

The Black Codes were based upon an obsessive fear of slave insurrections and were generally tightened up and stiffened after any such uprising. They were intended to protect the white population and to keep slaves in line as

docile workers. Slaves could not leave the master's abode – be it plantation or town house – without permission. This proviso could be enforced by any white person, whether or not he was a police officer. Of course, slaves could not possess firearms or other deadly weapons, the presumption being that they would use them upon their masters or others. In some places there was fear that if slaves were raucous or playful, trouble might ensue, so they were not permitted to play percussion instruments or use other noisemakers. They had to keep themselves aloof from the white community; they could not buy or sell merchandise, visit or entertain in white habitations. Of course, groups of them could not assemble outside of the presence of white people, for fear that this would lead to racial incidents.

Under such restrictions – as in our poorly managed prisons – it was only natural that infractions of the rules would occur. How were these to be treated? Here again the prison analogy might be made. What passed for a trial might take place before special slave tribunals, but seldom in the regular courts. Rarely were there the safeguards that are traditional in the Anglo-Saxon world since the time of the Magna Carta. The punishments were swift, certain, and severe, and ranged from whipping, branding, and imprisonment to death – the only restraint being the occasional unwillingness to depreciate the value of such property. After all, a dead or imprisoned black man could not work, could not produce the values that were expected of him. At other times, sheer fright caused the white community to maim and destroy such property, regardless of the financial results. This was especially true at times of stress.

A principal means of assuring the subservience of slaves was the "patrol," a sort of militia. Counties were divided into convenient patrol areas, and each white man was required to serve in his area for a period of time that might run into months. These patrols apprehended runaway or suspicious-looking Negroes, and snooped around their places

of abode and assembly in order to pick up deadly weapons and get the drift of dangerous conversation or plotting. Some men willingly served as members of the patrols; others bought their way out or paid fines for failure to perform their duties. In times of emergency, vigilante groups would arise; these would kill or maim without bothering with such refinements as truth or fairness. Violence has always been ingrained in the American character, and is at its worst when race prejudice is an added element.

It should not be assumed that the Black Codes were invariably enforced. They were sometimes in being rather than in force. There was always a feeling on the part of the slaveholding planters that they could take care of "their own niggers"; it was always the other fellow's men that they feared.

These southern Black Codes were taken over almost completely in Illinois and other northern states, including the self-righteous New England region. The situation should have been different in Illinois because the language of the ordinance which created the Northwest Territory, of which Illinois was a part, forever forbade slavery and sought to insure universal freedom and democracy.[2] But Illinois was a southern state in population and traditions, and even where the people were Yankees or European in origin, there was great disquietude about the mere presence of the black man in their midst.

The early French settlers introduced slaveholding into the Illinois region, and the English continued the practice.[3] Under the French, slaves were considered to be real property, like the land and houses.[4] They were generally treated gently, almost as one would handle a favorite horse. On the

2. See N. Dwight Harris, *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in That State, 1719-1864* (Chicago, 1904), 6 ff. This book, now long out of print, is an invaluable work, to which I must acknowledge great indebtedness. Wherever no other reference appears, this work has generally been consulted.

3. *Ibid.*, 2 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, 3.

Sabbath and on religious festivals they were given a degree of liberty; and, unlike the situation later, the slave children were taught the catechism. The management of the few plantations was fair and friendly. The Black Codes had not yet evolved, and their rigidity was absent.

The English government did not restrict slaveholding, and when the territory came under the control of the United States, slavery was unhampered.[5] As the population grew and the number of Negroes multiplied, it became apparent that the laws would tend to confirm the more severe practices of the more hardened taskmasters.

Thus, when Virginia ceded her claims to the Northwest Territory, she stipulated that the French, Canadian, and other inhabitants of the area should be permitted to keep their possessions and retain their old privileges.[6] Congress guaranteed this in the Ordinance of 1787, but also inserted a clause prohibiting slavery in the territory, to the alarm of the residents, some of whom considered moving across the Mississippi River into Spanish territory. But the territorial governor interpreted the clause as merely preventing the introduction of new slaves, and not requiring the freeing of those already there.[7] In time, the views of the governor prevailed, and the Ordinance of 1787 was held to be without effect on the relations between what were euphemistically styled masters and servants.

Ninian Edwards,[8] who was regarded as a very fine lawyer, and who became governor of Illinois Territory in 1809, declared that the ordinance sanctioned "voluntary" servitude – that is, Negroes could be indentured for limited periods. He wanted the term to be reduced to one year, and thought that such contracts were "reasonable within themselves, beneficial to the slaves, and not repugnant to the

5. *Ibid.*, 3, 4.
6. *Ibid.*, 6.
7. Art. VI of the Ordinance of 1787; see Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), II: 49; and Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 6.
8. Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 7.

public interests." Ordinary people, lacking the Governor's subtlety, simply said that, since the French had the right to retain their slaves, those who followed them as settlers had the same right.

No laws were passed with respect to slavery during the first three legislative sessions of the Northwest Territory, except for the levying of a tax on all adult Negroes in conformity with the property concept.[9]

By 1803 it became necessary to clarify the legal status of the many indentured Negroes and to regulate their relations with their masters.[10] The Governing Council drew up a slave code, largely derived from the codes of Virginia and Kentucky.[11] This code was re-enacted in 1805 and 1807, and it became the legal foundation of the system of indentures.[12]

Under the code[13] all male Negroes under fifteen years of age had to serve until they were thirty-five years old; women, only until thirty-two. The children born to indentured persons could be bound out — males for thirty years and females for twenty-eight. Slaves brought into the territory had to serve their contractual terms, but the owners had to register their "servants" with the county clerk within thirty days after entering the territory. Slaves could be transferred, provided they gave their consent and acknowledged it before a notary public. It would be interesting to learn how such consents were induced in those cases where there was no love lost.

In time, provisions were enacted as to the duties of mas-

9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.* Wherever in this article reference is made to territorial laws, statutes, session laws, or constitutions, the full text thereof, summarized and commented upon herein, is set forth in the official document itself, to which reference is had. See also Harris, *Negro Servitude*; D. W. Lusk, *Eighty Years of Illinois: Politics and Politicians . . . , 1809-1889* (Springfield, Ill., 1889), 329-53; Mason M. Fishback, "Illinois Legislation on Slavery and Free Negroes, 1818-1865," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* IX (1904): 414-32. See the official documents listed on pp. 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254, and 255 of Harris, *Negro Servitude.*
13. Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 7-10; see also n. 12.

ters to their servants. They had to provide decent food, clothing, and shelter. Each "servant" had to be given "a coat, waistcoat, a pair of breeches, one pair of shoes, two pair of stockings, a hat, and a blanket." No penalties were provided for deficiencies, nor was anything said about replacements. The laws represented pious hopes and were grounded in a kind of hypocrisy that necessarily attached to an institution that hurt the consciences of some sensitive men.

There were other provisions for the whipping of bad servants. These, we may be sure, were enforced. At least a verbal attempt, however, was made to guard the "servants" from mistreatment. The county courts were enjoined to punish all masters guilty of cruelty and the like; but it is doubtful that many could be proved guilty, in view of the inability of the Negroes to testify against them.

These servants could not serve in the militia, nor could they have bail when arrested, nor could they engage in "unlawful assemblies" (in effect, all assemblies of Negroes were unlawful); they could not absent themselves from the plantations or abodes of their owners without a special pass of some sort. If any slave refused to serve his master when brought into Illinois, he could be removed to any of the slave states as "property" within sixty days. Thus, Illinois was not too gradually creating its own Black Code.

The traffic in slaves was open. There were public notices and advertisements of Negroes offered "for sale" or "wanted." Business establishments engaged in the traffic without concealment. At the worst, the settlers in southwestern Illinois crossed the Mississippi or the Ohio to purchase slaves.[14]

The slavery question became a burning public issue in connection with formulating the Constitution of 1818. As the time for the convention approached, the holders of indentured servants, once so confident, began to be fearful of their position. Those who loathed slavery, even when disguised by an indenture system, began to speak out. Illi-

14. *Ibid.*, 13 ff.

nois would not be admitted into the Union unless it abolished slavery in all forms – at least, in words. The shrewd holders of indentured servants and their political spokesmen decided that the necessary verbal gloss should appear in the constitution; then later, when Illinois was safely in the Union, they would re-enact the black laws and perhaps strengthen them. They tried to maintain secrecy, but their plans were as transparent as their motivations. But would the other side see through them?[15]

Generally speaking, the delegates to the convention were of three turns of mind: those who wanted a proslavery constitution, without inhibition; those who were utterly opposed to slavery and wanted the constitution to spell out their viewpoint without ambiguity; and, finally, those "compromisists" who wanted to maintain the existing system of indentures, under a constitution that only appeared to be free. As almost always, the compromisists were the strongest, and they prevailed in the end, because they persuaded men of opposite views that this was the best that could be obtained in the circumstances.[16] It was at about this time that the German philosopher Hegel wrote of a synthesis of opposites. These men were not so subtle, but they had the instincts of all children of the age.

Article VI of the Constitution of 1818 embodied the compromise that was thus worked out. The first section of it reads:

> Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this state otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted [Notice the paraphrase of the Federal Constitution!]; nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twentyone years, nor female person arrived at the age of eighteen years be held to serve any person as a servant under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona fide consideration received or to be received

15. *Ibid.,* Chap. III, "Slavery and the Constitution of 1818," 16-26; see also n. 12.

16. *Ibid.,* 20-21.

for their service. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto hereafter made and executed out of this state, or if made in this state, where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in cases of apprenticeship.[17]

Some gullible persons might have rejoiced at these words. Then the second section provided that slaves bound in other states should not be hired for "labour" in Illinois, except (until the year 1825) within the district of the salt works near Shawneetown (a local concession believed to have temporary validity). In any event, these contracts were to be for only one year, but – and this was the catch – they were renewable. A third section declared that all contracts and indentures which originated before 1818 should be enforced as fully as under the territorial laws; but the children thereafter born of indentured servants were to become free at majority.

This was largely a confirmation, or re-affirmation, of the existing system, with only a reduction in the length of the indenture salvaged – from thirty-five years in the case of males and thirty-two in the case of females to twenty-one years and eighteen years, respectively.

But the optimists believed that limiting indentures to one year's service and making their renewal apparently optional with the Negro transformed the slavery system "into a pleasant sort of personal service." Of course, such was not the case. The advocates of slavery had their none too secret designs, and the masters generally were not going to be softened by verbal salve. As this was sensed, it became doubtful that Congress would admit Illinois into the Union under such a constitution. The matter was debated in Congress on the issue of slavery.

On November 23, 1818, the report of the committee favoring the admission of Illinois was read in the House of Representatives for the third time. Congressman James

17. *Ibid.*, 22; Art. VI, Illinois Constitution of 1818, in Emil Joseph Verlie, *Illinois Constitutions* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, XIII, Springfield, 1919), 38-39.

Talmadge of New York led the opposition "upon the ground that the Constitution was not sufficiently conclusive in the rejection of slavery." George Poindexter of Mississippi was the leader in favoring the admission of Illinois under the proposed constitution. With great unction he declared that the provisions were "fraught with utility" and "an excellent safeguard to the negro." He professed to be opposed to slavery himself, but he said that the hope for emancipation was vain, and one had to accept the best compromise suitable to the time and place. Others agreed with him.

After almost perfunctory discussion, the vote was 117 for and 34 against, and with Senate approval (without debate) Illinois became a state — a southern-oriented citadel in the North. The right to hold Negroes as "indentured servants" was confirmed by the United States Congress.[18]

Following the admission of the state, the legislature enacted, in 1819, a comprehensive Black Code.[19] It provided that previous to settling in the state, the Negro or mulatto had to produce a certificate of freedom under seal of a court of record, endorsed by the clerk of the court in which he wished to reside, together with information as to his family and himself. The overseers of the poor were empowered to remove any Negro from the county who failed to comply with the poor-law provisions. It was unlawful for anyone to bring in a slave for the purpose of freeing him. A bond of $1,000 was required as a guaranty that the former slave would not become a county charge. Failure to comply meant a fine of $200 for each freed slave.

Then there were sections relating to free Negroes already residing in the state. They had to file evidence of their freedom and other information with respect to themselves with the circuit clerk. This became proof of freedom and a means to unindentured employment. Anyone hiring a Negro without such certificate was to be fined $1.50 for

18. Quotations from Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 25; see also *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 Sess., 305-11.

19. See n. 12.

each day's work performed – a very heavy penalty in those days.

There were all sorts of provisions to protect slaveholders in other states and territories. Anyone knowingly harboring a slave, or preventing the recapture of one, was to be guilty of a felony and punished accordingly. Every Negro found without a certificate of freedom was to be considered a runaway slave, subject to arrest and commitment. He was then, for six weeks, to be advertised by the sheriff and to be sold for the period of one year. If he had not been claimed at the end of that time, he was only then to be given a conditional certificate of freedom. He could subsequently be claimed by his owner. The one who informed against him was to receive a reward. After his release, the Negro, subjected to all of these indignities, was to receive the amount of wages for which he had been hired in the first instance.

Any person gaining possession of a free Negro by false swearing was to be punished for perjury.

Another section forbade the kidnapping of free Negroes or indentured slaves.

The remaining sections of the code dealt with the relation of the servant or slave to his master and to the public.

In general, the code was simply a re-enactment of the territorial laws on the subject, changed only to the extent that circumstances required.

After 1825 the inferior legal status of Negroes was confirmed incidentally in numerous statutes, and major pieces of legislation dealing with the problem were passed in 1829, 1831, 1833, and 1841.[20] All were superseded by a general revision in the *Revised Statutes of 1845*.[21] This law provided that any Negro resident in the state had to present a certificate of freedom and post a $1,000 bond that he

20. See n. 12; Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 50 ff.; Fishback, "Legislation on Slavery and Free Negroes," 421-27.

21. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians,* 344-45; *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois . . . Adopted 1844-45 . . . ,* Chap. 74, pp. 386-91, and (for various miscellaneous provisions) Chap. 30, pp. 154, 159, 160, 161, 162; see also n. 12.

would never become a public charge and that his conduct would conform to the laws of the state. Anyone harboring or helping a Negro who had not complied with these requirements was liable to a $500 fine. Even though he complied with the onerous law, the free Negro might still be removed if somehow the laws concerning the poor were adversely affected or a lawful claim was made against him by his legal owner. If a person brought a Negro into the state for the purpose of freeing him, he was subject to indictment and fine.

A vast amount of self-help was permitted to the white citizenry. They could seize and turn in slaves, servants, and Negroes generally for relatively slight infractions – conduct which would have been unthinkable against the most sodden white person. Of course, for more serious offenses by Negroes, such as riots and unlawful assembly, any white person could act as a policeman and sometimes be paid for it. On the other hand, those who aided Negroes to live happily were sometimes punished. For example, any person allowing Negro slaves or servants to assemble on his land for dancing or reveling was fined $20 for each offense, and the Negroes involved were whipped. Where a free person was punishable by fine, an indentured servant was given twenty lashes for every $8.00 fine. If anyone bought commodities from a slave or servant without permission of the master, he had to pay the master four times the value of the merchandise.

A servant guilty of misconduct or laziness was whipped. If he lost a day's work, he had to repay it doubly. Any costs of recapturing a runaway had to be borne by him through added labor. All contracts between masters and servants during the time of service were void. Thus, the gulling of the bondman was encouraged in effect. A colored person could not hire a white person. Sexual intermixture of the races was punishable by the fine and imprisonment of both parties.

At the same time, the statute set up requirements, often breached, for the care of servants in health and illness; they were to be fed and clothed. Servants were given the right, not often availed of, to appear in the county court to complain of misconduct.

In 1848 a new constitution was adopted by the state. It provided, in Article XIV:

> The General Assembly shall at its first session under the amended constitution pass such laws as will effectually prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this state, and to effectually prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this state, for the purpose of setting them free.[22]

The General Assembly, in 1853, accordingly implemented that provision in an act that provided, among other things:

> If any person or persons shall bring, or cause to be brought into this state, any negro or mulatto slave, whether said slave is set free or not, [he] shall be liable to an indictment, and, upon conviction thereof, be fined for every such negro or mulatto, a sum not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars, and imprisoned in the county jail not more than one year, and shall stand committed until said fine and costs are paid.[23]

A mulatto was defined as one having one-fourth Negro blood. A person apprehending a Negro or mulatto was entitled to half the fine.

Most people of Illinois hated the very sight of the colored person. Even those, like Abraham Lincoln, who loathed slavery,[24] had to insist that they were opposed to granting the Negro the same rights as the white man. The article of the constitution previously quoted was submitted to a

22. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians,* 330; Verlie, ed., *Illinois Constitutions,* 98.

23. *Laws of Illinois,* 18 G.A., Act of Feb. 12, 1853, pp. 57-60 (quotation from p. 57); see also Lusk, *Politics and Politicians,* 330-33, setting forth the full text of "An Act to Prevent the Immigration of Free Negroes into This State." Public reaction to this bill is described in Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (*The Centennial History of Illinois,* III, Springfield, 1919), 225-27, but cf. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians,* 435.

24. This is best seen through Lincoln's various speeches and rejoinders in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas.

separate vote, and it was adopted overwhelmingly.[25] The proposed Constitution of 1862, drafted when the Civil War was actually being fought, was rejected at the polls, although Article XVIII, separately voted on, won by an overwhelming majority. It read:

> SECTION 1. No negro or mulatto shall migrate to or settle in this State, after the adoption of this constitution.
>
> SEC. 2. No negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage, or hold any office in this State.
>
> SEC. 3. The general assembly shall pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this article.[26]

We have seen how the system of indentured servants (a polite phrase for the northern brand of slaves) was introduced by the territorial laws in 1807, and confirmed by the first Illinois Constitution of 1818 and the statutes of March, 1819, in violation of the Ordinance of 1787. One would assume that law cases would have arisen over these enactments, but years went by without the testing of their validity in the Supreme Court. This can be understood only when one remembers that Negroes could not testify in court, in the first instance, and were too poor, in any event, to afford expensive litigation involving trials and appeals. Besides, the public and, not least of all, the lawyers were indifferent to wrongs done the colored people, who were generally regarded as property, or a subhuman species at best.

The first test case involving the black laws (Cornelius v. Cohen) came before the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1825. It involved a Negro girl, Betsey, whose mother, Rachel, had "apprenticed" herself to Joseph Cornelius, in 1804, for a term of fifteen years. Rachel alone had signed the indenture, and though she was now free, Cornelius claimed the services of Betsey under the territorial law of 1807. The court decided that the 1807 act did not cover cases where

25. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians,* 334, 335; see n. 12.

26. *New Constitution of the State of Illinois Adopted by the Constitutional Convention . . . March 24, 1862 . . .* (Springfield, 1862), 28; Lusk, *Politics and Politicians,* 334, 335.

the parties, the master and servant, did not agree upon the time of service before the county clerk, and that indentures not signed by the master were void. The implication was that there had to be strict compliance with the terms of the law. Minor as the victory was, it acted to some degree as a restraint upon unprincipled masters.[27]

Then came the important case of Nance v. Howard, decided in 1828. The issue was whether Negroes might be sold in Illinois. The supreme court decided that "registered servants are goods and chattels, and can be sold on execution." The reasoning of the court showed the extent to which the law had sunk under the influence of an infamous institution. The court asserted that the territorial legislatures and the state legislature had considered registered servants as personal property, and the execution and attachment laws of the state provided for the sale or transfer of the time of Negro servants, and Negro servants had always been taxed as property; registered servants were therefore transferable like other goods and chattels on execution. The Ordinance of 1787 was no longer binding on the people of Illinois, the court said, because the parties to it had abrogated it by "common consent" — the people of Illinois by consenting to indentures in their 1818 constitution, and Congress by accepting that constitution when admitting Illinois to the Union.[28]

Not until almost a decade later, in 1836, did the Illinois Supreme Court adopt an attitude more helpful to Negroes. The court ruled then that all indentures not in the strictest conformity with that portion of the act of 1807 embodied in the Constitution of 1818 were illegal and unenforceable, so that all colored persons not registered or indentured within thirty days after being brought into Illinois could not be held to service and were free by virtue of their residence in the state.[29]

27. 1 Breese 131; Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 99-100.
28. 1 Breese 242; Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 100 ff.
29. Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 103 ff.

In two cases, Bailey v. Cromwell and Kinney v. Cook, decided in 1840 and 1841, it was established that "the presumption of law, in the State of Illinois, [is] that every person is free, without regard to color," and "the sale of a free person is illegal." The sale of indentured servants was thus ruled illegal, regardless of how some whites might conduct themselves in flouting the court's pronouncements.[30]

In the 1840's several cases involving runaway slaves were decided ultimately to the advantage of the Negro.[31] In 1849 the Supreme Court finally decided, in Thorton's case, that the sections of the statute which provided that fugitive slaves could not sue for freedom but must be sent back to their masters, or sold to labor, were unconstitutional, as in conflict with the acts of Congress for the capture and return of runaway slaves.[32] Thus, in the guise of upholding the Fugitive Slave Act, the court dealt a blow to the proslavery viewpoint, regardless of whether or not it intended this result.

Abraham Lincoln himself was once involved on the wrong side in a strange sort of slave situation.[33] He had just been elected to Congress and was about to take his seat, but he continued to ride the circuit as usual, covering more ground than any other lawyer of the region.

The case involved one Robert Matson of Kentucky (Lincoln's birth state), a young, well-born unmarried man. He owned a sizable farm in Coles County, Illinois, which he ran with slaves imported from Kentucky. He evaded the law by returning his slaves to Kentucky each fall and replacing them in the spring with another batch. In this way, they could not be forcibly emancipated. But he kept one slave, named Anthony Bryant, as a permanent overseer. Legally speaking, Bryant, an avid reader and a preacher of the Bible, was a free man. In the spring of 1847 the group of

30. 3 Scammon 71 and 232; Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 105.
31. Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 105 ff.
32. *Ibid.,* 119.
33. The best account of this case is contained in Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (New York, 1928), I: 392-98.

slaves Matson brought from his home state included Jane, Bryant's wife, who was believed to be the daughter of Matson's own brother. The six Bryant children accompanied their mother. Anthony Bryant's connection with three of the children was dubious at best; they obviously had white blood. But they, too, were slaves.

As the result of a quarrel, Matson's housekeeper decided to prevail upon Matson to sell Jane Bryant and her children for hard labor on plantations in the deep South, where the type we now know as Simon Legree would whip them into subjection.

Terrified, Jane Bryant's husband sought the advice of white friends, who urged him to hide his family with them. Antislavery men stood guard. Even in this benighted area, there were people who were ready to fight for the black man's rights.

Matson sought to induce his slaves to return to him. Then he filed an affidavit as required by law, and under a writ his slaves were taken to the county seat and lodged in jail. The justice of the peace decided that he lacked jurisdiction, but since the slaves were in the state without the requisite letters of freedom, they had to be delivered to the sheriff to be disposed of as required by statute.

The slaves were kept in jail for many weeks, and Matson was charged with the expense of keeping them. Feeling ran high, both ways. Matson was found guilty of living with his mistress, the evil woman who had incited him against the Bryants. The white friends of the family applied for the release of the slaves on a writ of habeas corpus. Matson, in anger, then sued the white men for damages for taking his slaves from him.

It was then that Lincoln came into the picture. Lincoln's friend Usher Linder, Matson's attorney, asked him to be of counsel in the case against the white man, Rutherford. Not knowing this, Rutherford, too, sought Lincoln's aid. The two men shared a common repugnance for slavery.

Lincoln said, "with great reluctance," according to Rutherford, that he could not defend him, "because he had already been counseled with in Matson's interest and was therefore under professional obligations to represent the latter unless released."

Rutherford became angry and chided Lincoln bitterly. Lincoln tried to appease Rutherford. Later Lincoln thought he was freed from his responsibility to Matson and told Rutherford so, but the latter was by then too angry to engage Lincoln. So, strange to say, Lincoln remained to represent Matson. The man who so hated slavery was in this instance in the slaveholder's camp!

Everything depended upon the decision in the habeas corpus case. The crowd sensed a great legal struggle. Linder, taking the lead, insisted that under the constitution the owners of slaves, "as well as of other chattels," had to be protected in the possession of their property. Opposing counsel declared that the slaves were free in Illinois by reason of the Ordinance of 1787 and the state's constitution. They failed to mention the very decision of the supreme court in which Lincoln himself, almost a decade before then, had won freedom for a girl who had illegally been sold as a slave.

The great Lincoln was feeble indeed in his argument this time. His heart was scarcely in the case. He said that

> the sole question was whether the slaves were *in transitu* or were meant to remain permanently on Matson's farm. . . . "This then," he explained, "is the point on which the whole case turns; Were these negroes passing over and crossing the State and thus, as the law contemplates, *in transitu* or were they actually located by consent of their master? If only crossing the State that act did not free them but if located even indefinitely by the consent of their owner and master their emancipation logically followed. It is therefore of the highest importance to ascertain the true purpose and intent of Matson in placing these negroes on the Black Grove farm."

The court released the Bryant family and declared " 'that they shall be and remain free and discharged from all servi-

tude whatever to any person or persons from henceforward and forever.' " Matson, in anger, left the state without paying Lincoln his fee – poetic justice for the future Emancipator.

The cases continued, bit by bit wearing away the structure of the old and evil institution of slavery.

In 1853 the Illinois legislature passed a law forbidding free Negroes to enter Illinois under a penalty of fine, or sale by the sheriff.[34] It took years for a court test of this law. At last, in January, 1864, after the Civil War had spilled the blood of countless people, North and South, the case of Nelson v. The People came up before the Supreme Court, which decided that the sale of a Negro under the contested law did not reduce him to slavery.[35] Significantly, this was the last time the court spoke on the subject of slaveholding. Weeks later, Lincoln gave the proper benediction in his immortal Second Inaugural Address. The legislature then uttered its last word in 1865, when it wiped out the infamous Illinois black laws.[36] They had endured in Illinois, in the form they had then, for forty-six years, despite the valiant efforts of those who wanted to kill the infamy, the martyred Lovejoy among them.

It would be wrong to close without an indication that, while the majority sentiment undoubtedly favored the black laws, there were many who bitterly opposed them.[37] Most people in the northern and central parts of the state, and even a few in the southern part, sympathized with the Negro, particularly when scoundrels wrongfully sought to enslave him. They gladly helped poor slaves escape from bondage, even where it aroused the violent anger of their slavery-sympathizing neighbors. There is a story told of a Mr.

34. Act of Feb. 12, 1853, *Laws of Illinois,* 18 G.A., 57-60.

35. Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 120, 237; 33 Illinois Reports 390.

36. Act of Feb. 7, 1865, *Public Laws of Illinois,* 24 G.A., 105; see also Fishback, "Legislation on Slavery and Free Negroes," 431-32, and Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 240.

37. Harris, *Negro Servitude,* Chap. XIII, "The Progress of Sentiment on the Negro Question," 226-43.

Burlingame,[38] who was a prominent antislavery leader and farmer of Sparta. One day he learned that Mose Twist, a well-known kidnapper of Negroes, was at Sparta, looking for an escaped slave. Burlingame immediately sought out Twist. "You're lookin' for a runaway nigger?" he asked. "Yes," replied Twist. "Well," said Burlingame, "that nigger is at *my* house. You come there at your peril. Good day, sir!" It is reported that Twist declined to visit the Burlingame home. That spirit might have ended the black laws in time, even without the lash of war and the scourging by a just God.

38. *Ibid.*, 58-59.

ARVARH E. STRICKLAND

The Illinois Background of Lincoln's Attitude Toward Slavery and the Negro

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BEFORE THE PRESS of wartime events and sentiments determined the course of Negro emancipation, Abraham Lincoln's views on the Negro and slavery reflected his Illinois background. Sentiment in Illinois was, however, as diverse as the sources from which the state drew its population, and antislavery and proslavery feelings varied in kind and degree according to political affiliations and sections of residence within the state.

During the years between 1818 and the Civil War, slavery represented not one but three questions in Illinois. For almost a decade after the state was admitted to the Union, it was not certain that the slavery exclusion provision in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 would remain a principle of Illinois law. By the time Lincoln became actively involved in politics, however, the state was committed to freedom. Aside from the internal question of slavery, there was the moral issue of the justice or injustice of the institution in states where it was considered legal. This remained a burning issue, especially in the southern section of the state, down

to the end of the Civil War. Since Illinois was considered among the free states, a number of free Negro settlements were established within its borders. The presence of these settlements gave rise to the additional question of the social and political status of free Negroes. On all three questions Lincoln, by and large, reflected the sentiment of the mid-section of the state, centering around Springfield, where the extreme views of the northern and southern sections met and were moderated.

By 1818 the people of Illinois had made a start toward settling the internal question of slavery in principle, if not in practice. The Constitution of 1818, under which the state was admitted to the Union, committed Illinois to freedom. This constitution provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this state." Nevertheless, slaves already in the state were not affected, and special provisions were made for using slave labor in the Shawneetown salt works.[1] There were also numerous Negro indentured servants whose status was unaffected by the constitution. This group was "held on long terms that made them slaves in all but name."[2]

For several years after Illinois entered the Union, there were many who advocated removing all legal restrictions against slavery, but opinion on this issue was sharply divided. Settlers from New England and the Middle Atlantic states and some southerners opposed slavery in principle. On the other hand, the "most influential families" from the South, as well as many of the poorer settlers from the upper South, were proslavery in sentiment; but some in all of these groups were opposed to making Illinois a slave state.[3] A majority of the state's political leaders, however, favored a new pro-

1. Illinois Constitution of 1818, Art. VI. Citations from Illinois constitutions are to the texts in Emil Joseph Verlie, ed., *Illinois Constitutions* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XIII, Springfield, 1919).

2. Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (*Centennial History of Illinois,* II, Chicago, 1919), 49.

3. Robert W. Patterson, *Early Society in Southern Illinois* (Chicago, 1881), 19.

slavery constitution. The movement for a new constitution climaxed in 1823 when the legislature passed a measure calling for a constitutional convention and submitted it to the people for approval.[4] Robert W. Patterson characterized the ensuing struggle in the following terms:

> The conflict was both political and moral. The hard times had something to do with it, for it was observed that many emigrants from Virginia and Kentucky passed through Illinois and settled in Missouri, because they could not retain their slaves in this state. . . . Besides, the immigrants from the South felt that the exclusion of slavery from the State, implied a reflection upon the communities in which they had been born and educated . . . On the other hand, the moral sentiment of the Christian people was, for the most part, anti-slavery. Many churches combined together to resist the political movement for the establishment of Slavery.[5]

When the matter was presented to the people in the election of August 2, 1824, the calling of a convention was rejected by a majority of 1,668 votes in an aggregate vote of 11,612.[6] This defeat ended the movement for legalizing slavery in the state as an effective political force.

Even so, each Illinois census up to 1840 enumerated slaves. The census of 1820 reported 917 slaves in the state. This number had decreased to 747 in 1830 and was down to 331 in 1840.[7] These figures did not include Negroes held to service under contracts of indenture. Slavery under this subterfuge continued to exist into the 1850's. Removing the last vestiges of involuntary servitude became a matter for litigation in state courts, and a number of such cases reached the Illinois Supreme Court during the 1830's and 1840's.[8]

Lincoln became involved in two well-known cases having

4. See Pease, *The Frontier State,* 70-91.
5. Patterson, *Early Society in Southern Illinois,* 20-21.
6. Theodore Calvin Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XVIII, Springfield, 1923), 27.
7. U. S. Census Office, *Fourth Census,* 1820, p. 40; *Abstract of the Returns of the Fifth Census* (*House Document 263*), 22 Cong., 1 Sess., 38; U. S. Census Office, *Sixth Census,* 1840, p. 396.
8. See Pease, *The Frontier State,* 377-79.

to do with slavery. The first of these, Bailey v. Cromwell, reached the Illinois Supreme Court in 1841. Lincoln represented David Bailey in a suit brought against him by the administrators of the Nathan Cromwell estate in the 1839 session of the Tazewell County Circuit Court. The Cromwell administrators were seeking to collect on a promissory note given by Bailey in payment for a Negro girl, whom Cromwell had represented to be a slave. The circuit court ruled in favor of the plaintiff, and the case was carried to the Illinois Supreme Court. Lincoln argued that the girl was free under the provisions prohibiting slavery in both the Ordinance of 1787 and the state constitution. Therefore, he maintained, the note was of no effect since it was the purchase price of a free human being. In a precedent-setting decision, the Supreme Court reversed the ruling of the lower court.[9]

In the other case, the Matson slave case, Lincoln argued the opposite side of the legal question. Lincoln represented Robert Matson, a slave owner, who was trying to take a Negro family back to a life of slavery in Kentucky. For several years, Matson had been bringing slaves from Kentucky to do seasonal work on his Illinois farm. In 1847 a slave family sought the assistance of abolitionists to avoid returning to Kentucky, and Matson went to court to reclaim his slaves. The case was tried in the Circuit Court of Coles County in October, 1847. Lincoln's contention was that the slaves had not been brought into the state to stay permanently and, consequently, were not freed by Illinois law.[10]

The Matson case has occasioned some embarrassment for those who have tried to depict Lincoln's life as following an undeviating course down to the Emancipation Proclamation. Those in this group who consider this case at all usually explain Lincoln's involvement as resulting from professional obligation and excuse this seeming deviation from his anti-

9. John J. Duff, *A. Lincoln: Prairie Lawyer* (New York, 1960), 86-87.
10. For detailed discussions of this case see Duff, *A. Lincoln,* pp. 130-49, and Charles H. Coleman, *Historical Essays* (Charleston, Ill., 1962), 31-40.

slavery views on the grounds that he did not give his best to the case. In answer to those who contend that Lincoln rendered only "indifferent service" for his client, John Duff declared:

> If there is one indisputable fact about Lincoln's work in the courts, it is that from the moment of his retainer he played for keeps. He may not have been the best of Illinois lawyers, but he has a strong claim to be considered the most conscientious.[11]

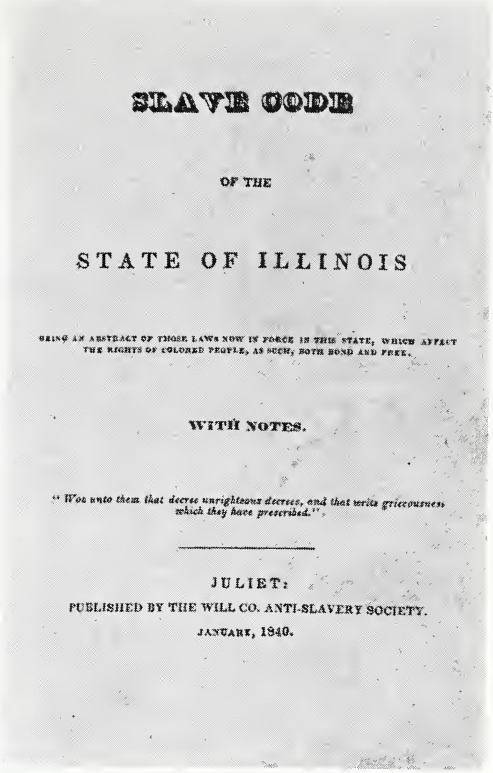
In spite of Lincoln's work, however, the Negroes were set free by the court. And whatever the caliber of his work in the Matson case, it is certainly a valid assumption that Lincoln agreed with the majority opinion in opposing slavery as a permanent Illinois institution.

The defeat of the constitutional convention proposal and favorable court decisions did not evidence widespread antislavery sentiment, however. The moral ferment which defeated the convention was largely a temporary phenomenon. "In the reaction which succeeded the triumph of the antislavery party," wrote John G. Nicolay and John Hay,

> it seemed as if there had never been any antislavery sentiment in the State. [The people] had voted, it is true, against the importation of slaves from the South, but they were content to live under a code of Draconian ferocity, inspired by the very spirit of slavery, visiting the immigration of free negroes with penalties of the most savage description.[12]

Nevertheless, while slavery ceased to be a subject of political agitation in the 1830's, the conscience of the people was not to remain undisturbed by it. The sparsely settled northern areas of Illinois were being filled principally by settlers from New England and New York, who generally held antislavery and abolitionist views. Although abolitionism was anathema to the politicians, it was gaining a foothold in the 1830's. During the religious and moral crusade against slavery led by Theodore Dwight Weld and James G. Birney,

11. Duff, *A. Lincoln,* 138.
12. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), I: 144-45.



SLAVE CODE

OF THE

STATE OF ILLINOIS

BEING AN ABSTRACT OF THOSE LAWS NOW IN FORCE IN THIS STATE, WHICH AFFECT THE RIGHTS OF COLORED PEOPLE, AS SUCH, BOTH BOND AND FREE.

WITH NOTES.

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed."

JULIET:

PUBLISHED BY THE WILL CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JANUARY, 1840.

Cover of a twelve-page, five-by-eight-inch pamphlet published at "Juliet" in January, 1840, by the Will County Anti-Slavery Society. The two lines above the dash at the bottom of the page read: "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed."

many southern antislavery men, especially from Kentucky, moved into the free states. Gideon Blackburn, college president and pastor in Kentucky, moved to Illinois where, in 1835, he helped to found Illinois College at Jacksonville. David Nelson, another Kentucky pastor, came to Carlinville, Illinois, by way of Missouri. The most famous of Illinois abolitionists, Elijah Lovejoy, crossed the Mississippi River from St. Louis in 1836 and set up his press at Alton. A year later he died at the hands of an Alton mob, becoming, at the age of thirty-five, a martyr to the causes of abolition and free speech. His mantle was passed on to the aged but redoubtable champion of antislavery journalism, Benjamin Lundy of Hennepin. Lundy spent the remaining few years of his life exhorting the readers of his paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation,* to recognize "the Supremacy of God and the Equality of Man." After Lundy's death, Zebina

Eastman and Hooper Warren founded, in 1840, the Lowell *Genius of Liberty* as the voice of antislavery. In 1842 this paper was succeeded by the *Western Citizen,* which was published in the more hospitable environment of Chicago. Eastman was coeditor, and the *Western Citizen* took over the subscription list of its predecessor.[13]

Before Lovejoy's death, the antislavery forces had taken steps toward organization. By early 1834 there were organized societies in Putnam, Will, Bureau, Jersey, Adams, and Macoupin counties. In mid-1837 Lovejoy issued a call to organize a state society. An opposition group succeeded in disrupting the first meeting, but the abolitionists were able to bring their state society into being on October 27, 1837.[14]

In spite of the opposition to the antislavery cause in southern Illinois there were even antecedents for an organized movement in that section. The convention struggle of 1822-1824 had given rise to organized and affiliated antislavery societies in St. Clair and some fourteen other counties. Although he was later to become a rival and critic of Lovejoy in Alton, John Mason Peck led this early movement. In addition, Peck, as agent for the American Bible Society, traveled widely and "took advantage of his extended travel and acquaintance for the dissemination of Anti-Slavery documents and principles."[15]

At the same time the antislavery forces were proliferating, state legislators were reflecting a very different temper among the majority of their constituencies. The Illinois General Assembly was prompted by memorials from several other states – Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York, and Connecticut – to consider the question of domestic slavery. These memorials were referred to a joint committee of the house and senate. The committee made its report on Janu-

13. Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960), 6-8; Pease, *The Frontier State,* 364-73.

14. Journal of the Illinois State Antislavery Society (MS, Chicago Historical Society).

15. Patterson, *Early Society in Southern Illinois,* 20-21.

ary 12, 1837, and recommended a series of resolutions condemning the formation of abolition societies, pronouncing the "right of property in slaves" as "sacred to the slaveholding States by the Federal Constitution," and denying that Congress had the power to deprive them of this right without their consent. Further, it was resolved that "the General Government" could not "abolish slavery in the District of Columbia against the consent of the citizens . . . without a manifest breach of good faith." The report and resolutions passed the house on January 20 and were concurred in by the senate five days later.[16]

This action called forth a protest from Lincoln. Joined by Dan Stone, a fellow Springfield Whig, he presented, on March 3, a protest "which was read and ordered to be spread on the journals." Lincoln and Stone dissented from the sanctity of slavery view expressed in the resolutions, declaring that slavery was "founded on both injustice and bad policy." But they concurred in the statement of disapproval of abolitionist activities. They also denied that Congress had the power to interfere with slavery in the states, but maintained that it did have power over the institution in the District of Columbia — though this power should not be exercised unless the people requested it.[17] Although Lincoln and Stone, in lodging their protest, may have taken "their political futures in their hands,"[18] they also placed themselves among that growing group in the state, especially in the northern counties, who, while shunning the label abolitionist, believed that slavery was a moral wrong. In another two decades this group turned from the dying Whig Party, the southern-oriented Democratic Party, and the one-idea antislavery parties to come together in the new Republican Party.

16. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), I: 75; cited hereafter as *Collected Works.*
17. *Ibid.,* I: 74-75.
18. Pease, *The Frontier State,* 364.

Closely related to sentiment on slavery but of more immediate social and political concern in Illinois was the question of the status of the free Negro. Opinion almost universally opposed granting social and political equality to Negroes. Benjamin Quarles stated that "Lincoln regarded the issue of racial equality as something of a bugbear, a mysterious specter with uncanny power to affright."[19] Still, this was a real issue and was, in large measure, a separate issue from slavery. Many antislavery advocates in a state such as Illinois could oppose slavery in the abstract. They could condemn it as an institution inimical to the traditions and principles of American democracy without taking into consideration who was enslaved. Freedom, however, was another matter, for it raised the question of racial adjustment — the status of the Negro after freedom. When the people of Illinois decided that the state would be free, many meant free from both slavery and Negroes. The presence of a relatively small number of free Negroes in the state[20] and the fear that their number would be augmented from bordering slave states occasioned alarm, and as abolitionist sentiment grew, free Negroes increasingly became a subject for political agitation. The widespread anti-Negro sentiment found expression in repressive measures. From his study of Negro servitude and slavery agitation, N. Dwight Harris concluded:

> Before 1840, and for several years after, the negro had no legal status in Illinois. He was an ostracized individual, existing, by the sufferance of the people of Illinois, without citizenship and without social recognition.[21]

Yet, the debates in the constitutional convention of 1847 showed that opinion on Negro subordination was not unani-

19. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York, 1962), 36.

20. The census showed the free Negro population to number 506 (457 free colored persons and 49, probably mulattoes, listed under the heading "all other persons except Indians not taxed") in 1820; 1,637 in 1830; 3,598 in 1840; 5,436 in 1850; and 7,628 in 1860.

21. N. Dwight Harris, *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in That State, 1719-1864* (Chicago, 1904), 226.

mous. This convention was probably a rather accurate barometer of Illinois sentiment. David Davis said that "according to universal opinion," the convention comprised "the best body of men" that had ever assembled in the state.[22] Of the 162 delegates 71 were Whigs and 91 Democrats. Elected primarily on a county basis, they represented diverse occupational groups, with farmers and lawyers predominating. In age the members ranged from twenty-six to sixty-six years. Only eight members were natives of the state, with the remainder comprising men of northern, southern, and foreign nativity. Those with free state and slave state backgrounds, however, were rather evenly balanced. For instance, there were 29 Kentuckians and 24 New Yorkers, and 13 each born in Tennessee and Pennsylvania.[23]

Although the need for reforms in state government had brought about the convention,[24] considerable time was spent deliberating on the Negro question. The state had, by this time, become strongly divided on the issue. Sectional divisions in regard to the status of free Negroes approximated those in the nation on slavery. The southern counties were strongly anti-Negro, while the northern counties were most affected by abolitionist doctrines. In the central section — excluding the river counties of the old Military Tract — a state of opinion on the Negro existed which was comparable to that in the border states on slavery. The central counties occupied somewhat of a mid-point between the extreme views of the north and the south.

These divisions manifested themselves in the convention. Generally, delegates from the northern counties opposed constitutional limitations on the rights of free Negroes and provisions excluding them from the state. Those from south-

22. David Davis to M. Walker, June 25, 1847 (photostat, David Davis MSS, Chicago Historical Society).

23. "A List of the Members Composing the Illinois State Convention Assembled at the Capital in Springfield, Monday, June 7th, 1847" (broadside, Chicago Historical Society).

24. Davis to Walker, June 25, 1847; Verlie, *Illinois Constitutions*, xxiii-xxv.

ern counties and western counties, bordering Missouri, favored both exclusion from the state and the denial of civil rights to those already there. The balance of power was with the representatives of the central counties. On political and social issues the central group agreed with the southern delegates, but they opposed incorporating a provision in the constitution for the exclusion of free Negroes. Most delegates from the central counties called for maintaining the *status quo* — leaving the situation as it had been under the Constitution of 1818. But this was no concession to friends of the Negro. Under existing constitutional provisions and statutes, Illinois was far from a haven for free Negroes. In a poignant summary describing conditions in the early forties, Harris stated that Negroes

> were not allowed to vote, to sue for their liberty in the courts, to serve as witnesses, to hold property, to serve in the State militia, or reside in the State without showing a certificate of freedom at some County Commissioner's Court and giving a thousand dollars bond that they would never become a county charge.
>
> Public offices of every kind were closed to them. For the most part, schools, academies, and colleges were not open to them. There were few trades or lines of employment in which it was easy for them to secure work. . . . Intermarriage between the negroes and the whites was forbidden under severe penalty. . . . Even in the places where they were well treated, it was only the few who had any regard or consideration for them, their rights, or their welfare.[25]

Just four days after it convened, the question of Negro rights came before the convention. On June 11 James M. Campbell of McDonough County "offered a resolution providing that no negro, Indian, mulatto, or other person of mixed blood, or one-eighth blood, should attain, have, or use the rights of citizenship under the constitution this Convention should adopt."[26] Consideration of the Negro question, however, was postponed until progress had been made in agreeing on judicial and legislative reforms.

25. Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 226-27.
26. Arthur Charles Cole, ed., *The Constitutional Debates of 1847* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XIV, Springfield, 1919), 47.

When the convention finally went into extended debate on Negro rights, the question before it was exclusion of free Negroes from the state. On June 24 Benjamin Bond, delegate from Clinton County, offered a resolution to instruct the committee on rights to report a provision prohibiting free Negroes from immigrating into the state and forbidding the bringing in of slaves for the purpose of freeing them.[27]

This resolution motivated rather heated debate. Supporters of the measure argued that this was a matter of self-defense, pointed to the "degraded" condition of free Negroes, and urged that their inferiority entitled Negroes to no rights. Bond felt that free Negroes "had become a great annoyance, if not a nuisance, to the people of Illinois." He pointed to the small settlements of Negroes in southern Illinois which were giving aid to slaves escaping from the South. Furthermore, Bond opposed admitting anybody to the state to whom the people were unwilling to extend "the privilege of the ballot box, and give . . . all the rights of freemen and citizens of a free republic."[28]

The member from St. Clair County, William C. Kinney, gave strong support to the exclusion proposal. He explained that his county already had nearly five hundred free Negroes from Missouri. Kinney accused the people of the northern part of the state of not knowing "how lazy, and good-for-nothing these people were." He concluded his speech with the ultimate anti-Negro argument – intermarriage. "If we would allow the negroes any kind of equality," he said, "we must admit them to the social hearth. It was then that equality commenced." He continued: "We must live with them and permit them to mingle with us in all our social affairs, and, also, if they desired it, must not object to proposals to marry our daughters."[29]

A strong argument in favor of the proposal was that it would end agitation in the state. The report of the remarks

27. *Ibid.*, 201.
28. *Ibid.*, 202.
29. *Ibid.*, 216-17.

by the Jackson County delegate is an example of this argument. He called upon the convention "to so fix the constitution so that this matter should be forever settled." Since it had been "said on all sides that there was no confidence to be put in the legislature," he asked, "why leave this question, then, . . . where it will forever be open to agitation."[30]

Although the northern county opponents of the resolution could not match the supporters in votes, they surpassed them in oratory and breadth of argument. The first move of the opponents was to offer a counterresolution as an amendment, which would prohibit the legislature from passing "laws of a severe or oppressive character applicable to persons of color." This amendment was immediately tabled,[31] and the northern county delegates turned their attention to the main resolution. In the debates of June 24 and 25 speakers such as Augustus Adams of Kane County, S. M. Church of Winnebago County, Daniel J. Pinckney of Ogle County, and Jesse O. Norton of Will County declared the measure inhumane, unconstitutional, in conflict with the Declaration of Independence, and a danger to the ratification of the proposed constitution.[32]

The last point was taken seriously by a number of members. This group, led by Stephen T. Logan of Springfield — whom David Davis termed the "influential man of the body"[33] — blocked incorporating the exclusion proposal into the constitution. Many feared that the constitution, along with the reforms it contained, might be defeated over this issue. Logan stated that he was "opposed to making this provision the all absorbing topic that was to influence the people's votes upon the adoption of the constitution." And, "this would be the case in many of the counties, if this provision was inserted."[34]

30. *Ibid.*, 220-21.
31. *Ibid.*, 203. The motion to table carried by a vote of 92 to 46.
32. *Ibid.*, 204-7, 210-12, 219-20.
33. Davis to Walker, June 25, 1847.
34. Cole, *Constitutional Debates of 1847*, p. 219.

This moderate group voting with those who opposed the measure in principle tabled the resolution by a vote of eighty to fifty-five. In a letter explaining these proceedings to his father-in-law, David Davis, who agreed with Logan, wrote:

> The subject of abolition was up all day yesterday on a proposition to exclude free negroes . . . from the state. . . . However, the good Sense of the House laid the proposition on the table. I said a few words, by way of defining my position. There are many rabid [?] abolitionists in the northern portion of the State. . . . There are a few restless spirits in the Convention, but generally the tone of the body is conservative.[35]

Late in August, after other important questions had been settled, those who supported the exclusion of free Negroes from the state brought forth a compromise measure. This resolution – calling for submitting the matter to the people separately from the constitution – was designed to gain the support of the moderates. In spite of their florid oratory, the northern county opponents found themselves fighting a hopeless cause. The convention decided to accept the compromise proposal.[36]

The constitution and the Negro exclusion clause were submitted to the voters on March 6, 1848. Both were approved. The constitution received a majority of the votes cast in all but two counties, Monroe and Du Page. Approval of the exclusion clause was a sectional matter. It received solid support in the south – with the notable exception of a 99 per cent negative vote in Hardin County – and strong opposition in the northeast. Support for the clause was also strong in the central section.[37]

Although the debates in the convention had covered the broad question of Negro status, the issue under dispute was limited to immigration into the state. The vote on this issue evidenced some sectional division, but the question of extending such rights as suffrage and service in the militia to Ne-

35. Davis to Walker, June 25, 1847.
36. Cole, *Constitutional Debates of 1847*, pp. 855-63.
37. Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 173-80.

groes was not seriously discussed in the convention. In fact, these rights were specifically denied.[38] Still, the convention avoided restrictions in the bill of rights since these could be taken to imply admission that Negroes possessed "such rights, as citizens of this state and the United States, in the absence of such constitutional restrictions."[39] In general, the conclusion that can be drawn from the events of 1847-1848 is that the majority of the people of Illinois favored closing the state to Negro residence and withholding the rights of citizenship from those already there. But there was a determined minority in dissent.

The legislature carried out its mandate on Negro exclusion in early 1853. John A. Logan, the future War Democrat and Union general, introduced a bill making it a crime punishable by heavy fine to bring a free Negro into the state. Negroes entering Illinois were subject to arrest and fine, and, in case of inability to pay the fine and court costs, they could be required to pay such costs in labor. Fugitive slaves, however, could be claimed and repossessed by their masters upon payment of the costs. Harris saw this law as purely a Democratic Party measure aimed at conciliating the South and intended as a "blow at the abolitionists." Still, many Democrats joined northern Whigs in criticizing the act.[40]

Naturally, Negroes and abolitionists were aggrieved. John Kirk, an itinerant salesman of abolitionist leanings, wrote one of his fellow church members concerning Negro opinion, as follows:

> Our colored brethern of Illinois feel much depressed at the passage of that infamous Black Law . . . recently enacted by the Legislature. I was deeply impressed with a remark one of them made to me . . . I enquired of him whether he would not like to go to Liberia where he could be beyond the reach of such Anti-Republican laws. No said he, "I would die first, before I would leave the land of my birth. I will stay and fight it out, as long as

38. Constitution of 1848, Art. VI, sec. 1, and Art. VIII, sec. 1.
39. Cole, *Constitutional Debates of 1847*, p. 873.
40. Harris, *Negro Servitude*, 235-37.

the whites look down upon me I can look up at them. I would rather be the oppressed than the oppressor."[41]

Several months later, Kirk's daughter, Alice Kirk – a Springfield schoolteacher – informed her father that opinion in Springfield was not unanimously in favor of either the reformed legislature or the law. "Many of the good people of Springfield," she wrote,

> think the conduct of the legislators last winter a perfect disgrace to the State. They were a drunken, rowdy, set of animals [?]. The people are glad the city is not to be infested with them this winter. Nor do they sanction the black laws passed by them.[42]

Nevertheless, the sentiment embodied in the "black laws" were those held by a majority of the people, and the attitudes engendering these sentiments were to predominate down to the end of the Civil War.[43]

But what were Lincoln's views on these issues? In most respects, he sanctioned the prevailing views in central Illinois. But Lincoln's belief in Negro inferiority was tempered by a strong moral aversion to slavery and its effects. Moreover, what is known about his personal relations with Negroes in Illinois seems to substantiate the assessment of Frederick Douglass, who "was impressed with his entire freedom from popular prejudice against the colored race."[44] Even so, Lincoln did not have the answer to the problems of racial adjustment which would result from emancipation, and it is too much to expect that he should have been endowed with insights which have evaded his successors for a century.

Early in his political career Lincoln stated his position on suffrage. In 1836, while living at New Salem, he became a candidate for the legislature. Responding to a demand

41. John Kirk to "Brother" Calvin, March 13, 1853, John Kirk Letter Books (MSS, Chicago Historical Society).

42. Alice Kirk to John Kirk, Nov. 9, 1853, Alice Kirk Letter Books (MSS, Chicago Historical Society).

43. See Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 238-43; John Jones, *The Black Laws of Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1864).

44. Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York, 1889), 193.

that the candidates "show their hands," Lincoln announced that he favored "admitting all whites to the right of suffrage, who pay taxes or bear arms," including women.[45] Generally, however, the questions of slavery and Negro rights were seldom subjects for political discussion in the 1830's and 1840's.

It was not until the political turbulence of the 1850's brought political realignments that slavery and racial adjustment became the principal political questions of the day. This was the period of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott decision, the Lecompton affair in Kansas, the disruption of the Whig Party, the brief flowering of the Know-Nothing movement, and the emergence of the Republican Party. These events were dramatically manifested in Illinois in the political struggle which gave rise to the oratorical battles between Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. Long before the formal debates of 1858 Lincoln was voicing opposition to slavery expansion and defending this position against Democratic charges that it embodied the principle of Negro equality.

In a speech at Peoria, on October 16, 1854, in reply to a Douglas address, Lincoln enunciated the stand on Negro status that he followed throughout his Illinois years. While abhorring slavery and its effects, Lincoln could not condemn the southern people for not freeing the slaves, for, as he admitted, he had no solutions to the problems that would follow emancipation. He rejected colonization as impractical in the immediate future but favored it as offering "high hope" in the long run. To free the slaves and keep them in a subordinate position, Lincoln felt, would not necessarily better their condition. Another alternative would be to free the slaves and grant them political and social equality. Concerning this solution, Lincoln said:

> My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the mass of white people will not. Whether

45. *Collected Works,* I: 48.

this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not, then, make them equals.[46]

Even so, Lincoln did not adhere to the Douglas dictum and the Supreme Court position in the Dred Scott decision which totally excluded the Negro from the philosophy set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln partially based his moral objection to slavery on its incompatibility with the republican doctrine of the Declaration of Independdence.[47] Moreover, he realized that to deny the universal application of American democratic traditions would place these traditions in jeopardy. The rise of the Know-Nothings was a prime example. In a letter to Joshua F. Speed, Lincoln stated:

I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that "*all men are created equal.*" We now practically read it "all men are created equal, *except negroes.*" When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except *negroes, and foreigners, and catholics.*"[48]

As the struggle between the Democratic Party and the new Republican Party grew more intense, Lincoln was placed more and more on the defensive. Douglas and the Democrats sought to equate opposition to slavery expansion with advocacy of Negro equality. Lincoln tried to convince the voters of his state that there was no conflict between his views on slavery expansion, the Declaration of Independence, and public opinion as expressed in the Illinois "black laws." Replying to a Douglas accusation that he proposed to make Negroes "perfectly equal with white men in social and political relations," Lincoln said, in July, 1858, that

46. *Ibid.*, II: 255-56; quotation on p. 256.
47. *Ibid.*, II: 265-67, 403-10.
48. *Ibid.*, II: 323.

he did not "understand the Declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all respects." It did mean, however, that all men were created equal in some respects. Among these were the rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" – and, as far as the Negro was concerned, "the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands" had earned.[49]

Throughout the senatorial campaign of 1858, Lincoln continually had to "clear up and refute the charges that he was an abolitionist, and an Amalgamationist."[50] In the debate with Douglas at Charleston, Lincoln felt called upon to make a definitive statement concerning his position. He declared:

> I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races, – that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. . . .

Following this statement Lincoln sought to ridicule Douglas's continued harping on this subject. Humorously, Lincoln pledged to uphold the Illinois law against intermarriage since Douglas and his friends seemed apprehensive that they might marry Negroes if there were no laws preventing it. Also, free Negro status being a state matter, Lincoln suggested that Douglas be sent to the state legislature, rather than to Congress, where he could fight any efforts to change the "black laws."[51] During the remainder of his political career in Illinois, Lincoln's pronouncements on Negro equality were in essence a reiteration of his Charleston statement.

The little that is known of Lincoln's personal relations with Illinois free Negroes evidences his concern for their

49. *Ibid.*, II: 519-20.
50. *Ibid.*, III: 96.
51. *Ibid.*, III: 145-46.

welfare. In 1857 he became involved in the case of John Shelby, a free Negro from Springfield who had been jailed in New Orleans. Shelby had gone to St. Louis and obtained work on a Mississippi River steamboat. When the boat reached New Orleans, he went ashore without his "free papers" and was arrested for violating the black code of New Orleans, which subjected any Negro to arrest who was on the streets after dark without a pass. Lincoln sought the assistance of the governor of Illinois in obtaining Shelby's release. Unsuccessful in this, Lincoln and his law partner, William H. Herndon, raised the amount of the fine and sent it to New Orleans. Of the $69.30 required to free Shelby, Lincoln probably paid $40.30.[52]

Lincoln's relations with William Florville, "Billy the Barber," were of a different nature. This friendship lasted for over thirty years. The two men met at New Salem in 1831, when Florville passed through on his way to Springfield. Florville established Springfield's first barbershop, acquired property, and became a leader among the Negroes of the city.[53] At the time of his death, in 1868, he was characterized as an "honest and conscientious man" who had "won the respect of all who knew him."[54] After moving to Springfield, Lincoln became a frequenter of Billy's shop and handled several legal matters for the Negro barber.

In September, 1852, Lincoln was in Bloomington trying to clear Florville's title to property he owned there. In exchange for shaves during his lifetime, one of Billy's regular customers had given him two lots in Bloomington; and Florville bought two additional lots there. The deeds to this property were not recorded and subsequently were lost.

52. Charles M. Segal, "Lincoln, Benjamin Jonas and the Black Code," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLVI (Autumn, 1953): 277-82.

53. For discussions of the Lincoln-Florville friendship see John E. Washington, *They Knew Lincoln* (New York, 1942), 183-202; Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro,* 26-28.

54. Copy of William Florville's obituary from the *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), April 14, 1868, p. 4.

Lincoln sought a decree conveying title to Florville, and, eventually, after a lawsuit, he established Billy's right to the property.[55]

Then Lincoln undertook to pay the taxes each year. Probably due to his increased political activities, he neglected to make the payment in 1860. When he remembered his obligation, he wrote asking a Bloomington friend: "Will you please collect the ten dollars fee we spoke of, add enough of your own money, pay all taxes due, and send me the receipt, or receipts?" Lincoln promised to repay by the "first mail" any money that was advanced.[56]

Lincoln the President did not forget his friend "Billy the Barber." On several occasions he sent verbal messages to Billy. And when Lincoln lost his son "Willie," Billy wrote to his friend in the White House. Although it was a letter of condolence, it was even more a chatty friendly note. Florville told of his own family and sent news of the Lincolns' dog and the condition of the Lincoln family home. Billy wrote that the women of the family living in Lincoln's house were "Strong Union Ladies" and were doing a "great deal for the Soldiers Who are Suffering So Much for us & to Sustain the Government."[57]

The complex question remains as to how the Lincoln of this Illinois background was transformed into the "Great Emancipator." Perhaps there is no satisfactory answer, but Lincoln gave some indication of his thinking on this matter in April, 1864, when he wrote: "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man devised, or expected. God alone can claim it."[58]

55. Lincoln to C. R. Welles, Sept. 27, 1852, *Collected Works,* II: 159; Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro,* 28.

56. Lincoln to W. Packard, Feb. 10, 1860, *Collected Works,* III: 518.

57. William Florville to Lincoln, Dec. 27, 1863, copy of letter in the Robert T. Lincoln Papers furnished by the Illinois State Historical Library.

58. Norman A. Graebner, ed., *The Enduring Lincoln* (Urbana, Ill., 1959), 105.

SYLVESTRE C. WATKINS, SR.

Some of Early Illinois' Free Negroes

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NEGROES WERE introduced into the Illinois country in the early eighteenth century by the French mining speculator Philippe François Renault.[1] His mining venture failed, and in 1744 Renault sold his Negro slaves to the people of the district and returned to France. Negroes were brought to the area later under both the French and the English, but not in large numbers.

By 1750, according to the contemporary description of French missionary M. Vivier, the five French villages of the Illinois country – Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Fort Chartres, St. Philip, and Prairie du Rocher – had "perhaps eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some sixty red slaves or savages."[2] The French settlers in Illinois, he said, treated their slaves

with much leniency and kindness. They were fed chiefly on maize, and used both as laborers and as house-servants. On Sundays and feast days they were allowed liberties, and their children were

1. Variant spellings are Philip Francis Renault and Philip Renaut. The former is found in N. Dwight Harris's *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1904), 1, and the latter in *Report on the Claims of the Heirs of Philip Renaut* . . . (n.p., n.d. [ca. 1817]), 88.
2. Harris, *Negro Servitude*, 2.

taught the catechism. . . . The management of the plantations was just and liberal, and the relations existing between masters and servants were friendly.[3]

In 1763, the Illinois country came under British rule. The total population was then about 3,000 – 900 being Negro slaves. Most of the French soon left the Illinois settlements rather than change their citizenship, and economic as well as population decline set in. By 1770 the population had dropped to 1,600 – of which about 600 were Negro slaves. The British government did not restrict slaveholding, and it continued in practice when the region became a county of Virginia and later a part of the Northwest Territory.

Territorial Governor Ninian Edwards "maintained in 1817 that the Ordinance of 1787 [under which the Northwest Territory was organized] permitted 'voluntary' servitude; i.e., the indenturing of negroes for limited periods of service."[4] The acceptance of slavery under the legal definition "indenture" grew in the years when Illinois was a part of Indiana Territory (1800-1809). In 1803 the governing council of Indiana drew up a "slave code," most of which was reenacted by the Indiana territorial assemblies of 1805 and 1807. This code, based mainly upon those of Virginia and Kentucky, set the legal pattern for a system that arranged long terms of service, sometimes as much as ninety-nine years, for the indentured servants.

Under this code,

negroes or mulattoes might purchase servants, provided these were not white. They could retain all goods or money acquired by gift or other lawful means during their servitude, if their master gave consent; and they might obtain certificates of freedom from the county courts on presentation of proof that they had served out their time.[5]

But the presence of such Negroes as had thus obtained their

3. *Ibid.*, 3.
4. *Ibid.*, 7.
5. *Ibid.*, 9.

freedom was distasteful to those of the territory's early American settlers who had come from the South and clung with strong persistence to their "colored servants."

As Illinois statehood approached, a constitutional battle developed around the question of slavery. One group of delegates to the constitutional convention of 1818 favored an openly proslavery constitution; another group favored a constitution completely opposed to slavery in any form; and a third group, whose position was eventually adopted, favored maintaining the *status quo* under the semblance of a free constitution. The 1818 constitution perpetuated the indenture system, although, technically, "employers" were required to seek an annual renewal of the "service" contracts.

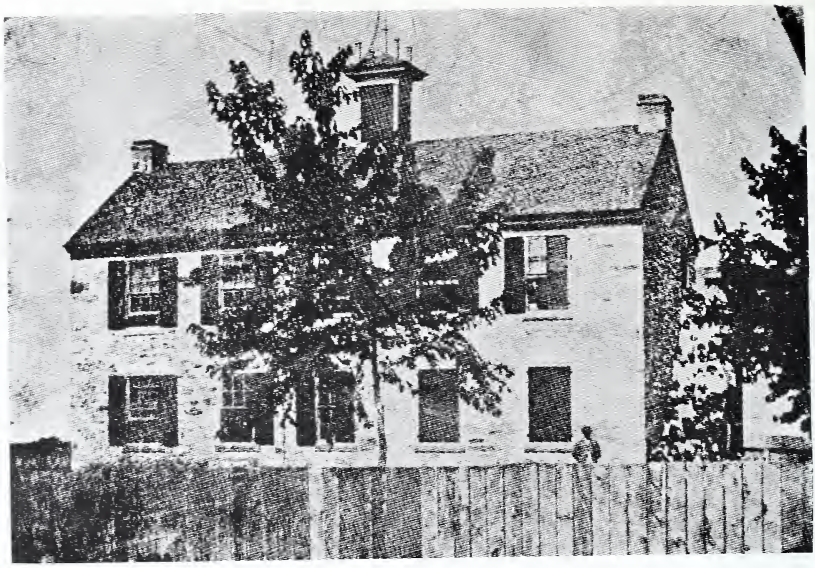
During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries two free Negroes stand out for their unusual abilities: Jean Baptiste Point du Sable of Chicago and George Washington of Otterville.

Du Sable was a man of wealth, education, and character, who is today credited with being Chicago's first permanent settler. He operated a farm, mill, and trading post there from at least as early as 1779 until about 1800. He is known to have lived in St. Charles, Missouri, from 1804 until his death *ca.* 1814.[6]

George Washington was purchased, when a child in the South, by Dr. Silas Hamilton, and brought by him to the Otter Creek area (now known as Otterville) of Jersey County in the early 1830's. The good doctor had planned to educate Washington and send him to Liberia as a free missionary, but he died before his plan could be carried through. George attended the "old Stone School House,"[7] which was established in 1835 by funds provided by Dr. Hamilton's

6. See Father Thomas A. Meehan's sketches of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, p. 439, and in *Mid-America,* XIX (April, 1937): 83-92.

7. Oscar B. Hamilton, "A Sketch of the Life of George Washington, Colored," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. III, No. 3 (Oct. 1910), p. 49; Harris, *Negro Servitude,* 231.



The "old Stone School House" as it appeared in 1873.

will and is said to have been the first free school in Illinois.[8] When George reached manhood, he operated his own farm and built up a fairly good fortune for that day.

By his own oral will, George Washington provided $1,500 for a monument to Dr. Hamilton's memory and about $7,000 to be used for the education of "colored persons, or Americans of African descent."[9] The circuit court of Jersey County finally settled the estate and in 1880 created the George Washington Education Fund from moneys that had accumulated. Some 150 Negro students have been assisted since that time, with between $25,000 and $30,000 advanced for the pursuit of higher education. George Washington died in 1864. His body, along with those of Dr. Hamilton and Gilbert Douglas (whom George lived with until of age), is buried in the old cemetery north of the Presbyterian Church in Otterville.

Despite all of the legal obstacles placed in the path of the free Negroes,[10] there were still opportunities for some to pull

8. Hamilton, "A Sketch of the Life of George Washington, Colored," 48.
9. *Ibid.*, 50-51.
10. See the discussions of the legal barriers against Negroes in the articles by Arvarh Strickland, p. 474, and Elmer Gertz, p. 454.

themselves up by their bootstraps. One of the first to do so was a man known as "Free Frank." Born a slave in South Carolina, Frank was sold when he was eighteen to a planter in Kentucky. After working for the planter several years, Frank

> hired his time, agreeing to pay a certain amount per annum. He then engaged in the manufacture of saltpetre, which he sold for good prices; and in that way, by hard work and strict economy for a number of years, he saved money enough, after paying his master for his hire, to purchase his freedom.[11]

After he had earned enough money to purchase the freedom of his wife Lucy, the couple and their three free-born children (thirteen children had been born slaves and remained in bondage in Kentucky) moved to Illinois. In 1829 they arrived in Hadley Township, Pike County, where they were the township's first settlers, and the only residents for two years.

Having been born a slave, Frank had no legal surname until 1837, when, by a special act, the state legislature made him Frank McWorter. McWorter was an enterprising man and laid out the site for the town of New Philadelphia, which at that time showed promise of becoming a prosperous community. He was also successful at farming and raising stock. With the sizable fortune he built up, he purchased the freedom of all of his children and two of his grandchildren. (Altogether, prior to his death, the cost of purchasing freedom for himself and all of his family came to $10,000.) After his death in 1854, his will, which was executed by his son Solomon, provided funds to free his remaining four grandchildren.

Another early free Negro in Illinois was William de Fleurville.[12] Originally from Haiti, Fleurville arrived in Illi-

11. *Atlas Map of Pike County, Illinois* (Davenport, Iowa, 1872), 54.

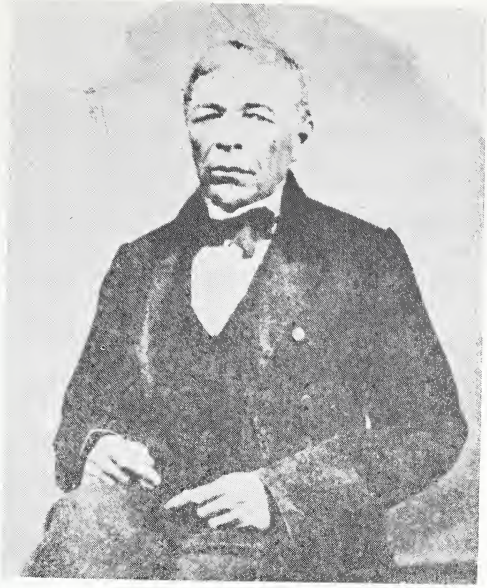
12. After he had been in the United States for some time, Fleurville went by the name William Florville. "William Florville the Barber" is his signature on a letter to Abraham Lincoln, Dec. 27, 1863, a copy of which is in the Robert T. Lincoln Papers, microfilm in the Illinois State Historical Library.

nois by a circuitous route. During the Haitian revolution of 1821-1822, Fleurville's godmother fled with him to Baltimore, where he learned the barbering trade. Longing for a French atmosphere like that of his home, he moved to New Orleans, but he was afraid of being captured by slave traders and sailed "up the Mississippi, Illinois and Sangamon rivers."[13] In the fall of 1831, he arrived, nearly penniless, in New Salem. There he is said to have met Abraham Lincoln, who introduced him at the local tavern where he earned some barber fees.[14] The morning after his arrival he moved on to Springfield. There he worked for General James D. Henry until he could procure the equipment necessary to open his own barbershop. He married Phoebe Rountree in 1831. The following year he opened the first and only barbershop in town. His business place became a sort of meeting spot for most of the men in town, and Lincoln made it a "second home."[15]

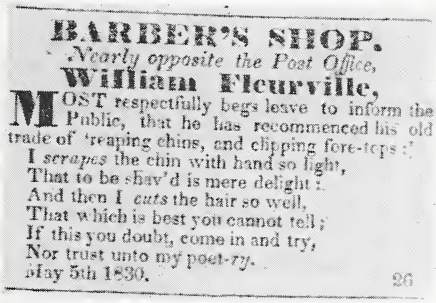
Fleurville advertised his shop in the local papers with doggerel and typical comic prose of the era. The business prospered, and he became active in community affairs. He played clarinet in the Springfield Artillery's military band, played flute and violin at social gatherings of "the best people,"[16] represented Springfield's Negroes in civic matters, and contributed both to his own church, the Catholic church, and to other religious groups. Fleurville was thrifty and invested his money in real estate, using Lincoln for nearly all legal matters. When Lincoln left for Washington in 1861, he bade "Billy the Barber" a personal goodbye. Fleurville did not see his friend alive again.

On April 3, 1868, Fleurville completed his will, leaving all of his property to his wife. He died ten days later. "His funeral was one of the largest ever held in Springfield

13. J. C. Power, *Early Settlers of Sangamon County* (Springfield, Ill., 1876), 303.
14. *Ibid.*
15. John E. Washington, *They Knew Lincoln* (New York, 1942), 190.
16. *Ibid.*, 189.



William de Fleurville, who was known to early Springfield as "Billy the Barber"



BARBER'S SHOP.

Nearly opposite the Post Office,

William Fleurville,

MOST respectfully begs leave to inform the Public, that he has recommenced his old trade of 'reaping chins, and clipping fore-tops :'

I *scrapes* the chin with hand so light,
That to be shav'd is mere delight :
And then I *cuts* the hair so well,
That which is best you cannot tell ;
If this you doubt, come in and try,
Nor trust unto my poet-ry.

May 5th 1830. 26

This advertisement of Fleurville's "Barber's Shop" appeared in the Sangamo Journal *of May 10, 1832.*

and was attended by most distinguished people of the city which he had helped to develop and which he loved so much."[17]

The only person from Springfield who was with Lincoln in February, 1861, when he entered Washington secretly, because of assassination threats, was another free Negro, William Johnson. The Washington *Evening Star* carried an illustration showing Lincoln arriving in that city accompanied by a Negro man and two white detectives. Johnson was to serve the President as valet, barber, handyman, and messenger. But the light-skinned Negro servants in the White House objected to Johnson's dark color, and Lincoln shifted him temporarily to the position of White House

17. *Ibid.*, 202.

furnace fireman. Lincoln then tried to find permanent work for Johnson, as the following letters show:

Whom it may Concern. Executive Mansion March 7, 1861

William Johnson, a colored boy, and bearer of this, has been with me about twelve months; and has been, so far, as I believe, honest, faithful, sober, industrious, and handy as a servant.

A. LINCOLN[18]

EXECUTIVE MANSION March 16/61

Hon. Gideon Welles
DEAR SIR

The bearer (William) is a servant who has been with me for some time & in whom I have confidence as to his integrity and faithfulness. He wishes to enter your service. The difference of color between him & the other servants is the cause of our seperation [*sic*]. If you can give him employment you will confer a favour on Yours truly

A. LINCOLN.[19]

Johnson was unable to find other employment, however, and continued to work in the White House, while suffering insults from the other servants. Finally, on November 30, 1861, he was appointed a "laborer" in the Treasury Department at the annual pay of $600. Apparently he worked afternoons in the Treasury Department as a messenger, and mornings as Lincoln's personal servant, holding both positions until his death in January, 1864.[20]

By 1860 the Negro population in Illinois totaled 7,628, but there were only nine towns in the state with 100 or more Negroes: Chicago, 955; Springfield, 203; Shawneetown, 201; Alton, 187; Jacksonville, 156; Galena, 152; Quincy, 152; Bloomington, 145; Peoria, 109.

Although they were few in number, some of the free Negroes in Illinois had begun, before the Civil War, to organize for the improvement and education of other members

18. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), IV: 277.
19. *Ibid.*, 288.
20. *Ibid.*, 277, V: 33, VI: 69; Washington, *They Knew Lincoln*, 127-32.

of their race, especially those still held in slavery. One such group was a secret organization established at Galena in 1855 and called The Order of the Twelve, or the Knights of Tabor.

> The Twelve Knights of Tabor . . . were . . . successful in enrolling 47,000 Knights of Liberty . . . a secret organization for freedom. . . . If the War of the Rebellion had not occurred just at the time it did, the Knights of Liberty would have made public history. They were fully prepared to enter the conflict and to do battle for the freedom of the bondsman. The year 1856 found them well drilled, with ample arms and ammunition. Atlanta, Georgia, was selected as the gathering point, whenever the Chief gave the order. 150,000 well-armed men were expected, whenever called. Plans were made to pass the order for mobilization in July, 1857, but the Chief saw the "gathering storm" developing, and decided against it.[21]

In the period between 1840 and the Civil War, Chicago was an important stop on the "underground railroad," and many Negroes passing through the city decided to make it their home. As a result, a small community of Negroes grew up along the banks of the Chicago River. Their social activities centered in their churches, and life was generally bleak. Despised and rejected, they were nevertheless free – left to themselves to fight their way upward on the economic ladder.

Perhaps the best known of these men was John Jones, born of free parents in 1816 in Greene County, North Carolina. He was tricked into becoming a bondsman in Tennessee, but finally in 1838, through a Tennessee circuit court, won his freedom. Three years later, he moved to Alton, Illinois. There he met and married Mary Richardson, whom he had previously known in Memphis. Under Illinois law, Jones was required to have a certificate of freedom, which he obtained from the clerk of Madison County on November 28, 1844.

The following year, Jones and his wife moved farther

21. M. Dickson, *Manual of the International Order of Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor, etc.* (Glasgow, Mo., 1918), 14, 15.

north, and on March 11, 1845, they arrived in Chicago after a seven-day trip. With only $3.50 as his entire stake, Jones rented a one-room cottage and a shop for his tailoring business, and bought furnishings for both. He pawned his watch to purchase two stoves, one for his home and one for his shop. Credit for $2.00 worth of food was given him by O. C. Hanson.

Jones prospered in his tailoring business and was active in the civic, religious, and political affairs of the city. His house was a meeting place for abolitionists, and he numbered Frederick Douglass and John Brown among his many friends. Jones purchased a slave in 1852, just so that he could give the man immediate freedom.

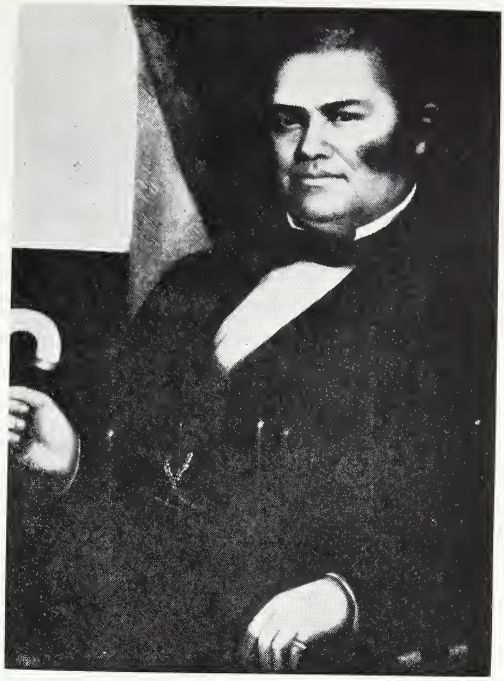
In 1853 Jones attended the Colored National Convention, which met at Rochester, New York, from July 6 to 8. This meeting was called for the "free colored people from all parts of the United States . . . to confer and deliberate upon their present condition, and upon principles and measures important to their welfare, progress and general improvement."[22] Jones served as a vice-president of this convention.

In Illinois, John Jones made the repeal of the state's repressive "black laws" a personal project. In 1864 he published at his own expense an appeal to the people of Illinois to repeal the black laws of the state. This sixteen-page pamphlet played a major part in the final repeal of the hated laws in 1865.[23]

Before the great Chicago fire, Jones had acquired real estate worth $85,000, much of which was located downtown. Though the fire destroyed some of his property, he was still worth about $55,000 at the time of his death. The first Negro to hold any elective public office in Cook County, he was elected county commissioner in 1871 for a one-year term and again in 1872 for a three-year term. Jones died May 21, 1879, and was buried in Graceland Cemetery, Chi-

22. Quoted in Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York, 1951), 342.

23. See article on the black laws by Elmer Gertz, p. 454.



John Jones, whose prosperous tailoring business made possible his leadership in civic and political affairs in Chicago and Cook County. This picture is from a painting.

cago on May 23. His will was approved and admitted to record in open court, July 30, 1879.[24]

Despite the work of Jones and other free Negroes, much remained to be done at the end of the Civil War to give the Negro equal rights in Illinois. The status of the Negro in Illinois at that time is well described in the *Proceedings of the Illinois State Convention of Colored Men, Assembled at Galesburg* in 1866:

WHEREAS, Taxation without representation is contrary to the genius and spirit of our republican institutions, and

WHEREAS, the Colored people of the State of Illinois are taxed for the support of the public schools, and denied, by the laws of

24. Biographical information about John Jones is found in the *Chicago Tribune,* May 22, 1879, p. 7; Harold F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago, 1935), 81-82; an interview with Mrs. Jones, printed in Rufus Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest with the History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1898-1900), II: 297-302, verifies her husband's friendship with Douglass and Brown; Jones's purchase and subsequent freeing of a slave are described in the *Sunday Inter Ocean* (Chicago), June 28, 1891, p. 17.

the State, the right of sending their children to said schools [fewer than one hundred Negro children then attended Illinois public schools], therefore,

Resolved, That we regard it as a gross usurpation, unjustly shown toward the colored citizens of Illinois, and this Convention do hereby recommend to the colored people of the State to send their petitions to our legislature, asking for the repeal of said law.

Resolved, That our State legislature, having ratified the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery, and repealing a part of her black code, giving to the colored men the right to *testify in the courts of justice,* must be regarded as still remiss in her duty, until she educates the children of three thousand colored men who helped to fill the quota of the State.

Resolved, That to deprive us and our children of this invaluable right (honorably and patriotically defended by the blood of our fathers, brothers and sons), is treating us with wrong and cruel injustice, unheard of in any civilized land or country whose government, national or State, have received the services of black soldiers in defending the liberties of the entire people.

Resolved, That in view of the services rendered by the loyal and patriotic black men of the State of Illinois, during the war which has just ended, wiping from our national escutcheon the foul stain of slavery, that we ask the legislature to give us the free exercise of our inherent right, namely, the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the constitutional disability under which colored men labor in this State, calls loudly for redress; it insults our manhood, and disgraces the name of our great State.

Resolved, That, in spite of every opposition, we recommend to our people the propriety of getting an interest in the soil, believing that there is power in so doing: moreover, to cultivate and improve the same is one of the great means of elevating ourselves and every disfranchised American.

Resolved, That we believe the times require an earnest co-operation of the colored citizens throughout the State in securing a recognition of our rights, as men and citizens, by the next legislature, and that we will unite our efforts with those of our brethren elsewhere in securing the aforesaid end. . . .

Resolved, That our efforts for the achievement of the suffrage question, the admission of our children into public schools, the acquirement of lands, and the raising of stock shall be unceasing; that we feel our manhood, and must exercise it on every occasion, until we are satisfied that the prejudice which now exists against

us is done away, and that we shall be treated as men and brethren throughout the State.

Resolved, That as a people whose characteristics are religious, we will continue to preach and pray, and, if necessary, fight against all laws making a difference on account of color, either in Church or State.

Resolved, That we do not ask our white friends to elevate us, but only desire them to give us the same opportunities of elevating ourselves, by admitting us to the right of franchise, and an equal chance for educating ourselves, by opening the doors of their free schools and colleges.

J. Stanley, Cook Co.
E. R. Williams, Cook Co.
C. S. Jacobs, Mercer Co.
Geo. T. Fountain, Adams Co.
Bryan Smith, Gallatin Co.
D. Fletcher, Knox Co.
H. Hicklin, Sangamon Co.
S. D. Willims, Knox Co.[25]

Eight men — by then free — thus initiated united action for achievement of actual, not just legal, freedom from bondage.

25. From the Report of the Committee on Resolutions, published in the *Proceedings* (Chicago, 1867), 6-7.

LARRY GARA

The Underground Railroad in Illinois

Larry Gara is an associate professor of history and government at Wilmington College, Ohio. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin (1953) and has taught in a number of schools including Mexico City College and the University of Delaware at Newark. One of his four books is The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad *(1961).* *This article is based, in part, upon research made possible by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society.*

IN 1874 Illinois' Governor John Lourie Beveridge, himself a former abolitionist, addressed a welcome to a convention of veteran abolitionists meeting in Chicago. He began with a description of Owen Lovejoy, who had laid out a railroad. "That road," said the Governor, "was one line of the underground railroad – chartered not by law, but in moral convictions; engineered not by science, but through charity; constructed not with money, but out of love; freighted not with commerce, but with down-trodden humanity; operated not for the benefit of stockholders, but for the escape of the fugitive fleeing from the hand of his oppressor." The line had no magnificent depots and "the home of every despised Abolitionist in the land was a station." The road began in the land of slavery and ended in Canada. It operated in spite of all obstacles and its passengers were a "constant reminder of the inhumanity and barbarity of African slavery." The fugitives "excited sympathy, awakened moral sentiment, aroused the public conscience, and brought agitation."[1]

1. Scrapbook of clippings labeled "Abolitionists' Convention, 1874," State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

Governor Beveridge's remarks summarized the traditional concept of Illinois' underground railroad: it was a humanitarian institution created to undermine slavery, an enormous immorality; and it dealt a deadly blow to the evil system. Although he viewed the underground railroad as an abolitionist participant, he correctly emphasized its dual function in the antislavery movement: at the same time that abolitionists gave assistance to the fleeing bondsmen they used the fugitive slave issue itself as a most important weapon in their propaganda war against slavery. In reality, the drama of the underground involved ordinary humans in a complicated series of circumstances which do not easily lend themselves to the oversimplified, moralistic point of view of either set of participants.

Traditional accounts of the underground railroad in Illinois are numerous and persistent. Stories of a series of stations stretching from various southern points of entry across the state to Chicago and Canada frequently rest on vague testimony handed down orally from generation to generation. Similar evidence has provided the raw materials for constructing a romantic interpretation of the underground epoch in which benevolent abolitionists and despicable slave-catchers operated in a setting of hairbreadth escapes, clever disguises and hiding places, and glorious freedom in Canada for the "passengers." All was done with the utmost of secrecy. With only minor variations the story has been repeated in popular newspaper accounts and various local and county histories, and has even found its way into a number of more scholarly historical writings.[2]

Illinois tradition includes a number of people and places

2. Traditional but useful accounts of the underground railroad in Illinois are included in Verna Cooley, "Illinois and the Underground Railroad to Canada," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIII (1917): 76-98; N. Dwight Harris, *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in that State, 1719-1864* (Chicago, 1904); Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1898); Hermann R. Muelder, *Fighters for Freedom: The History of Anti-Slavery Activities of Men and Women Associated with Knox College* (New York, 1959), 191-220.

renowned for their underground railroad contributions. Writing in 1882, a well known abolitionist described the Theopolis branch of the Quincy Mission Institute as "station number one" and added that it "soon became the special object of hatred by the slaveholders in Missouri." A history of Knox County alleged that from its founding Galesburg "was noted as the principal depot of the Underground Railroad in Western Illinois, if not in the whole state." When historian Wilbur H. Siebert asked aged survivors of the abolition movement and their descendants about the Illinois lines of the road, he got a variety of replies. One correspondent said the "Under-ground rail-road was established in forty-six or seven at Bureau County, Ill., the home of Owen Lovejoy"; another recalled that in the early days of the movement Sparta, in Randolph County, was the "most prominent, and what may be called headquarters in all efforts in behalf of the fugitive"; and still another maintained that Brighton, in Macoupin County, was generally recognized as the road's "Headquarters."[3] Many other places shared a similar reputation, sometimes combining underground railroad tradition with other Civil War memories. In the latter part of the nineteenth century a Cairo hotel, the Halliday, advertised its facilities in a circular which mentioned Grant's use of the building as his headquarters, the cells for military prisoners off the basement, and the place under the pavement where "well founded rumor has always contended a busy station of the 'Underground Railway' was located."[4]

Among Illinois' underground railroad heroes, Owen Lovejoy of Princeton was probably the best known. His reputation for underground service received added weight because

3. Zebina Eastman, "A Sketch of Moses Hunter," in the Zebina Eastman Papers, Chicago Historical Society; excerpt from *Knox County, Illinois* in the Wilbur H. Siebert Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus; John Weldon to Siebert, Jan. 10, 1896, James Wilson to Siebert (n.d.), and John H. Ryan to Siebert, Feb. 13, 1914. All references to Siebert material are from the three scrapbooks labeled "The Underground Railroad in Illinois," Siebert Papers.

4. Circular advertising "The Halliday," Siebert Papers.

of his political career, his prosecutions for harboring fugitives, and the fame of his martyred brother Elijah.[5] Others from the state also gained fame in the cause. Peter Stewart of Wilmington gladly accepted the title "President" of the underground railroad, though he shared it with Indiana's Levi Coffin and several others as well. One of Professor Siebert's correspondents informed him that John Hossack was a prominent abolitionist and conductor on the "tunnel route," and another told him of an Illinois resident who "was an officer in the Underground Road." One elderly veteran of the antislavery cause recalled that John Cross was "a regular old war horse who . . . *laid out* the U.G.R.R. from Quincy to Chicago."[6] Such reputations constituted a significant aspect of traditional history, a history which had foundation in the pre-Civil War scene as well as in the memories of aged participants.

One of the contemporary bases for the underground railroad tradition was the suspicion of abolitionist activity which slaveholders frequently expressed when slaves ran away. It was difficult for some of them to accept the idea that a slave would abscond without outside suggestion or that a Negro could succeed in escaping without assistance. Advertisements for runaway slaves and newspaper accounts of escapes often mentioned the probability of such aid, but those stories neither proved nor disproved the existence of abolitionist activity.

When a series of group escapes occurred in 1845 in St. Louis, a newspaper reported the belief that the slaves had been enticed away by abolitionists and that they had gone "by the 'great under-ground railway,' " through Alton and Chicago to Canada. The following year a newspaper stated: "The frequent attempts made in this city during

5. B. C. Cook, "Biographical Sketch of Owen Lovejoy," in "Abolitionists' Convention, 1874."

6. Excerpt from George H. Woodruff, *History of Will County, Illinois,* Siebert Papers; William W. Calkins to Siebert, Jan. 21, 1896, and Rans Ingraham to Siebert, March 4, 1896, both in the Siebert Papers; George Thompson to Zebina Eastman, May 11, 1874, Zebina Eastman Papers.

the last year to decoy away slaves, prove that there are Abolitionists in our midst who require close watching." In 1850, when five slaves from various parts of St. Louis escaped within a period of a few days, the report stated, "Either our atmosphere must be impregnated with a morbid spirit of freedom, or our city harboring some enthusiasts in the cause of abolitionism." Four years later a domestic servant from the same city escaped, taking money and clothing from her owner. "It is supposed," commented the *Daily Intelligencer,* "that she was decoyed off and conducted on the 'underground' by some white villain."[7] Very few St. Louis news announcements concerning runaway slaves failed to include mention of such suspicions.

Political spokesmen for Missouri's slaveholding class also interpreted the problem of runaway slaves as a result of abolitionists at work in the state. In 1842 Governor Thomas Reynolds told the legislature that recent events showed that Missouri's slaveholders were "constantly exposed to the depredations of organized bands of abolitionists, residing in sister States," who seduced slaves from their masters, aided them to escape into the non-slaveholding states, and often into Canada. The remedy the Governor proposed was more severe punishment, and he suggested life imprisonment as a possibility.[8]

Abolitionist activity in assisting fugitive slaves also provided a basis for later underground railroad tradition in Illinois. Some of the abolitionists did little but talk, although others offered more concrete forms of aid to the fleeing bondsman. Practically all those who considered themselves abolitionists favored the idea of helping escaped slaves to elude pursuit and reach a haven in Canada. Countless resolutions passed at antislavery meetings endorsed this principle.

7. *Liberator* (Boston), Sept. 5, 1845, quoting "a St. Louis paper"; *St. Louis Daily Union,* Aug. 25, 1846; *St. Louis Daily New Era,* May 11, 1850; *St. Louis Daily Intelligencer,* Aug. 18, 1854.

8. Buel Leopard and Floyd C. Shoemaker, eds., *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1922-), I: 488.

In 1843 the Putnam County Anti-Slavery Society resolved that despite the penal laws of Illinois, the "colored brethren" who were escaping were "peculiarly entitled to the sympathy, advice, assistance and comfort of the abolitionists." In giving such assistance, resolved the reformers, they were "obeying the precepts of the Bible, the dictates of humanity and justice," and therefore they did not feel themselves "bound to act secretly, but openly in view of the world so far as not needlessly to jeopardize the hunted fugitive."[9]

Other gatherings endorsed similar resolutions. In 1842 the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society urged fellow citizens in the state "to extend the hand of kindness and hospitality in *all things necessary for his escape,* to every panting fugitive from the Southern Prison House, who may come within the reach of their benevolence." In 1844 the same society, meeting at Jacksonville, resolved that helping a fugitive escape was "only an act of common humanity, and that the contempt, bitterness, and angry feeling," which were so often shown toward those who performed such acts was "sad evidence of the influence slavery has had in corrupting the heart of the northern people."[10]

Passing resolutions while under the emotional stimulus of an antislavery gathering was one thing; actual participation in underground railroad work was something else. Not all abolitionists had an opportunity to participate directly in such activity, and some were involved in only one or two fugitive slave incidents.[11] A few of the reformers who were engaged in this phase of abolitionism kept records which indicate that the work was carried on with a minimum of organization; as revealed in the very scanty evidence available, the Illinois underground was a makeshift, improvised

9. Copy of minutes of a meeting of the Putnam County Anti-Slavery Society held in the Clear Creek Meeting House, July 4, 1843, Siebert Papers.

10. Minute Book of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society, entries for May 26, 1842, and May 29, 1844, Chicago Historical Society.

11. A number of Professor Siebert's Illinois correspondents replied to his questions concerning their underground railroad record that they had had an opportunity to render only very occasional service to the cause.

method for helping fugitive slaves rather than a smoothly operating system.[12]

Although most people who considered themselves abolitionists, as well as many who did not, would provide food, shelter, and possibly transportation to a fugitive slave, very few of them approved of running slaves out of the South. In 1858 an abolitionist who was actually engaged in helping fugitives in Illinois wrote Jonathan B. Turner that though he was willing to assist a Negro who was in want, he "would not go into a Slave State to entice a man to leave his master or in any way to induce him to leave a state of bondage." He would entice slaves from the South if he thought doing so was his duty, but he considered it "neither wise nor prudent thus to do." Owen Lovejoy expressed similar sentiments. He frequently boasted of his willingness to help a fugitive slave, which he likened to "snatching a lamb from the jaws of a wolf," but going into the South would be to court disaster. "It is simply a question whether it will pay to go down into the den where the wolf is," said Lovejoy.[13]

A few incidents involving abolitionist activity in Missouri and other slave states received a great deal of attention and helped convince many southerners that a branch of the underground railroad extended into their section. One of the most widely publicized episodes involved two students and an older resident from the Mission Institute at Quincy. In the summer of 1841 Alanson Work, James E. Burr, and George Thompson went into Missouri and talked with some

12. On this score the majority of reminiscent accounts in Professor Siebert's collection corroborates the few contemporary documents available. See "Journal of the Rev. Samuel G. Wright" (Microfilm of typescript in the Illinois State Historical Library); H. D. Platt to Siebert, March 20, 1896 (which copies sections of his father's pre-Civil War diary), and Samuel G. Wright to Milton Badger, Dec. 27, 1842, both in the American Home Missionary Society Papers, Chicago Theological Seminary. I am indebted to Professor Merton L. Dillon of Texas Technological College for the latter item.

13. Henry M. Miller to Jonathan B. Turner, [n.d., 1858], in the Illinois College Library, Jacksonville; *Congressional Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 206.

slaves who said they wanted to go north. The three arranged to meet a group of slaves at night, but the meeting proved to be a trap and the slaves betrayed them. A Missouri court sentenced the three to twelve years in prison.[14]

None of the abolitionists served more than five years of the sentence, and all were eventually pardoned by Missouri's governor. Abolitionist friends of the three published a sympathetic account of the incident, making clear, however, that though the motives of the group were beyond reproach, they erred seriously in judgment and chose the wrong way to attack slavery. The men themselves agreed not to engage in similar practices in the future. In explaining his change in thought, George Thompson refused to acknowledge that he had done anything morally wrong, but agreed that his act was rash and imprudent and had been taken without full consideration of the danger involved. On purely expedient grounds he agreed not to repeat his attempt to aid slaves in escaping from the South.[15]

The imprisonment of Work, Burr, and Thompson became the focal point for abolitionist propaganda. The Garrisonians, who looked upon constant agitation as their main weapon against slavery, were especially alert to the publicity value of such incidents. When the three were jailed, the Boston *Liberator* alleged that they were victims of slaveholders' cruelty and power and stated that they had not violated either the laws of God or of Missouri. The paper urged abolitionists to hold protest meetings in every city, town, and village, and to "let the ball be put in motion without delay." Illinois abolitionists saw a connection between an increase in slave escapes and publicity given the Work, Burr, and Thompson imprisonment.[16]

14. *Narrative of Facts, Respecting Alanson Work, James E. Burr and George Thompson* . . . (Quincy, Ill., 1842), 36-37; George Thompson, *Prison Life and Reflections* (Oberlin, Ohio, 1847), 90-96.

15. Thompson, *Prison Life,* 372.

16. *Liberator,* Dec. 10, 1841; unidentified clipping, probably from the *Western Citizen* (Chicago), in Minute Book of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society.

Antislavery workers gave similar publicity to prosecutions under Illinois and federal statutes which grew out of assistance given to fugitive slaves in, or traveling through, the state. In 1843 the Chicago abolition newspaper the *Western Citizen* devoted considerable space to such court actions, including the fines imposed upon Dr. Richard Eells of Quincy and Julius Willard of Jacksonville, and the cases which were brought against Owen Lovejoy of Princeton, Samuel G. Wright of Stark County, and John Cross of Knox County. Abolitionists appealed to the concern for civil liberties which their neighbors shared with them, and did not hesitate to boast openly of their underground railroad activity.[17]

In 1844 the *Western Citizen* carried a cartoon based on the Cross case. It depicted a trainload of fugitive slaves heading for Canada and entering a tunnel cut through a mountain. A horse-drawn wagon carrying other fugitives hurried along another road. The picture was titled "Liberty Line," and the caption notified readers that "the improved and splendid Locomotives, Clarkson and Lundy, with their trains fitted up in the best style of accommodation for passengers will run their regular trips . . . between the borders of the Patriarchal Dominion and Libertyville, Upper Canada." Those who wished to "improve their health or circumstances, by a northern tour," were invited to patronize the road. Seats were free and could be obtained "at any of the trap doors" or from the conductor. It was signed "J. Cross, Proprietor." An additional note announced that "an extra heavy wagon for Texas" would be furnished for "the special benefit of Pro-Slavery Police Officers" who would be "forwarded as dead freight, to the 'Valley of Rascals,' always at the risk of the owners."[18]

Such public notice was the antithesis of the extreme secrecy tradition has associated with the underground railroad, and items like the 1844 advertisement were common. The abolitionist press frequently carried stories about fugitive slaves

17. Muelder, *Fighters for Freedom,* 204-20.
18. *Western Citizen,* July 13, 1844.

and underground railroad operations. Some gave the details of a particular escape, while others were couched in general terms. In 1844 the *Western Citizen* reported the arrival of five fugitives "at the termination of Cross' underground Rail Road, . . . all *emancipated by their own executive power,* and in accordance with *wills* of their own." The editor added that the five, who would soon be in Canada, wished to send compliments to their masters.[19]

Reporting such material gave the abolitionists an opportunity to refute proslavery allegations that slaves were contented with their lot. The plight of the fugitive slave naturally evoked sympathetic response from those who had no direct interest in the South's peculiar institution. By the 1850's such sympathy was widespread in Illinois. In 1854 the *Chicago Tribune* used an article entitled "Passengers on the Underground Railroad" to discredit Stephen A. Douglas and his controversial Nebraska Bill. The report told readers that though "its trains run through our streets regularly," and with greatly increased business, there was no word of "speculation in its stock" or failure of its machinery. "A large corps of trusty conductors" had been secured, the stations were "well fitted up, and the officers and passengers on the road furnished with 'irons' to be used against all who may have the audacity to interfere with trains or passengers." The writer's partisan viewpoint was revealed in his final comment that the road's advantages to its passengers had been "greatly increased by the notorious Nebraska Bill, the offspring of Judge Douglas."[20]

On occasion, rendering assistance to fugitive slaves also provided an important morale-building contribution to the abolitionists themselves. Participating in such work or in mass meetings connected with the work gave the zealous reformers a sense of accomplishment and often enabled them to reach others who were not usually sympathetic to their

19. *Ibid.,* Oct. 21, 28, 1842, Sept. 19, 1844, Jan. 12, 1847, Jan. 22, 1850.
20. *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), June 17, 1854, quoting the *Chicago Daily Tribune.*

cause. In 1846 the rescue of several fugitives in Chicago and the assistance given them to facilitate their escape to Canada caused considerable disturbance in the city. The mayor called a meeting of citizens to devise means of preventing similar incidents in the future, but the abolitionists turned out in such large numbers that the meeting was transformed into an antislavery affair. "We are having glorious times here, or have had for the last ten days, from the attempt to return two Fugitive Slaves," reported a Chicago abolitionist. At the mayor's meeting the abolitionists accomplished all they had hoped. "Excitement ran high, . . . everything we disliked was voted down and everything we liked was voted up." And there was more excitement to come. "We have sent off from here thirteen chattels to be made into men, in the last fourteen days," he continued, "and hundreds more are on their way."[21]

While some abolitionists seemed to find work in the underground railroad merely an exciting diversion, Negroes in Illinois took a more sober view of the events relating to its operations. Free Negroes were often involved in fugitive rescues, and frequently such rescues were reported in the press as the activity of a "Negro mob." Both the free Negroes and fugitive slaves had a more vital and personal interest in the fugitive question than the abolitionists, who viewed it partly as an indirect method of attacking the institution of slavery. The abolitionist point of view was ideological. On at least one occasion the *Western Citizen* went so far as to suggest that some fugitives might best contribute to the cause by accepting martyrdom, and consenting "to return awhile to slavery as propagandists of liberty, and as a standing appeal to the humanity of the North."[22] To the abolitionists the propaganda war against slavery sometimes took precedence over rendering assistance to its refugees.

In retrospect, the role of the Negro is frequently neglected in discussions of the underground railroad. Those who lived

21. James H. Collins to George W. Clark, Nov. 7, 1846, Siebert Papers.
22. *Western Citizen,* Nov. 5, 1850.

in the pre-Civil War period, however, did not overlook the Negro's contribution. The presence of free Negroes in slave states was sometimes considered to be an open invitation to slaves to escape. From time to time St. Louis newspapers called attention to this danger. In 1841 an item in the *Daily Evening Gazette* pointed out that free Negroes and hired slaves working on riverboats had an opportunity to talk with slaves of other southern states and also with the free Negroes and abolitionists of Illinois and other free states. "This communication," argued the writer, "renders the slaves restless and induces them to run away, and furnishes them a means to escape." Several years later another St. Louis paper attributed the active operations of the underground railroad to the presence of the hundreds of free Negroes then in the city.[23]

While free Negroes and abolitionists could usually be depended upon to assist the fugitive slave, the assistance rendered was not always essential to the success of the escape. The fugitives often planned and carried out their escapes wholly on their own initiative. They sometimes traveled at night and hid by day, trusting no one whom they might encounter along their way. When John Anderson left slavery in Missouri, it took him several weeks to reach Illinois. There he received a night's lodging and food at the home of an English settler and occasional aid from other farmers. Finally, at Rock Island, he came into contact with abolitionists who paid his railroad fare to Chicago. A fugitive from the deep South followed the Mississippi River to St. Louis, where he crossed into Illinois. There he obtained shelter, food, and information about the roads from a free Negro. In Indiana he found abolitionists who helped him get to Michigan. William Hall of Tennessee made three unsuc-

23. *Daily Evening Gazette* (St. Louis), Aug. 18, 1841, quoted in Harrison Anthony Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Ser. 32, No. 2, Baltimore, 1914), 178; *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Oct. 29, 1846, quoting the *St. Louis Reveille.*

cessful escape attempts before he was able to leave the South. In Illinois several colored residents assisted Hall, and at Ottawa he came into contact with an abolitionist who helped him get to Chicago. Still another former slave later recalled that when he escaped, he had some trouble getting through Illinois since there were many "slaveholders in heart there," but he managed to reach Canada safely.[24]

Not all the fugitive slaves going through Illinois avoided capture. Whatever degree of organization the abolitionists may have put into their underground railroad, it was not efficient enough to contact all who needed its services or to protect them from their would-be captors. Several fugitives were betrayed by Negroes to whom they had appealed for help, and others were turned in by white settlers.[25] The informers were usually motivated by a desire for rewards rather than any concern for the slaveholders' economic interests. The capture of fugitive slaves in Illinois sometimes elicited comment from the abolitionist press. When three Negroes were arrested in Springfield on suspicion that they were escaped slaves, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* remarked, "Illinois is usually reckoned a *Free* State, but occurrences like this would seem to indicate that she is on the other side of the line."[26]

The testimony of those fugitive slaves who recorded their experiences or dictated them for others to publish indicates that it was their own will and determination as much as assistance from others that made it possible to escape from slavery. Yet the various propaganda uses which abolitionists made of the fugitive issue tended to call attention to their

24. Harper Twelvetrees, ed., *The Story of the Life of John Anderson, the Fugitive Slave* (London, 1863); L. A. Chamerovzow, ed., *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England* (London, 1855), 138-52; Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada* (Boston, 1856), 314-20, 337.

25. *Daily Union,* Sept. 7, 1846, Feb. 19, 1847; *Daily Intelligencer,* May 23, 24, Oct. 4, 1854; *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), Feb. 24, June 2, 1855.

26. *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* June 19, 1851.

own part in the escape drama. Defenders of slavery attempted to deal with what they believed was an actual threat to their property interests and with the propaganda attack of the abolitionists. From time to time Missourians organized anti-abolition societies to take measures to protect slave property from abolitionist interference. Meetings of such societies sometimes encouraged vigilante action against individuals suspected of aiding slaves to escape. One, in Lewis County in 1843, demanded that several alleged abolitionists leave the county within four days or face punishment of fifty lashes or hanging. The same meeting recommended that one Illinois abolitionist be brought to Missouri for each slave they helped to escape. In 1846 a St. Louis meeting organized a committee to ferret out "the secret agents of the abolitionists," and passed resolutions demanding severe restrictions on the movement and activity of free Negroes in the state. An 1853 meeting in Howard County demanded that the practice of slave hiring cease and that all free Negroes be required to leave the county.[27]

Some of the proslavery response to alleged abolitionist interference with slavery was entirely on the verbal level. In 1846 the St. Louis *Daily Union* published an item headed "Fruits of Abolitionism" which argued that the insecurity of slave property, which resulted from "the machinations of the abolitionists," forced many slave owners to sell their chattels rather than lose them without compensation. Though the abolitionists held southern slavery in horror, the paper commented, "Their fanaticism is driving heretofore kind masters to risk the future comfort of their negroes by selling them to strangers." In 1854 some Missourians supported a proposed treaty with Great Britain which would provide for the return of fugitive slaves from Canada. One editor was convinced that such a treaty would end underground railroad activity by compelling the Negroes to stop in the northern states. "The Yankees will not risk to turn

27. *New Era,* Dec. 12, 1843; *Daily Union,* Nov. 14, 1846; *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Nov. 26, 1853, quoting the *Missouri Republican.*

their States into colonies of Mulattoes," commented the editor. "They will therefore do their share to keep the negroes South when Yankeeland shall be no longer a mere resting-place, but the permanent abode for every colored man that crosses its philanthropic borders."[28]

Neither the formation of southern anti-abolition committees nor newspaper attacks on the reformers indicates the extent of underground railroad activity in Illinois or neighboring states. Some Missourians denied that there was any great loss to slaveholders as a result of abolitionist interference. In 1859 a St. Louis newspaper commented, "Occasionally, the Old John Brownites get on the underground road and run off a few slaves to Canada, and the Black Republicans assist them in doing it, but the number is not so great as to materially help that party in their labor of love, in ridding Missouri of slavery." Shortly afterward the same newspaper published assessors' returns for 1858 and 1859 to show how groundless the charges were that northern counties of the state were rapidly losing their slave population. The returns indicated that the border areas had not "lost any considerable number" of slaves, and that the total slave population of those counties had actually increased.[29]

Illinois abolitionists usually answered statements made about them in the Missouri press and commented on proslavery activity as well. While they delighted, at times, in boasting of their participation in successful slave escapes, they also denied that they had any organized system for transporting fugitives from the South. In 1843 the editor of the *Western Citizen* noted that proslavery spokesmen accused abolitionists of having a complete organization which induced slaves to run away, and then helped them on their way to Canada. "Now we would assure all who entertain such opinions," commented the editor, "that they labor under a great mistake. There is no organization whose object

28. *Daily Union,* Oct. 27, 1846; *Daily Intelligencer,* Sept. 15, 1854.

29. *Louisville Daily Courier,* Nov. 18, 1859, quoting the *Missouri Republican*; *Missouri Republican,* Nov. 18, 1859.

is to induce the slaves to escape." He admitted, however, that he and others made it a matter of principle to aid any who happened to come by in need of assistance and continued at great length to justify such assistance. At another time the editor accused professional slave catchers of inducing slaves to run away, telling them of routes and abolitionists, then following them to bring them back for a reward. Like their southern counterparts, the abolitionists often documented such generalizations with a single example which had come to their attention.[30]

A partial answer to abolitionist activity was the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, but it was also much more than that. The law, an amendment to an earlier one of 1793, was a vital part of the sectional Compromise of 1850. Southern spokesmen insisted upon it more for the constitutional guarantee which it appeared to give them than for the relatively few fugitive slaves who might be returned under its provisions.[31] It was the single major concession to the South included in the Compromise, and its enforcement in good faith was viewed as a test of northern sincerity in preserving the Union.

Southerners viewed every abolitionist attack upon the Fugitive Slave Law with grave concern. Shortly after Congress passed the law a St. Louis newspaper commented that the "test of the Union's permanency is fairly presented to the North in the fugitive slave law." If the free states lacked the moral power to maintain the law, and the general government had not the moral and physical power to enforce it, the southern states would be compelled to defend their

30. *Western Citizen,* Dec. 28, 1843, Aug. 24, 1847.

31. When Samuel May, Jr., a Garrisonian abolitionist, listed what he called the victims of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, he found that only eight fugitive slaves had been legally returned to slavery from Illinois in the years 1850 to 1860. Several others had been rescued or had escaped after being arrested, and more had been returned by kidnapping, without any legal process. Two groups of abolitionist rescuers were prosecuted in Chicago in 1860, involving a total of fifteen defendants. Samuel May, Jr., *The Fugitive Slave Law and Its Victims* (*Anti-Slavery Tracts,* n.s., No. 15 [revised and enlarged edition], New York, 1861).

rights, take leave of their northern brethren and "dissolve all connection with the Union." The next year Missouri's Governor Austin A. King echoed similar sentiments in remarks before the state legislature. "In insisting upon the rigid execution of that law," he said, ". . . the people of the slaveholding States assert only a plain constitutional right, guaranteed to them when they entered the Union, and of which they cannot be deprived as long as the Constitution and Union stand."[32]

In Illinois the majority of residents accepted the Compromise, in principle at least, even though many of them resented the Fugitive Slave Law itself. Stephen A. Douglas and other political leaders spoke frequently and convincingly throughout the state, pointing out the grave crisis through which the Union had passed and the importance of the Compromise in preventing disruption and possible civil war. However, after 1854, with the furor over the proposed Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the question of extending slavery into the new territories, the already unpopular law became a symbol of southern aggression and virtually unenforceable in the northern states. By 1859 the fugitive issue was a heated one in politics, and that year the attempted rendition of a fugitive slave in Ottawa and the ensuing rescue provided an effective issue for the Republicans, enabling them to win a victory in a district which was generally safe for the Democrats.[33]

To the abolitionists, the Fugitive Slave Law was without parallel as an issue for reaching others outside their ranks. They held countless meetings, passed numerous resolutions, and printed and distributed pamphlets and sermons denouncing the law. A meeting in Somonauk, Illinois, resolved to "agitate! agitate!! back petition by petition, till

32. *Intelligencer,* Oct. 26, 1850; *Daily Union,* Jan. 4, 1851.

33. Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (*The Centennial History of Illinois,* III, Springfield, 1919), 72-74, 182-83, 218-29. One of the rescuers was John Hossack, who, with several others, was indicted by a federal grand jury, tried, found guilty, and given a short jail sentence and fine.

this infamous law is repealed." A group in Eden announced that its members would refuse to vote for anyone who had voted for the law or who had refused to take a stand against it. Several incidents involving rescues of alleged fugitives and prosecutions for violating the law provided ample material for the abolitionist propagandists. As the sectional rift deepened, the abolition attack on the harsh and unpopular statute helped to convince many in Illinois and other states that the South was making unreasonable and immoral demands on their people, demands that included returning the slaves whom their masters could not keep in bondage except by brute force.[34]

Much of Illinois' underground railroad tradition rests on exciting events connected with the Fugitive Slave Law. It was in the years after the Civil War, however, that the tradition became firmly entrenched in the minds of Americans. It was in those years that former abolitionists, whose once unpopular cause had been fully vindicated, recalled the stirring events of the underground epoch for newspapers, writers of local history, and admiring relatives. The underground railroad material which found its way into local history and legend repeated the abolitionists' version of the institution. It was a thrilling story replete with narrow escapes, secret operations, numerous clever hiding places, and a flood of helpless refugees from southern bondage. The abolitionist conductors were the heroes; those unsympathetic to their cause, the villains; and the fugitives, only grateful passengers.[35]

The story of the underground railroad as recounted in the years after the events transpired is often told in gener-

34. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War,* 70-71; *National Era* (Washington, D.C.), Nov. 21, 1850, Jan. 23, 1851.

35. Examples of local traditional material concerning Illinois underground railroad activities can be found in Emma Julia Scott, *The Underground Railroad* (prepared for the Woodford County Historical Society and read at the society's annual picnic on the Freese farm, Aug. 30, 1934); Nehemiah Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Princeton, Ill., 1872), 360-70.

alities, with a minimum of concrete information. One or two incidents sometimes provide the basis for a widespread and often-repeated legend, and it is rare that such accounts are adequately documented. Some of the stories came from garrulous old men who delighted in repeating the tales of their contribution to the antislavery cause. One investigator who made a determined effort to track down some concrete underground railroad material relating to the area around Jerseyville, Illinois, reported that when he first talked with the elderly abolitionists, he was led to believe he would get a great deal of information. "I find," he lamented, "that while they will talk very volubly and at great length what they say, when boiled down so as to get what they *know* shows but little on paper."[36]

Professor Wilbur H. Siebert's correspondence in the 1890's with numerous Illinois abolitionists revealed a great variety of impressions which those people had of the underground railroad. When asked as precise a question as the dates of its greatest activity, Siebert's correspondents gave many different answers. One thought it was the years 1854 to 1858; another, 1840 to 1848; and a third, "from 1850 perhaps before until the emancipation."[37] The inability of the abolitionists to agree on so specific and unemotional an aspect of the road's history underscores the need for great caution in using such reminiscent material as a historical source.

The local reputation that certain well-known persons acquired for underground railroad service could also be deceptive. One of Jacksonville's most famous inhabitants, Jonathan B. Turner, provides a case in point. In 1896 several people from Illinois called Professor Siebert's attention to Turner's work on the underground railroad, and one referred to him as "a station agent." Turner's daughter later described her father as a "member of the Underground Railroad," though "not very zealous in its work," and the

36. D. J. Murphy to Wilbur H. Siebert, May 7, 1896, Siebert Papers.

37. Letters to Siebert from J. D. Huey, March 7, 1896, Harnet H. Blair, Jan. 28, 1896, and H. L. Hossack, Jr., Feb. 20, 1896, all in the Siebert Papers.

historian of Illinois College wrote that Turner had taken "a very prominent part in the activity of the Underground Railway in Jacksonville."[38]

As a matter of fact, however, Turner's reputation resulted entirely from a single incident. In 1846 he had helped protect three women fugitives from their pursuers. He escorted the slaves to the home of a proslavery Presbyterian elder who temporarily abandoned his abstract principles and hid them safely for two weeks. Then another abolitionist transported them to Farmington. In recalling the incident Turner commented, "and this is all I ever knew about the Underground Railway, or its stations."[39]

The contrast between Jonathan B. Turner's fame as an underground railroad conductor and his own statements concerning that activity further emphasizes the need for caution when dealing with traditional material. Far too much of the published history of the Illinois underground railroad has no other basis than oral tradition or local legend; it disregards the subtleties of a complex situation. In the period since the war the subtleties have disappeared and history has been modified. The underground railroad has assumed a larger importance than it had during its period of operation, and much that was merely talk of action has been accepted as proof of activity. The significant deeds and courageous acts of the Negroes who made the break from slavery have largely been overlooked. The aid that abolitionists provided has assumed a more formal and highly organized appearance than it actually had. On this score, the term underground railroad is in itself somewhat misleading.

Nevertheless, the scholarly revision presents only a modification of the familiar. The tradition exaggerates and over-

38. J. S. True to Siebert, Jan. 27, 1896, Julius F. Pratt to Siebert, Jan. 27, 1896, both in the Siebert Papers; Mrs. Mary Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* ([Jacksonville, Ill.], 1911), 52; Charles Henry Rammelkamp, *Illinois College: A Centennial History, 1829-1929* (New Haven, Conn., 1928), 106.

39. Jonathan B. Turner to Siebert, March 6, 1896, Siebert Papers.

simplifies a history which had a basis in fact. The historical picture, however, is still incomplete. Many local legends await a careful examination of the contemporary sources upon which they rest. In 1896 an elderly resident of Maple Grove answered Professor Siebert's inquiry in a way which neatly but ungrammatically summed up the vagaries of Illinois underground railroad tradition: "We have herd the Underground Railrode Spoken of in my younger days but thought it was only Campaign buncom but do not know that it raily ever existed herd a goodeal said about it before the war when there was lots of hard things said about those who were engaged in helping Negroes to escape from their masters. While thare were slaves smugled through this county, we do not [know] of any underground Rail Rode as a matter of fact."[40]

40. W. A. Shelby to Siebert, Jan. 9, 1896, Siebert Papers.

VICTOR HICKEN

The Record of Illinois' Negro Soldiers in the Civil War

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THOUGH IT is easy to understand the total role of the Negro soldier in the Civil War, it is difficult to determine the exact time at which that role began. This problem exists for a number of reasons. Many Union Army regiments allowed escaping Negro slaves to accompany them, with the result that, later, many of these onetime slaves actually served as soldiers. Then, too, many light-skinned Negroes in the North refused to wait for official permission to volunteer for the army but joined the ranks by passing as white. Lastly, in more than one northern city in 1861, free Negroes formed irregular militia units and offered their services to the authorities. In every one of these instances Negroes were armed or performed the duties of soldiers, albeit unofficially.

In 1862, however, with growing pressure from abolitionists in the North both to free and to arm the Negro, the first real attempts were made to form Negro regiments. General David Hunter, in South Carolina, commenced gathering Negro contraband slaves to serve as soldiers in May, and in

late August, General Ben Butler began the organization of the Louisiana Native Guards (Corps d'Afrique). Butler continued to raise such battalions through the remainder of the year. By the end of 1862 Negro soldiers had fought in places as far apart as Florida and Missouri, and had fought well.

After the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, the President placed executive force behind the move to bring the American Negro actively into the war by calling for four Negro regiments. Various eastern states soon organized their own Negro regiments, and certain of these fighting units ultimately became quite famous, particularly the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Colored Infantry – misnamed in a sense, for its troops came from practically all of the states, including Illinois.[1]

On March 31, 1863, General Henry Halleck, acting under instructions of the Secretary of War, ordered General U.S. Grant to commence the training and conscription of Negro regiments in the Mississippi Valley. In order to speed that action, General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General of the United States Army and a great advocate of the organization of Negro regiments, was sent to confer with certain western governors and to make speeches to troops on the subject. His speeches were not always met favorably by white soldiers, not so much because they disapproved of the move in favor of Negroes but because Thomas presented the case poorly. Meanwhile, Grant's troops began grand sweeps through the southern countryside to pick up contraband slaves for conscription into the army. In July, 1863, for instance, the Ninety-second Illinois Mounted Infantry left

1. Mark M. Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York, 1959), 584-85; Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx: A History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States* (Hartford, Conn., 1888), 176-80; Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War: A Woman's Narrative of Four Years Personal Experience as Nurse in the Union Army . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1889), 599-600; William Eliot Furness, "The Negro as a Soldier," *Military Essays and Recollections: Papers Read before the Commandery of the State of Illinois, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (Chicago, 1894), II: 459, 461.

its base in Mississippi and scoured through a hostile area for four days. The raid was a considerable success, some eight hundred Negroes returning with the regiment. These newly freed Americans were mustered in as a regiment within a few days.[2]

By the fall of 1863 Negro regiments had been involved in military combat throughout the war area – in no battles of major importance but all bitter and hard fought. Though not the first such conflict, the fight at Milliken's Bend, Mississippi, on June 7, 1863, was a real portent of things to come for the patriotic Negro soldier. There, a fragment of Walker's division of the Confederate Army (2,500 in number) attacked 1,061 Union troops, consisting of the Louisiana Eleventh Colored Infantry, the Mississippi First Colored Infantry and First Heavy Artillery, the Twenty-third Iowa, and the Tenth Illinois Cavalry. The attacking Confederate soldiers were angry and resentful at seeing former slaves in the Union uniform, and their resentment was intensified when the Negro soldiers handled themselves with courage and purpose. A colonel of the Thirty-seventh Illinois Infantry who watched a review of these Negro soldiers a few days later could not help remarking about the seeming pride of the Negro troops and the "soldierly appearance" they presented. "How humiliating [to the South] and how convincing a proof of the wisdom of the administration," he added. As the *Chicago Tribune* phrased it: "The question is no longer debatable. . . . The negro will fight – for his liberty, for his place among men, for his right to develop himself in whatsoever direction he chooses." "Colored soldiers do not fight better than white men, but they fight

2. Furness, "The Negro as a Soldier," 466-67; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 156-57; R. L. Howard, *History of the 124th Regiment Illinois Infantry Volunteers . . .*, 65; Edmund Newsome, *Experience in the War of the Great Rebellion by a Soldier of the Eighty-first Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Carbondale, Ill., 1880), 37-38; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois . . . 1861-66* (rev. ed., 8 vols., Springfield, Ill., 1900-1901), V: 359.

better than Rebellious Texans," added the *Quincy Whig*.[3]

On July 18, 1863, Colonel Robert G. Shaw led his Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Colored Infantry in a courageous but ill-advised attack upon Fort Wagner in South Carolina. Not only was Shaw killed but the regiment suffered 25 per cent casualties, many of them Negro soldiers who had volunteered for service from Illinois. Shaw's death was a touching one. He came from a fine old Massachusetts family, and had volunteered for service with a Negro regiment because of his firm belief in the correctness of abolition. After the battle, when his family sent a request to Confederate authorities for his body, the reply from the Southern officer in charge was, "We have buried him with his niggers!" This remark led to the writing of a poem about Shaw and his men, sometimes chanted or sung by the men of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts:

"They buried him with his niggers!"
Together they fought and died.
There was room for them all where they laid him.
(The grave was deep and wide.)[4]

As the war progressed, the reputation of the Negro soldier as a fighting man began to grow. White soldiers, either serving in the same brigades or as officers of Negro regiments, took careful note of the qualities of the men in these new military organizations. The Negro soldier took great pains in drill, and was proud of the appearance of his clothes, the cleanliness of his living quarters, and the working qualities of his musket. "I never saw a finer military display on a small scale," wrote one newspaper correspondent, after viewing a parade by a Negro regiment. "The drill was perfect. At the order, a thousand muskets came to a thousand shoulders with a single movement, or the butts struck the ground with one sound along the whole line." Others wrote that

3. Col. J. C. Black to his parents, June 11, 1863, Black Papers, Illinois State Historical Library; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 6, 1863; *Quincy Daily Whig and Republican*, Sept. 12, 1863.

4. Wilson, *Black Phalanx*, 256.

the Negro soldier always seemed to endure the hardships of camp life and the long marches with "cheerful patience." Their regiments had few stragglers. The greatest handicap of these new soldiers, it is generally agreed, was their unwillingness to work amicably with the non-commissioned officers of their own race. One might add, however, that this characteristic seems to be common to private soldiers of all races. After little more than a year in service the Negro had become a fine fighting man by the fall of 1863, and it is not difficult to understand the reply of a white colonel of a besieged Negro brigade who answered a Confederate request to surrender with these words: "I don't *scare* worth a *damn*. We are ready for you."[5]

It is impossible to name the first Negro soldier from Illinois since light-skinned Negroes had volunteered and served as soldiers in white regiments from the first days of the war. It is entirely probable that in some instances these men were allowed to serve in the army with the full knowledge of their white comrades. H. Ford Douglass of Chicago, for example, was accepted without question in the Ninety-fifth Illinois Volunteers, Company G; he later became a captain of an Indiana company attached to the Eighth Louisiana Colored Infantry. Other Illinois regiments in the South picked up Negro contraband slaves and sometimes furtively, sometimes openly, added them to the regimental muster rolls. One of these, that of the Twelfth Illinois, listed a number of "Unassigned Recruits of African Descent," who were added to the regiment in 1864 and served as teamsters and cooks. The Eleventh Illinois had on its muster roll a large number of so-called "under-cooks." Though not named as such, these men were undoubtedly Negroes the regiment had added to its rolls during its wanderings. Some of these men seem to have transferred from regiment to regiment without

5. Furness, "The Negro as a Soldier," 468; J. T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford, Conn., 1866), 253-54; Fred A. Shannon, *The Civil War Letters of Sergeant Onley Andrus* (Urbana, Ill., 1947), 58 (Shannon gives no source of the quotation).

difficulty – a further indication of the likelihood that they were southern Negroes, only casually attached to the unit. Some Illinois regiments, however, assumed responsibility for these Negro recruits and took them back to the state after the war and provided homes for them. In one instance, the Negro under-cook was the outstanding hero of the regiment and its most popular soldier. During the siege of Vicksburg this same heroic man could be constantly seen on the battlefield carrying coffee and food to men under fire in the advanced trenches.[6]

Officially, Illinois supplied 1,811 Negro soldiers during the war. This figure comes from the tabulation of all those Illinois Negroes who were organized into United States infantry, cavalry, or artillery units, and credited to the state of Illinois, but is probably an understatement since it does not include irregular recruits like those described above.

The most important Negro military organization credited to Illinois was the renowned Twenty-ninth United States Colored Infantry, which listed all of its soldiers as coming from this state.[7] The background of the Twenty-ninth is interesting but not unusual. On September 24, 1863, the War Department authorized Governor Richard Yates of Illinois to raise "one regiment infantry" to consist of Negroes from his state. Though entirely sympathetic to the cause of the Negro, and one of the first to advocate the use of Negro soldiers, Yates responded slowly to the authorization, mainly because of the bitter "Copperhead" opposition within the state. Finally, on October 26, he issued General Order No. 44, which laid out the principles upon which the regiment would be organized. Soon after, recruiting officers began

6. Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm* (New York, 1956), 215-16. Cornish lists Douglass's later duty as with a Negro battery from Kansas, which is in disagreement with the *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois,* V: 424. On the Negro recruits see the *Report of the Adjutant General,* I: 517, 530, 572-73. See also Ira Blanchard, "Recollections of Civil War Service with the 20th Illinois Infantry, Co. H." (typed MSS, Illinois State Historical Library), 49-50.

7. William Fox, *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War* (Albany, N.Y., 1889), 532.

the task of persuading Illinois Negroes to join the colors.[8]

The pressure to fill the Twenty-ninth U.S. to capacity, as well as to add Illinois Negroes to other U.S. regiments, grew in intensity throughout the fall of 1863 and the early months of 1864. Many Illinois newspapers ran articles encouraging Negro enlistment, but this editorial support for Negro troops did not arise entirely from noble motives. Many people, including the Governor, saw the Negro recruit as a means of avoiding the embarrassing necessity of a draft. Early in January of 1864 the *Chicago Tribune* pointed out that the Twenty-ninth U.S. ought to be filled quickly lest the "impending draft" be allowed to take place, and a few weeks later it urged all "benevolent patriotic citizens" of Chicago to raise money for bonuses to Negro soldiers who enlisted in the regiment.[9]

But after the initial enlistment rush the Twenty-ninth continued to have difficulty in filling its ranks. Many circumstances contributed to the slowdown. Governor Yates saw one reason for the lag in the low pay for Negro soldiers, who could earn more money by staying out of the army and working at home.[10] In this respect Yates was correct, for the Negro private was given only ten dollars a month, three of which was often subtracted by the paymaster for the cost of clothing; white soldiers serving alongside Negroes were paid thirteen dollars and allowed to buy their own clothing.

There were other, and deeper, reasons, however, for the reluctance of Illinois Negroes to enlist. Though some Negroes received bounties of $500 for volunteering, most were given bounties amounting to much less, sometimes as low as $100 — this despite the fact that recruiting agents were authorized to pay far larger bounties. The truth was that the recruiting agents attempted to take advantage of the

8. *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 31, 1863; George Williams, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (New York, 1887), 133.
9. *Quincy Herald,* Nov. 30, 1863; *Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 3, 13, 1864.
10. *Official Records,* Ser. III, Vol. III, p. 865; *Quincy Herald,* Dec. 8, 1863.

Negro enlistee by giving him the lowest possible bounty and pocketing the difference allowed by the War Department for each recruit. Although the Negro may have been quiet and unobtrusive – as many honest and sincere white soldiers who served alongside Negro troops were quick to point out – he was not stupid. He could hardly be expected to volunteer in the face of this sort of injustice.[11]

Not the least of the reasons for the poor rate of enlistment in the Twenty-ninth was discrimination – discrimination by white soldiers serving in the same uniform, discrimination and cruelty of Confederate soldiers who sometimes captured Negro soldiers, and occasional discrimination by other members of the Negro race. Neither was the outright antipathy of many of the people of Illinois calculated to speed the Negro to the enlistment booths. One white citizen from Fulton County urged his nephew in the Sixteenth Illinois at Vicksburg to "take a fool's advice and come home" even if he had to desert. The whole Northwest, he continued, was ready to kill off the abolitionists now that Negro regiments were being raised. A citizen of St. Albans, Illinois, wrote the members of the Tenth Illinois Cavalry that he hoped they were proud of their "black uncle Abe." "I hope you and the rest of your whole damned Black army will go to Hell the short way," he concluded. One New York newspaperman wrote sarcastically: "We must advance to that inevitable goal when we shall meet him [the Negro] as an officer, a general, a ruler." An Illinois newspaper, bemoaning the rush of white soldiers to volunteer for commands in Negro regiments, proclaimed: "Colonel Chetlain of Illinois will have command of a negro brigade! Oh shame! that Illinois has a son so degenerate."[12]

11. Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 133-34, 138; *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 10, 1862. The *Tribune* was a consistent advocate of higher pay for Negro volunteers.

12. *Macomb* (Ill.) *Journal,* April 3, Mar. 20, 1863; *Macomb* (Ill.) *Eagle,* May 28, 1864 (quoting the *New York Independent* of Jan. 2, 1864). According to Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 129, Negro soldiers of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts were refused haircuts by civilian Negro barbers. The Colonel Chetlain referred to was Augustus L. Chetlain of Galena, Ill.

Copperhead newspapers throughout the state kept up the drumbeat about what they claimed were the dubious qualities of Negro soldiers. One paper charged that the men of one white cavalry regiment were threatened with whippings if they continued to protest against serving with Negro soldiers. These papers made a point of playing up stories of the massacre of Negro prisoners by Confederates, whether true or untrue. One obviously untrue report that received wide circulation in Copperhead newspapers was that an entire regiment of Negro soldiers along with their white officers had been hanged by Confederate General John Marmaduke. All Copperhead newspapers in Illinois continuously printed stories of the killing of southern whites and the raping of white women by Negro soldiers. Few of these stories had foundation, however. As General C.B. Fisk, later a member of the Freedmen's Bureau, pointed out after investigating many of them: "A colored man hunting squirrels was magnified into a thousand vicious negroes marching upon their old masters with bloody intent."[13]

Still, the stories had some effect not only upon the enlistment of Illinois Negroes in the Twenty-ninth U.S. but upon the actions of some Illinois white soldiers who might be expected to serve alongside them. "The arming of the Niggers has in effect raised the *Black flag*," wrote a sergeant of the Ninety-fifth Illinois. When Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas spoke to General John A. Logan's Third Division, Seventeenth Corps, many of whose soldiers came from southern Illinois, he was greeted with hisses and groans when he urged the arming of Negroes. But when Logan followed with a statement that the war could thereby be shortened, the hissing quickly changed to applause. Some men deserted from other Illinois white regiments after the decision to

13. *Macomb Eagle,* July 18, June 6, Sept. 12, 1863. John Sappington Marmaduke, educated at Harvard, Yale, and West Point, had a tendency toward violence and was always being accused of atrocities; the *Chicago Tribune,* Nov. 17, 1863, charged him with burning his own wounded. Fisk is quoted in Trowbridge, *The South,* 375.

recruit Negro regiments. The 109th Illinois was, for a time, placed under regimental arrest for threatening treason; the discontent in the unit was due largely to the Emancipation Proclamation and the arming of Negroes. The 128th Illinois was eventually disbanded in April, 1863, because of desertion by virtually the whole regiment, and the "utter want of discipline in it."[14]

Yet most white soldiers from the state were quite willing to accept the Negro as a compatriot. The instances of desertion were plentiful, of course; but more impressive were the instances of white soldiers faithful to the cause of the Union who later came to accept freedom of the Negro as the larger object of the war. "What do you think of the 'Negro Regiment Bill'?" inquired a soldier of the Seventh Illinois Infantry. "Some of the soldiers make some few trivial objections but as a general rule most all say that if a negro can stop an enemy's ball, why let him go and do it." One southern Illinois regiment, the Eighty-first, was at first bitterly opposed to the use of Negroes in any way, even as cooks, but soon became convinced of the "propriety" of using them as soldiers. An officer of the 123rd Illinois, on hearing of Copperhead opposition to the raising of Negro soldiers in Illinois, proclaimed bitterly: "Can't they [the citizens of Illinois] see, without conventions or proclamations, that it is an abolition war?" Early in 1863 another white soldier, noted that the Negro might be able to discern the real purpose of the war – the abolition of slavery – sooner than most whites. He wrote: "For my part I would like to see all the negroes we could raise armed and put under military dis-

14. Sgt. Onley Andrus to wife, June 28, 1864, Shannon, *Andrus Letters,* 87; R. L. Howard, *History of the 124th Regiment, Illinois Infantry Volunteers* (Springfield, Ill., 1880), 65, 66; Fritz Haskell, ed., "Diary of Colonel William Camm, 1861 to 1865," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XVIII (Jan., 1926): 931; *Report of the Adjutant General,* VI: 532. The *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield, in the issues of Jan. 12, 13, 15, and 28, 1863, reports on other regiments having desertion problems. The comment by Sergeant Andrus, Ninety-fifth Illinois, concerning the "*Black flag*" is amusing, inasmuch as one of his comrades, H. Ford Douglass of Company G, was a Negro – and he obviously did not know it.

cipline. . . . I think if a negro could save their lives [the lives of whites] by sacrificing theirs they [the whites] would be willing."[15]

Another reason Illinois Negroes were slow to enlist was their knowledge of the cruel treatment they could expect to receive if captured by Confederate troops. At Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson, and notoriously at Fort Pillow, Negro soldiers had been given "no quarter" by the enemy, and were killed when captured. In other instances, when taken alive, they were forced to build Confederate entrenchments under Union fire, a practice which stopped only when General Butler, with General Grant's permission, ordered that captured Confederates be given the same treatment. The Twenty-ninth U.S. Colored Infantry was a fighting regiment, and some of its soldiers were taken prisoner. A study of the muster rolls of the regiment shows that most of these men died while in prison, which indicates poor food and harsh treatment. The risk of all of this was a lot to ask of a man who was to receive only ten dollars a month.[16]

Yet, slowly the companies of the Twenty-ninth U.S. were filled. Company A, raised in the Quincy area, was filled rather quickly in November, 1863, although some members enlisted as late as February of the following year. Company B, raised in the Chicago area, was filled in the late months of 1863 and the early part of 1864. The remaining companies, up to and including Company K, were composed of men mustered in from all over the state, including the southernmost counties of "Egypt." As they were filled, the com-

15. David Givler to a friend, Feb. 14, 1863, "Intimate Glimpses of Army Life during the Civil War: Autobiography, Diaries, Letters, of David B. Givler, Company C, 7th Illinois Infantry . . ." (typewritten MS, Illinois State Historical Library), 101; Newsome, *Experience in the War of the Great Rebellion,* 11; Paul Angle, ed., *Three Years in the Army of the Cumberland: The Letters and Diary of Major James A. Connolly* (Bloomington, Ind., 1959), 146; Ira Payne to his parents, Feb. 27, 1863, Payne Letters, Illinois State Historical Library.

16. Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 178. There is little doubt that atrocities were committed in the attack upon Fort Pillow by the Confederate cavalry division of Gen. James R. Chalmers; see Williams, *History of Negro Troops,* 257-72.

panies were sent to Quincy for supply and training. The *Quincy Herald* reported at the end of January, 1864, that there were then over five hundred men in the Quincy camp. The paper also pointed out that it was extremely difficult to acquire enough shoes of the proper size for the men there, adding that their feet were big enough to "trample on the rights of the South."[17]

Non-commissioned officers of the Twenty-ninth were drawn from the ranks and were therefore Negro. Officers, following the regulations and custom of the time, were white. When President Lincoln first gave official sanction for the organization of Negro volunteer regiments, the War Department quickly set up procedures by which white officers for Negro regiments could be procured. Within the War Department a Bureau for Colored Troops was established, and it, in turn, organized boards for the selection of officers. In the very beginning it appeared as if it would not be easy to acquire able officers since there was some stigma attached to serving as an officer with Negroes. But, as one Negro historian put it: "Ambition, as ambition will, smothered many a white man's prejudice and caused more than one West Pointer to forget his political education." Soon there was a veritable flood of applications for commissions, sent both to state governors and to the Bureau for Colored Troops. According to the *Chicago Tribune,* only eighty-four officers were chosen out of the first 118 applicants. Most of those eventually chosen were, like Colonel Robert Shaw of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, sincere and earnest men who were willing to die with their troops. Some, however, were illiterate, self-seeking, and cruel men, desirous of getting such commissions only as a step upward in their careers. Unfortunately, these few, who included such men as Captain Milton S. Littlefield, the "Prince of Carpetbaggers," in some perverse way gained the public notice their more worthy colleagues deserved.[18]

17. *Quincy Herald,* Jan. 28, 1864.
18. Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 208; Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 125; *Chicago Trib-*

The Twenty-ninth U.S. was assigned particularly fine officers — especially in the lower ranks. The colonel of the regiment was Clark E. Royce, about whom very little is known, except that he does not seem to have been an active field officer. Second in command was Lieutenant Colonel John A. Bross, about whom there was some doubt in the beginning. "Who is Col. Bross?" one minor politician asked in 1863. "Is he some political hack manufactured for the occasion or is he a '*man*' who has been doing yeoman's service in the army[?]" Proof that Bross was a man came about a year later, when he lost his life leading a valiant charge against Lee's army in the Petersburg redoubt. Other officers of the Twenty-ninth seem to have been chosen by the yardstick of courage, for five of them were to be killed or wounded in battle before the regiment was mustered out.[19]

On entering U.S. service the regiment became part of the Fourth Division of the Ninth Corps. That division was the first Negro division to serve with the Army of the Potomac, and it was under the command of General Edward Ferrero. As members of the Ninth Corps these new troops were entitled to wear the emblem of the shield crossed by an anchor and cannon. During most of its service the Twenty-ninth was with the Ninth Corps (which was white except for the Fourth Division). Race relationships were extremely good and the treatment of Negro soldiers "was tempered by humanity, and pregnant with a fraternal feeling of comradeship."[20]

The regiment was officially sworn into U.S. service in Washington, D.C., on April 24, 1864. The following day the soldiers of the Twenty-ninth U.S., along with other units of the Ninth Corps, marched down Fourteenth Street in Washington, en route to board the train which would take

une, July 9, 1863. For a study of Littlefield, who came from Jerseyville, Ill., see Jonathan Daniels's *Prince of Carpetbaggers* (New York, 1958).

19. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 777-805; William Strawn to Jonathan B. Turner, Nov. 18, 1863, Yates MSS, Illinois State Historical Library.

20. Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 412.

them to the front. It was during this parade that President Lincoln, standing on a balcony at Willard's Hotel, reviewed the troops. The Negro regiments that composed the Fourth Division were the first Negro troops he had ever reviewed. He was well pleased with the new Negro soldiers, and they were pleased with their "benefactor." The faces of the soldiers took on an appearance of awe and pride as they passed the man about whom they refused to hear anything but good. The moment was a magical one, indeed mystical. The Negro soldiers raised their hats and shouted, "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Massa Linkun! Three cheers for the President!"[21]

On May 6 the Twenty-ninth U.S., with Ferrero's Fourth Division, joined the Union Army in Virginia. There the division was temporarily detached to the Sixth Corps, commanded by General John Sedgwick, and it was given the task of protecting the supply trains to the rear of the grand Union assault upon Lee's army. Almost immediately the Twenty-ninth found itself in action, for on the night of the sixth the Confederates launched an attack on the trains, an assault which the untried troops vigorously threw back. As Grant moved the main army in the direction of Spottsylvania, the task of the Twenty-ninth became even more difficult, for the lifeblood of the whole Union Army flowed through the supply lines to the rear. The protection of those lines was the responsibility of the Twenty-ninth U.S. – the Negro regiment from Illinois.[22]

On June 18 the Fourth Division was detached from Sedgwick's command and returned to the Ninth Corps. With the Army of the Potomac moving rapidly now, the Twenty-ninth, having acquired a reputation for courage and efficiency, found itself marching in long strides to keep pace with Grant's flanking movement to the east. The regiment spent a short time defending a plank road stretching from Todd's

21. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 777-805; Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 382-84.

22. Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 386-87.

Ford to Banks's Ford. Then there was a long march to Salem Church near Fredericksburg, where the regiment threw off another rear attack by units of the Confederate Army. After that came the movement to the North Anna, the crossing of the Pamunkey, and the march by easy stages to Bethesda Church. This was hard soldiering, and the Twenty-ninth did it so well that a "strong feeling of pride and *esprit de corps*" welled up among all the Negro troops attached to the corps. After the regiment reached the second line of trenches to the left of Petersburg – where it was to remain fairly inactive until mid-July – the troops began to chafe with "eager ambition" to get into the kind of real fighting that Negro soldiers were meeting elsewhere. Their wishes, in most ways unfortunately for them, would soon be realized.[23]

As the Petersburg siege came to an impasse which threatened to continue unresolved, Grant began to toy with an idea which had originated in the ranks of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania, a white regiment composed of coal miners. The idea, as proposed to Grant by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Pleasants, commanding officer of the regiment, called for digging a series of galleries underneath the Confederate lines. These would be filled with explosives to be set off at a given time and followed by an assault designed to exploit the hole created in the enemy entrenchments. The digging was started in late June and continued through most of July.[24]

Meanwhile, Grant, who was never completely sold on the project, ordered General Ambrose Burnside, commanding officer of the Ninth Corps, to select and train units of his corps for the assault. Burnside was aware of the poor condition of his white regiments and thoroughly convinced of the reliability of his Fourth Division; he therefore picked General Ferrero's men to lead the assault. Through the days of July the men of the Twenty-ninth, along with their

23. *Ibid.*, 406-8.
24. Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 647-48.

comrades, were drilled on the conditions of the proposed assault.

The private soldiers were not told of the plan, however, until a few days before the attack was scheduled. Their reaction was not unusual. First, there was a strange sense of happiness at having been chosen to lead the attack, but this was quickly followed by a recognition of the enormity of the task ahead. Colonel Henry G. Thomas, commanding officer of the Second Brigade (which included the Twenty-ninth), remembered that his troops tended to gather in small groups after receiving the news. Suddenly, one soldier, followed by others, began to sing: "We-e looks li-ike me-en a-a-marchin' on, we looks li-ike men-er-war." Thomas later wrote that after the attack the men never again sang this particular tune.[25]

The attack was readied; the tunnels were cleared. Only hours away from the assault, a decision was made which altered the destiny of Ferrero's division. General George G. Meade, commanding officer of the Army of the Potomac, reviewed the plans for the attack and insisted that the Negro troops not be allowed to lead the frontal maneuver. Meade thought that Negroes were too untried, too inexperienced, and that using them would be politically inexpedient, for if the plan failed, the Army of the Potomac would be accused of pushing its one Negro division out front to be killed first. But Burnside defended the ability of his Negro regiments and argued vehemently that they were more prepared for the trials of the day than his white regiments, which had been sorely tried by fighting in the previous months. Meade persisted, however, and won the concurrence of Grant. Thus the die was cast; General James H. Ledlie's First Division of the Ninth Corps was chosen to lead the assault. The Fourth Division was scheduled to follow. That Burnside now considered the whole plan as doomed was indicated by his method of assigning the assault leader: he called

25. Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 273-76, 278.

upon the three division heads to draw straws, and Ledlie drew the short straw.[26]

The mine was to be exploded before dawn on the morning of July 30. After more than an hour's delay, caused by the fuse's burning out at a splice, the air was rent with noise:

> In a moment the superincumbent earth, for a space forty by eighty feet, was hurled upward, carrying with it the artillerymen, with their four guns, and three companies of soldiers. As the huge mass fell backwards it buried the startled men under immense clods — tons of dirt. Some of the artillery was thrown forty yards towards the enemy's line.[27]

But once again there was delay. General Ledlie, cowering behind a bombproof shelter, was reluctant to begin the attack. Finally he ordered his brigadiers forward, but he remained behind. By the time the white soldiers got to the crater all organization was lost. Regiment after regiment piled into the crater, unable to move forward, and without leadership. At six o'clock General Meade ordered all troops in the assaulting force forward, both "white and black." Now the Fourth Division went forward, the First Brigade, under Colonel Joshua K. Sigfried, leading. Sigfried's command consisted of the Twenty-seventh, Thirtieth, Thirty-ninth, and Forty-third U.S. Colored Troops. Then came the Second Brigade, Colonel Henry Thomas commanding the Nineteenth, Twenty-third, Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, and Thirty-first U.S. Colored Troops. General Ferrero, the division commander, went no farther than Ledlie's shelter, where, sharing a jug of liquor with Ledlie, he directed Sigfried and Thomas to continue the assault.[28]

Down into the crater went the Negro soldiers, the First Brigade veering to the left, the Second Brigade to the right. Led by Lieutenant Colonel Bross, who carried the colors himself, the Illinois soldiers stormed up the side of the huge

26. *Ibid.;* Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary,* 648-49.

27. Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 415. He quotes the *Philadelphia Times,* Jan., 1883.

28. Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 415-16; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 277.

hole. Bross immediately fell, mortally wounded, but the colors were picked up by a regimental Lieutenant, who was also shot down. The uproar became fantastic. Confederate Alabama regiments, which had fought their way to the lip of the crater and which were now firing down into the milling soldiers, noted that the Negro soldiers "did not all stampede." The Confederates became convinced that the white officers of these Negro regiments must have been chosen on the basis of bravery, and reported that the "black men" fighting with them battled "with desperation." From the Negro soldiers down below came cries of "No quarter," as the opposing forces drew closer together. According to one Confederate account,

> Bayonets, swords and the butts of muskets were used. The deafening roar of artillery and musketry, the yells and imprecations of the combatants, drowned the commands of officers. A negro in the crater attempted to raise a white flag, and it was instantly pulled down by a Federal officer. The Federal colors were planted on a huge lump of dirt, and waved until Sergeant Wallace, of the Eleventh Alabama, followed by others, seized them and tore them from the staff. Instantly a white flag was raised, and the living, who were not many, surrendered. The crater was won.[29]

Thus it was that, at shortly after one o'clock, the Petersburg mine assault came to an end. The Fourth Division casualties were heavier than those of any other division taking part in the attack, with some 1,327 killed, wounded, and missing. The Twenty-ninth U.S., the Illinois regiment, had its share of casualties, losing five officers killed and wounded, and around twenty-one enlisted men killed. Large numbers of all regiments were missing, most of them becoming prisoners.[30]

There was a tendency in the early and unofficial reports of the battle, to place the blame for the failure upon the

29. Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 413-19.

30. Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 273-76. The losses listed for the Twenty-ninth are my own tabulation from the *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 777-805. The reader must note that the losses among the enlisted men of the Twenty-ninth do not include wounded and missing.

inexperienced Negro regiments, but the record of the Negro troops who took part in the assault is one without shame. The Negro soldiers of the Fourth Division had advanced admirably and had broken only when their officers were killed. Furthermore, they were the last to turn and run, retreating after the white soldiers had already left. "We might as well have carried clubs as muskets," one of the soldiers wounded in the battle said as he still lay on the field. The failure of the plan lay not so much in those who were asked to carry it out as in those who did the planning. Meade, who forced Burnside to set aside the original design of the attack, was partially responsible, as was the unenthusiastic Grant who, after the whole affair, placed the blame upon the shoulders of Generals Burnside, Ferrero, and Ledlie.[31]

Having lost all but two officers committed to the attack, the Twenty-ninth U.S. was now faced with the problem of rebuilding the regiment. In August, 1864, units of the regiment were committed to the Deep Bottom Run operation on the north bank of the James River. There they stayed until Union forces were withdrawn on the night of August 20. The brigade recrossed the pontoon bridge over the James, and after reforming on the other side, lighted fires so that a proper count of the regiments could be made. As the light flared up, it could be seen that some companies had the appearance of a "checker-board – alternate black and white men." White soldiers had fallen in with the Negro regiments by mistake. When one company captain was asked to report if his men were all present and accounted for, he replied, "Yes, and about twenty recruits." The whole brigade laughed heartily.[32]

During the late months of 1864 all Negro regiments with

31. The survivor's account appears in a letter to the *Chicago Tribune,* quoted in the *Quincy Daily Whig and Republican,* Aug. 9, 1864; U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1886), II: 313-14. Grant implied that Ledlie was a coward, saying that he possessed "disqualification less common among soldiers."

32. Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 428-34.

the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the James were brigaded into the newly formed Twenty-fifth Corps. The Twenty-ninth Regiment was placed in the Third Brigade, Second Division, commanded by General William Birney. The winter of 1864-1865 found the Illinois soldiers in the trenches near Chafin's Farm and Fort Burnham, as part of the Petersburg siege operation. Once again this was bitter soldiering, with unceasing drill for those behind the trenches and continuous enemy fire upon those in the trenches.

On March 26, just as the spring thaws began, the Twenty-ninth (as a part of Birney's division) was ordered to break camp, and cross the James River. Marching across the pontoon bridge, the regiment moved quickly to Hatcher's Run, a spot which had seen more than one battle during the arduous conflict. There the division bivouacked and dug new breastworks.

Several days later, on March 29, Grant sent General Phil Sheridan with a large cavalry force toward Five Forks, where on April 1 he inflicted a defeat upon Confederate units. This was the beginning of the end of the siege of Petersburg. As the information of Sheridan's great victory at Five Forks reached the Twenty-ninth, all of the troops understood the implication of the news. Lee would necessarily be forced to abandon Petersburg.

Before dawn on April 2 the Twenty-ninth U.S. Regiment, along with the rest of the Second Division, paraded in attack formation. Casings were taken from the regimental flags. "Forward! guide centre! march!" was the command given. The Confederate line was quickly breached, and at the first rays of dawn the brigade moved into the city of the long siege to the tune of "John Brown's Body." Through the streets it marched, and to the outskirts on the other side, where it went into bivouac. The farmer on whose land the regiment rested was shocked beyond belief at seeing Negroes in the blue Federal uniform. Soldiers looking up from their campfires heard him proclaim, as the tears

streamed down his cheeks, "Poor old Virginia! poor old Virginia! that I should have lived to see this day!"

By April 6 the Twenty-ninth had reached Sayler's Creek. Three days later it was at Appomattox. Now the end was near. In one last convulsive struggle Lee made an attempt with cavalry to force the part of the Federal line at which the Twenty-ninth was stationed. But that was all, and soon the surrender came.[33]

For most of their white comrades the war was almost over. This was not so for the Twenty-fifth Corps, however. On May 18 Grant ordered the whole corps to prepare for embarkation to Texas. On May 24 it was at sea, and one month later the troops of the Twenty-ninth Regiment were in their new quarters near Brownsville on the Mexican border. There the regiment stayed until it was mustered out in November, 1865.[34]

Much emphasis has been given here to the activities of the Twenty-ninth U.S. Regiment as an example of the contribution of Illinois Negroes to the Union effort in the Civil War.

There were also Illinois Negro soldiers in twenty-two other United States infantry regiments, and in at least six artillery regiments as well. They all gave of themselves, as did the better-known Twenty-ninth, in the grand effort to establish the principle of freedom.[35]

The total national Negro contribution to the winning of the war is an incalculable one. It is even difficult to arrive at the exact number of Negroes who served in the armed forces of their country during the war years. War Department records place the number at 178,895. Most historians agree, however, that the number was probably higher. One authority sets it at about 220,000, claiming that most Negro regiments followed the practice of filling vacancies in the ranks with contraband slaves. As he put it, if a company

33. *Ibid.*, 455-58.
34. *Ibid.*, 461-62; *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 777-805.
35. *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 806-10.

Cartoon from Harper's Weekly, *April 22, 1865*

on picket line lost a number of men, "the officer would immediately put ten new men in their places and have them answer to the dead men's names."[36]

There was no lack of courage among Negro soldiers. Negro troops participated in at least 449 separate engagements, both large and small, major and minor. The total losses among these soldiers came to 68,178, of which 2,751 were killed in action.

They won their share of Congressional Medals of Honor, too, despite the fact that they were relative latecomers to the fields of battle. Out of thirty-seven Medals of Honor awarded to men serving in the Chafin's Farm area in 1864

36. Fox, *Regimental Losses,* 533; Wilson, *Black Phalanx,* 123; Cornish, *Sable Arm,* 288.

and 1865, fourteen went to members of the thirteen regiments of Negro soldiers.[37]

Losses in the Twenty-ninth U.S. Colored Regiment, though not as high as in certain other Negro units, indicate, without doubt, that it was a fighting regiment. Its losses for the entire war totaled about 158, most of which came in the Petersburg affair. This number *does not* include soldiers who died in Confederate prison camps but does include those who died from disease. Despite the poor pay, the terrible losses at Petersburg, and the extended service in the Texas area, the total number of desertions in this Illinois regiment came to only twenty-one. In a way, these figures prove that the American Negro did indeed understand the implications of fighting for freedom. A cartoon in *Harper's Weekly* of April 22, 1863, portrays two soldiers on crutches, one white, one Negro, facing each other. The white extends his hand and says: "Give me your hand, Comrade! We have each lost a leg for a good cause; but, thank GOD, we never lost HEART." The title of the cartoon is "A Man Knows a Man."[38]

37. Cornish, *Sable Arm*, 265-66, 288. Losses from illness among Negro soldiers were much higher than among white troops.

38. The figures concerning the Twenty-ninth are a result of my own tabulation of the muster roll of the regiment as listed in the *Report of the Adjutant General,* VIII: 777-805. Fox (*Regimental Losses,* 522) states that forty-three enlisted men and three officers were killed in action or died of wounds during the war. Frederick H. Dyer adds to this number 188 lost by disease for a total of 234; see his *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* . . . (Des Moines, Ia., 1908), 1728.

MILES MARK FISHER

Negro Churches in Illinois

A Fragmentary History With Emphasis on Chicago

Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, pastor of White Rock Baptist Church, Durham, North Carolina, is well known as a minister, teacher, and church historian. He received his graduate theological training at the University of Chicago. He is the author of several books, including A Short History of the Baptist Denomination *(1933),* Negro Slave Songs in the United States *(1953), and* The Master's Slave, Elijah John Fisher *(1922). The last-named is a biography of his father, who was a church leader in Chicago at the turn of the century.*

THE CHRISTIANIZATION of transplanted Africans and their descendants parallels Negro Americanization both before and after the Civil War. This story in Illinois begins on a frontier which the United States Congress constituted as the antislavery Northwest Territory in 1787. Thus, in the eighteenth century the new United States was extended to the Mississippi River with a humanitarian program.

By the turn of the century Negroes held in slavery had often demonstrated that they wanted freedom. The proposed slave revolts of Gabriel Prosser (in 1800) and of Denmark Vesey (in 1822) are well known. Nat Turner, a Negro Bible student said by some to have been a Baptist preacher, organized an insurrection that resulted in the deaths of scores of white people in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831, and after that event the number of fugitive slaves increased.[1] It was during that era of unrest that

1. On the slave revolts, see Herbert Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860* (New York, 1939). The history of the Wood

the first associations of Negro Baptists were formed in the antislavery Northwest Territory. The Providence Negro Baptist Anti-Slavery Association of Ohio was organized in 1836, and three years later, on April 29, 1839, the Wood River Baptist Association was formed for Negroes in Illinois. Representatives of the Union Church of Alton, the Mt. Zion Church of Ridge Prairie, and the Salem Church of Ogle Creek met in the home of Samuel Vincent of Alton to set up the organization, and on September 12 the Wood River Baptists met at the Mt. Zion Church and elected John Livingston their moderator.[2]

A year earlier Livingston had organized Springfield's Zion Baptist Church in the home of Anderson Carter on West Washington Street, in the section popularly known as Old Town, near Vinegar Hill. As late as 1876 Livingston was listed as a "deceased member" of Springfield's Zion; after that date Zion no longer belonged to the Wood River Baptist Association.[3]

The membership rolls of this association facilitate the identification of Negro Baptist churches, although there were undoubtedly many independent churches for which no records exist.

About the time the Baptists of the Wood River area created their association, a few Methodist Negroes of Alton founded their own church, which was formally organized in 1839 by Bishop William Paul Quinn, then a presiding elder. The congregation consisted of seven Alton Negroes —

River Association has been compiled from the association's Minutes, supplied by Miss Margaret E. Pendergrass, Illinois State Library.

2. Miles Mark Fisher, *A Short History of the Baptist Denomination* (Nashville, Tenn., 1933), 59 ff., and *Negro Slave Songs in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1953), 110; cf. Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C., 1921), 122.

3. *Souvenir Program, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary (1838-1963), Zion Baptist Church* (Springfield, Ill., 1963). A copy of this publication was supplied to the author by Miss Margaret E. Pendergrass. From 1878 until 1889 Zion was affiliated with the Springfield Baptist Association (Illinois Baptist State Convention), although it returned to the Wood River Association in 1890.

William and Jane Barton, Loudon and Jane Parks, Shadrach Stewart, and Thomas and Eliza Ellsworth.[4]

In the decade that followed, the national controversy over the handling of fugitive slaves resulted in schisms in many of the established white denominations, and before the Civil War, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists had split into northern and southern groups. Disunity in the churches appeared to be racial as well as sectional, and the separation of races in the churches began to emerge as the general pattern.[5]

In Chicago the mother church of the Northwest was Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, named in memory of Bishop Quinn. One account records that Chicago's Quinn Chapel was organized July 22, 1847, in the home of Madison Patterson by Rev. J. H. Ward (Patterson succeeded Ward and was in turn succeeded by Aaron Parker, formerly a slave in Kentucky).[6] Ward's congregation grew larger every Sunday, though the membership was less than one hundred. In speaking of the "apparel and decorum" of these worshipers, the *Chicago Daily Journal* took occasion to remark that such was rarely seen to better advantage.[7] Quinn Chapel provided all kinds of social and organizational benefits for Chicago's Negroes — who numbered 323 in 1850. This total included many who had escaped slavery by following the North Star. Not only did the church provide accommodations for fugitive slaves, but it also aided

4. Information from Mrs. Louise Ahrens, Madison County Historical Museum, Edwardsville, Ill., in a letter of May 24, 1963, and W. T. Norton, ed., *Centennial History of Madison County and Its People, 1812-1912* (Chicago, 1912), I: 343. According to Woodson, *The Negro Church,* 101, Quinn became the fourth bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

5. Woodson, *The Negro Church,* 123-47.

6. "The African Methodist Church in the Chicago Area" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library), 14 and *passim*; Lura Bartholomew, "Quinn Chapel" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library); A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago, 1884), I: 333.

7. St. Clair Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community" (mimeographed, W.P.A. Project, Chicago, 1940), copies in the Illinois State Library.

them on their way to Canada. When Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, requiring that fugitives be returned to slavery, Chicagoans were defiant. Rev. George W. Johnson, Quinn's pastor, held a "large and enthusiastic meeting" at his church on September 30. On October 2 the meeting reassembled. It then adopted a report calling for the organization of a Liberty Association "for the general dissemination of the principles of Human Freedom," and set up a vigilance committee which later had seven police divisions.[8]

In 1853 Quinn Chapel built a church, 40 by 60 feet in size, at the corner of Jackson Boulevard and Buffalo Street. Its estimated cost was $3,000, which the congregation seemed to find no great burden, for $1,300 had already been subscribed by Monday, April 25, 1853, according to the *Chicago Daily Journal* of that date, which announced that the cornerstone would be laid the following Wednesday.[9] A tablet at the site of Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church has this wording:

> FIRST NEGRO CHURCH
>
> Here stood Quinn Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, in honor of Bishop William P. Quinn.
>
> This building dedicated November 20, 1853, was Chicago's first Negro house of worship and the race's civic and social center.

William P. Quinn, presiding elder and Rev. M. M. Clark, "the General Book steward," officiated at the consecration.[10]

The city's Negro Baptists received enough inspiration from the success of Quinn Chapel to organize their own church some time between 1850 and 1853. By April of 1853 General Agent Robert J. Robertson of the Wood River Baptist Association had "organized one church in the city of Chicago."[11]

8. *Chicago Daily Journal,* Oct. 3, 1850, p. 2.
9. *Ibid.,* April 25, 1853, p. 3.
10. *Ibid.,* Nov. 19, 1853, p. 3.
11. Minutes of the Wood River Baptist Association, 1853, p. 3 (see n. 1 above); Miles Mark Fisher, "History of the Olivet Baptist Church of Chicago" (A.M. thesis, 1922, Divinity School, University of Chicago).

This was no doubt Zoar Baptist, whose traditional date of founding is 1850. The organization date of the church appeared as 1853, however, on the now-destroyed archway of its building at Twenty-seventh and Dearborn streets. On January 20, 1851, the *Chicago Daily Journal* reported that "the colored population of this city" was then "endeavoring to sustain two churches – a Methodist and a Baptist" – Quinn Chapel and, presumably, Zoar Baptist. Since Zoar Baptist is often called Xenia, the difference in dates may be resolved, for Xenia is said to have been organized by John Larmon, Samuel McCoy, and Sallie Jackson in the latter's home on April 6, 1850. After three years they were joined by Annie Simpson and organized into Zoar, on April 6, 1853.[12]

Within a few years Chicago's Zoar was faced with its own schisms. H. H. Hawkins, the first minister, resigned in 1857 as a result of conflicts over doctrines and church practices, but before he left he had reduced the church membership to fifty-seven. He had dropped twenty-one persons from the church rolls, but they were promptly restored by his successor, David G. Lett. The next step in the troublous history of Zoar occurred about March, 1861, when thirty-five or forty persons left to form Mount Zion Baptist Church, with Henry H. White as pastor.[13] White was followed by Jesse Freeman Boulden of Philadelphia's Union Baptist Church; and when Zoar's pastor went on to Canada, Boulden took the initiative in reuniting the two congregations. This was formally accomplished on December 22, 1861, when the two churches took the name Olivet Baptist Church in ceremonies at Edina Place Baptist Church.

12. Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community," 37; *Chicago Daily Journal,* Jan. 20, 1851, p. 3; Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 323-24; *"Just a Decade" in Olivet, 1916-1926* (Chicago, 1926); cf. S. Mattie Fisher(?), "The Olivet Baptist Church," L. O. Harper, "Olivet Baptist Church," Louis Harper, "Churches as Factors in Recent Historical Development of Southside Community," – MSS of the Federal Writers' Project, now in the Illinois State Historical Library.

13. The date of the founding of Mt. Zion is in doubt: sources cited in n. 12 above differ, giving 1858, 1860, and 1861.

After June, 1863, Olivet's pastor was Richard de Baptiste, a native of Fredericksburg, Virginia, who soon assumed national significance in church organization. Just a year at Olivet made him realize that a western Baptist Negro convention was needed. The Wood River Baptist Association had had no meeting for four years but had become active again in 1863. Two years later Olivet Church took the leadership in organizing the Negro Baptists of the frontier into the "Northwestern and Southern Baptist Convention." The organization meeting was held in St. Louis, May 24-30, 1865. De Baptiste was elected corresponding secretary, and William P. Newman, pastor of Cincinnati's Union Baptist Church, president. Newman died in August, 1866, just a few weeks before the East's American Baptist Missionary Convention (which had been organized in 1840) and the West's Northwestern and Southern Baptist Convention agreed to become the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary Convention. De Baptiste was to serve this Convention as president for several terms. Modern Negro Baptists continue to administer their churches like the Consolidated Convention.[14]

"Africanism" theoretically and practically was the doctrine of Chicago's Negro churches: assemblages to promote African prayer life are distinguishing survivals of Africanisms. A spiritual sign of these experiences:

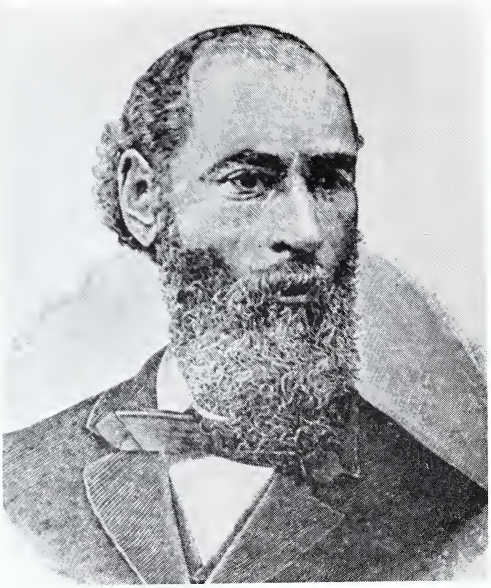
> When I went down into the valley to pray,
> My soul got happy, and I stayed all day.

The precursor of Quinn Chapel was a Negro home where devotees met to pray between 1844 and 1847.[15] These prayer meetings were highly emotional, revivifying experiences for the participants.

Indeed, some of the churches had secret societies, which also performed some of the functions of schools, businesses,

14. Fisher, *A Short History of the Baptist Denomination,* 107 ff.; Woodson, *The Negro Church,* 241-42.

15. "The African Methodist Church in the Chicago Area," 5.



Rev. Richard DeBaptiste who served as president of the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary Convention and helped to form one of its predecessor organizations.

and medical, charitable, and art centers.[16] The Free African Society of Methodism, for instance, cared for the sick and buried the dead.

One of the most interesting contributions of Illinois Negroes to church activities came as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation. On December 31, 1862, the night before the Proclamation became effective, Negroes in Chicago prayed all night and waited for the dawn — their dawn of freedom. Watch Night Services thus begun have continued today as a contribution of Negroes to the Christian calendar.[17]

In the post-Civil War era De Baptiste continued to play a prominent part in Chicago's Negro church affairs until December, 1881. He is best known today for his spirituality and his promotion of education. At one of his revivals Sarah Harris, 115-year-old great-great-great-grandmother of children of Olivet, was converted and baptised, and this episode brought him much public attention. On April 16, 1868, under his leadership, a new brick Olivet building, seating

16. F. W. Butt-Thompson, *West African Secret Societies: Their Organization, Officers and Teaching* (London, 1929).

17. John Hope Franklin, *The Emancipation Proclamation* (New York, 1963), 94-135.

from six to eight hundred people, was dedicated. (This church was destroyed by fire in 1873).[18]

In 1868 Wood River Baptists were much concerned with the education of their ministers, and were exploring the "best mode and place" for getting a doctor of divinity degree. De Baptiste was a strong supporter of schools like Lincoln University (founded by the Presbyterians as Ashmun Institute in 1854) and Wilberforce University (founded by the Methodists in 1856).[19]

In 1867 twenty-two Negroes of Union Park Baptist Church on Chicago's west side joined two other Negroes to organize Calvary Negro Baptist Church, now Providence Baptist Church. At first this congregation held services in the lecture room of Union Church, and white men supplied the pulpit until Hilliard Evans was ordained as its minister.

In 1870 Richard de Baptiste was elected head of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, and it was thought that he could unite that society with the Consolidated Convention, of which he was also head. In a meeting at which that proposal was suggested, one Negro leader expressed opposition "to putting a black head on a white body," but a white man declared that there were "neither white nor colored bodies." The proposal failed, but the Consolidated Convention took over the Free Mission Society's Haitian mission in 1871, and the Convention made Chicago the headquarters for its foreign mission program in 1878.

Before the end of the nineteenth century Olivet Church had organized at least twelve other Baptist churches.[20] This included Bethesda, which, like other American churches, emphasized formal theology rather than emotionalism. Be-

18. See n. 12 above.

19. Woodson, *The Negro Church*, 203, 205; Frederick A. McGinnis, *A History and an Interpretation of Wilberforce University* (Wilberforce, Ohio, 1941), 5.

20. Fisher, "History of the Olivet Baptist Church." The twelve churches were Providence; Aurora; Second, Evanston (1882); Bethesda (1883); Shiloh, Englewood (1883); Harmon, North Side, Evanston (1884); Pilgrim, Englewood (1893); South Chicago (1893); Mt. Carmel, Oak Park (1893); Mt. Zion, Evanston (1893); Pilgrim Rest (1894); Friendship (1894).

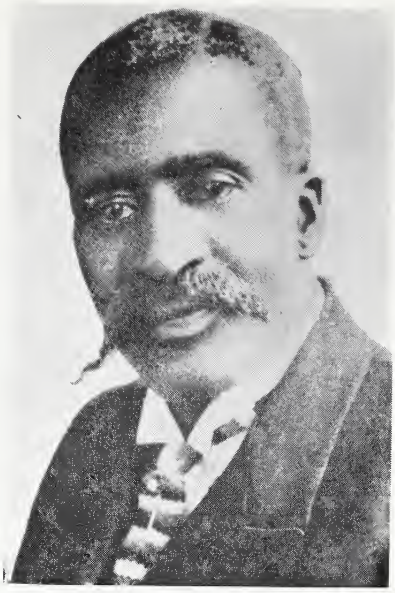
thesda was organized by James Alfred Dunn Podd, who had succeeded De Baptiste at Olivet on February 1, 1882. He stayed there until March 4, 1883, when he resigned to organize forty of Olivet's members into Bethesda. Much has been written about the character and doctrine of Podd, a native of Nevis, British West Indies, who was a young well-educated unmarried man when he went to Olivet. Unlike most American Negroes, he had no sympathy for the African survivals in American Negro churches, for he was a cultivated intellectual who had received a classical education in England. Originally an Anglican, he was converted to Wesleyanism and the British Methodist Episcopal Church before he became a Baptist. Podd served Bethesda for three years, 1883-1886. He had bought property for the church at Thirty-eighth Street and Wabash Avenue, but died in Jacksonville, Florida, where he had gone for his health, before he could erect a new church building.[21]

Church division was one problem that confronted John Francis Thomas, who went from Kentucky to Olivet Church about 1887. In 1900 Berean Baptist Church was founded by onetime members of Olivet; it was formally established at 5147 South Dearborn Street on November 29, 1900, and Forest A. McCoo received ordination from Olivet Church for the pastorate. On October 2, 1902, Ebenezer Baptist Church also left Olivet.

By 1909 there were forty-seven Negro Baptist churches in the Chicago area, and nineteen new Baptist churches in nearby cities. The number had increased so rapidly that a new association, the North Wood River Baptist Association, was created to serve their needs. In 1910 Pastor Elijah John Fisher of Olivet organized fourteen other new churches into a Bethlehem Baptist Association.[22]

21. Orange Winkfield, "Bethesda Baptist Church" (Federal Writers, Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library). Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 324, gives the date of Podd's resignation as Jan. 10, 1883.

22. L. O. Harper, "Ebenezer Baptist Church," Roscoe C. Johnson, "Ebenezer Baptist Church" (both Federal Writers' Project MSS, Illinois State Historical Library).



Rev. Elijah John Fisher, D.D., organizer of the Bethlehem Baptist Association.

Today Olivet claims to be the largest Protestant church in the world. It has produced two presidents of the Incorporated National Baptist Convention: Lacey Kirk Williams and J. H. Jackson. Almost as well known as Olivet is Ebenezer, at 4501 South Vincennes, a leading church of the Unincorporated National Baptist Convention. In all, four state conventions and forty-five district conventions (sometimes called associations) serve Chicago's Negro Baptists today. In addition, the churches have affiliated Sunday Schools, youth groups, women's auxiliaries, and educational organizations. One of the last-named is Chicago Baptist Institute, which has operated as an educational center since 1935; first located at 3816-3818 South Michigan Avenue, it has been at 5120 South Parkway since 1957.[23] The institute is one of three fulltime education centers of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, and is the largest educational center of the Incorporated Baptists.[24]

The African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded by Negroes who had once been members of Philadelphia's St. George Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1787, it is said,

23. "Chicago Baptist Institute" (pamphlet in possession of the author), 8.
24. "Mission Educational Center" (pamphlet in possession of the author).

"the white members of the congregation dropped all pretense of brotherhood and proposed that the colored members be restricted to a section marked for their use in the balcony of the church." This practice rankled, and the Negroes withdrew from the church. Finally, in 1816, Richard Allen, one of their leaders, and Negro ministers from other major cities in the United States founded a national organization for Negro Methodists. In 1940 African Methodists counted 800,000 members, who were administered by sixteen bishops.[25]

The Chicago Conference of the African Methodist Church dates from 1840, when St. Paul Chapel was organized in St. Louis, Missouri. It had three presiding elders who aided in its administration: one elder worked in the North District, led by Quinn Chapel; one elder was in the West District, where the church in Gary, Indiana, was the dominant one; and the third elder was in charge of the South District, whose leading church was Quinn Chapel's Bethel Mission.[26] During the Civil War, Quinn Chapel had decided that a mission could help its work considerably, and Bishop Quinn therefore organized Bethel A.M.E. Mission in 1862. Aenos McIntosh was the first appointed pastor. On Chicago's west side, St. Stephen African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1869. (However, one listing of the Negro churches in Chicago in the 1870's names only Quinn Chapel, Olivet Baptist, Bethel A.M.E. Mission, and Providence Baptist.[27]) Evidently the pattern of development of African Methodist churches was similar to that followed by African Baptists: that is, established congregations took the responsibility for creating new churches. St. Stephen, for instance, opened branches not only on the west side of Chicago but in all parts of the American nation.

Institutional African Methodist Episcopal Church was

25. Woodson, *The Negro Church,* 72 ff., esp. 92-93.

26. "The African Methodist Church in the Chicago Area."

27. Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community," 65.

organized in 1900 by Pastor Reverdy C. Ransome to occupy Railroad Chapel, formerly used by the First Presbyterian Church. Two of this church's ministers, Ransome and Archibald J. Carey, have been elevated to the bishopric. Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute, the scholar W. E. B. Du Bois, and the actor Richard B. Harrison (known for his portrayal of "De Lawd" in *Green Pastures*) are among the many who have spoken from the pupit of Institutional Church. In an earlier day Quinn Chapel's pulpit was graced by Frederick Douglass as well as by several presidents of the United States.

The history of Grant Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Church provides evidence that even before the current campaign for equal rights, there were many Negroes who were not ashamed of their African origins and of being identified as "African." One such man was T. L. Scott, who left the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been created in 1870 for Negroes of Southern Methodist persuasion, to join the African Methodist Episcopal Church and become the minister of Grant Memorial, which he served from 1914 to 1923. At that time the church held its services in a store at Forty-seventh and State streets. For about five years it remained in that area, worshiping at Transfer Hall, but in February, 1919, the congregation bought a small Presbyterian building at Forty-sixth Street and Evans Avenue for $20,000; its church is now at 4017 South Drexel.

Another outstanding Negro Methodist church in Chicago is St. Mark A.M.E. Zion Church, organized in 1910; its building at 5001 South Wabash was purchased from the Memorial Congregational Church for $10,000, but has since been replaced by one at 7358 South Cottage Grove. St. Mark at one time enrolled four thousand members.[28]

Notable among other early Negro Protestant churches in

28. Hortense Bratton, "St. Mark" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library). The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is entirely separate in organization from the A.M.E. group.

Chicago was Grace Presbyterian, organized in 1888 in Turner Hall, with H. M. Jackson as pastor. Its beginnings in residential prayer meetings can hardly be imagined by those attending services today in its imposing limestone edifice at Thirty-sixth and South Vincennes.[29]

The Congregational denomination has made great advances since March 25, 1930, when Lincoln Congregational Church, on Sixty-fifth Street near Champlain Avenue, was dedicated. At that time the now better-known Church of the Good Shepherd was in a store building; it was later located at 5700 South Prairie Avenue. One of its famous pastors was Arthur Gray, former president of Talladega (Alabama) College, who served the church from 1944 to 1952. Another Congregational church in the South Chicago area in the 1930's was located at 9704 South Emerald Avenue. But perhaps the leading church of that denomination in that era was Park Manor, at Seventieth Street and South Parkway.[30]

The Anglican church has worked for the benefit of the Negro since colonial days. Bishop William Edward McLaren of Chicago held that Negroes were welcome to worship in any Episcopal church, and had to be won over to the policy of a separate Negro church.[31] In Chicago eight Negro women and two Negro men formed an Anglican congregation which met in a private home during the summer of 1878. This was the nucleus of St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal Church, established at 3801 South Wabash Avenue in the 1890's. Among its early members were the Smiley family of catering renown; William Emanuel, Loop chiropodist; Dr. Tolmon Wheeler, who gave the church $8,000, and

29. Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community," 74; Harper, "Churches as Factors in Recent Historical Development of Southside Community," 6.

30. Harper, "Churches as Factors in Recent Historical Development of Southside Community," 5; Orange Winkfield, "Religious Institutions on the South Side for Colored People" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library), 3.

31. Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community," 66n., 67.

his widow, who donated a parsonage to the church. Another early Negro Episcopal church in Chicago was St. Edmund's, located at one time at 5831 South Indiana Avenue but now at 6105 South Michigan.[32] The membership of the earliest Episcopal churches was often increased by Negroes who had been members of Roman Catholic churches in Maryland and Louisiana.[33]

Among the present Catholic churches in Chicago with predominantly Negro membership is St. Elizabeth's, whose parish was organized in 1881;[34] another is St. Augustine, now at 504 South Laflin. And of particular significance in Negro religious history is St. Monica's, since it was founded by Father Augustine Tolton (1854-1897), who was the first American Negro priest, and at the time of his death was still the only Negro priest in the United States. Father Tolton was born in slavery in Ralls County, Missouri. In 1861 young Augustine, and his mother and two other children escaped across the Mississippi to Quincy. He had been baptised a Catholic as an infant, and in Quincy he attended Catholic schools and took private lessons at Quincy College. In March, 1880, he was accepted as a student by the College of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, and on April 24, 1886, he was ordained a priest in the Church of the Lateran by Cardinal Perroni. After his ordination he was made pastor of St. Joseph Church, a Negro church in Quincy which had been founded in 1877 and continued in operation until 1889. Father Tolton served there three years before he was assigned to St. Mary's in Chicago. During his pastorate at St. Mary's, Mrs. Anna O'Neill donated $10,000 for the establishment of a Negro church, and the assignment

32. Henry N. Bacon, "St. Edmund's Episcopal Church," and Hortense Bratton, "St. Edmund's Episcopal Church" (both Federal Writers' Project MSS, Illinois State Historical Library).

33. Fenton Johnson, "Six Major Negro Churches" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library), 4.

34. Fenton Johnson, "St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic Church and Parish" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library); Andreas, *History of Chicago,* III: 773.

fell to Father Tolton, who built St. Monica's, at Thirty-sixth and South Dearborn.[35]

The Negroes of the North, however, have always been predominantly Protestant, although the outward characteristics of their churches have undergone many changes. By the mid-1920's the Negroes of Chicago and Illinois had, as a whole, vastly improved their lot, both economically and educationally. And as they moved up the economic ladder, the young people, especially, grew dissatisfied with the "Africanism" of many of the Negro Protestant churches.[36] Earlier in the century, W. E. B. Du Bois undertook a study of the Negro churches, and concluded, as a result of his work, that West African culture did indeed dominate the behavior of American Negroes.[37] Since that time, many other influences, some secular and semi-religious, have also affected the traditional Negro religions. These include Judaism, denominationalism, medieval Christianity, modern social-service-oriented churches, cults, communism, and separatist movements like that of the Black Muslims. Many of these influences are represented in churches throughout the state.[38]

In Chicago the Shiloh Seventh-Day Adventist Tabernacle has kept the Jewish Sabbath since its store-front beginning at Forty-third and State streets in 1910. The building at Forty-eighth and Dearborn streets to which the congregation moved in 1911 was very modest when compared with the later structure at 606 East Forty-sixth Street and the present one at 7008 South Michigan. Its parochial school became

35. Biographical information compiled by Rev. Landry Genosky, Quincy College, from *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Boniface Congregation, Quincy, Illinois . . .* ; *Quincy Herald-Whig,* Sept. 30, 1962; *Quincy Journal,* July 10, 12, 1897. See also Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community," 73; William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark . . .* (Cleveland, 1887), 439-50.

36. Johnson, "Six Major Negro Churches," 4.

37. Cf. Miles Mark Fisher, "African Churches in America" (MS in author's possession.)

38. Excellent discussions of many of these influences can be found in E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America* (Chicago, 1962), 36-39 and *passim.*

well known when the novelist and author Arna Bontemps was its head.[39]

Churches of the African Orthodox denomination (St. Augustine's, 5831 South Indiana, for example) represent medieval Christianity, and appear to be the religious counterpart of the Marcus Garvey movement, also known as the Universal Negro Improvement Association. A Jamaican and African nationalist, Garvey sought to unite all the Negroes of the world in one country and under one government. He came to New York in 1916 and within a few months had built up an organization of over one thousand members there. Although Garvey was deported as an undesirable alien in 1927 and died in 1940, he still has followers in Chicago, New York, and a few other cities.[40]

Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago, might be selected as the representation of "modern Christianity" among American Negroes. W. D. Cook, formerly pastor of Bethel Church, organized the church in 1920 rather than leave Chicago for a church in Des Moines, Iowa, to which he had been assigned. The church's members (formerly of Quinn Chapel and Bethel, and numbering about 2,400 in the 1930's) worshiped in Chicago's Wendell Phillips High School until they purchased the property and equipment of First Presbyterian Church at 4100 South Parkway. Cook organized a national community church, which after 1923 was joined by Cosmopolitan Community Church, which had previously been St. Mary's African Methodist Episcopal Church.[41] Metropolitan Community Church values its plant at a quarter of a million dollars, and ranks second among Negro churches in Chicago equipped for social programs.[42]

39. Hortense Bratton, "Shiloh Seventh-Day Adventist Tabernacle Church" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library); Winkfield, "Religious Institutions on the South Side for Colored People," 5.

40. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism,* 36-39 and *passim.*

41. Harper, "Churches as Factors in Recent Historical Development of Southside Community," 3.

42. Orange Winkfield, "Metropolitan Community Center, the People's Church" (Federal Writers' Project MS, Illinois State Historical Library).

Throughout the history of Negro churches, internal dissensions have resulted in the formation of many splinter groups. These divisions have not materially weakened the churches, but other movements – or philosophies – have attempted to obscure the spiritual goals of the Negro church and to weaken its foundations. First are the cults, many of which have had distinguished leaders. Typical of these are the spiritualist organizations, one of which is Rev. Clarence Cobb's First Spiritualist Church of Deliverance (this church always has good music and a useful program).[43] Second, communists have attempted to wean dissatisfied Negroes away from their churches into party membership. Third, "Black Muslims," or the "Nation of Islam" under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, whose headquarters are in Chicago, have also won converts from among Negro Christians, though a casual glance will show that the movement is neither "Black" nor "Moslem" in origin.[44] The movement was founded about 1932, but its activities have been given especially widespread attention since 1954, when its leaders purchased its "Temple" at 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago. In December of that year the periodical *Moslem World and the U.S.A.* was first printed (for circulation in January, 1955).[45] Although American Negroes no longer deny their African origin, it seems unlikely that a non-Christian religion will triumph among Negroes in the United States.

The continued existence of separate Negro churches is in doubt, however. Since the United States Supreme Court

Other such churches are Olivet, Bethesda, Ebenezer, and Pilgrim; see Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community," 156.

43. See St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York, 1945), 645-46; they state (p. 642) that there were fifty-one spiritualist churches in Chicago in 1938, one of which then had more than two thousand members.

44. Charles Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston, 1961), 169-71; Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism.*

45. *Moslem World and the U.S.A.,* Oct., Nov., Dec., 1956; see also Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism,* 276-78.

school desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, "separate but equal" facilities — for religious groups, as elsewhere — have begun to disappear. In some Negro church groups the change has been in little more than name. For example, the General Conference of the "Colored Methodist Episcopal Church" held at Memphis in 1954 changed the name of that denomination to "Christian Methodist Episcopal Church."[46] A recently organized Congregational church at 3101 West Warren Boulevard is known as the Warren Avenue Integrated Congregational Church.

In the entire state of Illinois there were 1,037,470 Negroes in 1960; the Negro population of Chicago alone was 812,637, compared with less than 1,000 in 1860. To serve the city's Negro population there were in the mid-1940's some 500 churches (of which one in five had its own building), representing approximately thirty denominations, and having an estimated total membership of 200,000.[47] A recent count[48] shows that there are now the following churches: 188 Missionary Baptist, 23 African Methodist Episcopal, 5 Christian Methodist Episcopal, 2 Church of Christ, 3 Church of God, 6 Church of God in Christ, 9 community churches, 3 Protestant Episcopal, 6 Spiritualist, and countless smaller congregations and groups that are not listed either in official church sources or in the Chicago telephone directory. The full inspiring story of the development of these religious groups, as well as the many Negro churches downstate, remains yet to be chronicled by Illinois historians.

46. Telephone call to Superintendent J. H. Lightsey.
47. Drake, *Black Metropolis,* 412-13, 611.
48. Miss S. Mattie Fisher, letter of April 30, 1963, to the author.

METZ T. P. LOCHARD

The Negro Press in Illinois

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THERE IS a Stoic proverb which says, "Men are tormented by the opinions they have of things rather than by the things themselves." This is a remarkable description of the traumatic problems which have been created by the race issue in America. Walter Hines Page says much the same thing in different words in *The Southerner*:

> The Negro in the United States: A person of African blood (much or little) about whom men of English descent tell only half the truth, and because of whom they do not act with frankness and sanity either toward the Negro or one another — in a word, about whom they easily lose their common sense, their usual good judgment, and even their powers of accurate observation. The Negro-in-America, therefore, is a form of insanity that overtakes white men.[1]

Such has been the case since the black man first set foot on American soil. The "form of insanity" which overtook the white American grew in intensity following the Emancipation Proclamation one hundred years ago, and whether or not it has abated a century later is an open question. An effort to close the widening gap between Negroes and whites was responsible for the birth of the Negro press, and a cry

1. Quoted in the study of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago, 1922), 436.

for human justice has been the *raison d' être* for Negro newspapers ever since.

John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish published the first known Negro newspaper in the United States on March 16, 1827, in New York. It was called *Freedom's Journal*; later it became known as *Rights of All* and was the forerunner to William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. It waged a fanatic and militant fight against slavery. But when Russwurm met with so much opposition that he abandoned the crusade and emigrated to Liberia in 1829, the paper suspended publication.[2] Eight years later, Cornish was selected by Phillip A. Bell of New York to edit his new paper, the *Weekly Advocate*. He soon changed the name of the newspaper to *Colored American,* and this publication took up the fight against slavery. It continued only until 1842, but succeeded, along with the original Negro newspaper, in setting a standard for others to follow.[3]

By the time the first Negro newspaper was published in Illinois, the Negro press had adopted a credo which has been well expressed by Ella Wheeler Wilcox:

> To submit in silence when we should protest makes cowards out of men. The human race has climbed on protest. Had no voice been raised against injustice, ignorance and lust, the inquisition yet would serve the law, and guillotines decide our disputes. The few who dare must speak and speak again to right the wrongs of the many.[4]

Tracing the history of the Negro press in Illinois is not an easy task. Records of the births and deaths of Negro newspapers are scarce. The state's pioneers in journalism have died, most of them carrying their stirring stories of courage and fight to their graves. For the most part, however, the history of the Negro press in Illinois is the history of the Negro press in Chicago. And, largely, the history

2. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1935), XVI: 253.
3. Frederick G. Detweiler, *The Negro Press in the United States* (Chicago, 1922), 39.
4. *Ibid.*, 134.

of the Negro press in Chicago is the history of the *Chicago Defender,* the one newspaper which has survived the tests of time to become a monumental institution, a massive voice for a city's oppressed people. But the *Defender* was not Illinois' first Negro newspaper. That distinction probably belongs to the *Conservator,* which was established in Chicago in 1878.[5] The Illinois State Historical Library has partial files of the *State Capital* (established in 1886), the *Illinois Record* (1897), and the *Forum* (1904), all Negro papers published in Springfield. These papers, in turn, mention others issued in Chicago, Peoria, East St. Louis, Litchfield, Cairo, and elsewhere in the state, of which no files are known to exist. Most of them apparently survived only a few years.

The story of the *Chicago Defender* symbolizes the aspiration and enterprise of the Negro people. The founder and first editor of the *Defender* was Robert S. Abbott, who was born on St. Simons Island off the coast of Georgia, reared in Savannah, Georgia, and educated at Hampton Institute. In the 1890's Abbott went to Chicago looking for a job but found positions for Negroes extremely difficult to obtain. According to his biographer Roi Ottley, "He learned what it was to stand in the breadline of a prominent white church and be told to step aside and make way for a white man." He felt the heartbreak of being told to step out of a job line in favor of a white applicant. He recoiled inside when he learned that the white man who came before him was an immigrant who could not even speak English. He determined to become one of "the few who dare to speak and speak again to right the wrongs of the many."[6]

The first issue of the *Chicago Defender* appeared in 1905 and was the size of a handbill. Abbott distributed it himself. As Frederick G. Detweiler reported:

5. Franklin W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* VI, Springfield, 1910), 139.

6. Roi Ottley, *The Lonely Warrior* (Chicago, 1935), 7; personal recollections of the author in an unpublished MS, "The Negro Press."

His entire bankroll was a 25 cent piece, and the manner which he secured money enough to bring out the initial publication will always remain a hazy page in his book of memories. He had a vision, however; he recognized in . . . Chicago a field much in need of an up-to-date progressive newspaper. . . . Week after week he found it a desperate struggle to raise sufficient money to bring out the current issue.[7]

But Robert S. Abbott persevered and struggled. Slowly the *Defender* began to grow. In 1910, he hired J. Hockley Smiley, whose ideas included the use of banner headlines (some printed in red ink), for which the *Defender* later became famous. At first other Negro editors laughed at this radical innovation, but all were destined to follow the *Defender's* lead. As the paper expanded, Alfred Anderson was added to the staff as editorial writer, and later Lucious C. Harper became managing editor. In time the *Defender* introduced the usual departments of a metropolitan newspaper: drama, sports, and special features. Abbott sought to live up to the name of his paper, and it emerged as the "defender" of the Negro people across the nation. Colored people from all over the country began to turn to the newspaper when they were in trouble, and staff members concerned themselves with obtaining legal aid and justice for individual Negroes.

By the end of World War I the *Defender* had attained extraordinary circulation, with a peak figure approaching a quarter of a million. Much of this readership was acquired by a unique distribution system: railroad porters tossed off bundles of *Defenders* as trains whizzed through the small towns dotting the nation's landscape. In many southern towns the *Defender* was officially banned, and Negroes had to read the paper in secret. In *The Negro Faces America,* Herbert J. Seligmann reports:

How important the Negro press has been in the process of the Negro's becoming politically articulate can be measured by the statements of white men. Magazines like *The Crisis* and *Challenge,*

7. Detweiler, *The Negro Press,* 64.

newspapers like *The Defender,* are cordially execrated among white men in the South. An article in *The Defender* was held responsible for a riot in Longview, Texas. Gov. Charles Brough of Arkansas said he believed *The Crisis* and *Defender* were responsible for the Arkansas riots and announced his intention of asking the Postmaster-General to exclude them from the mails.[8]

Abbott's personal campaign to lure Negroes from the South to the North has been described as the major reason for the massive departure of Negroes from Dixieland during World War I. He constantly and dramatically cajoled southern Negroes, urging them to cut their ties with the oppressive South and journey northward to freedom. His pleas were answered by thousands upon thousands of eager Negroes.

Abbott adopted for his newspaper the slogan "The World's Greatest Weekly" and proudly showed off his new plant to hundreds of visitors. Said the issue of May 14, 1921:

> *The Chicago Defender* entertained approximately 5,000 people at its formal opening in the new plant Friday, May 6. . . . As one entered, two murals by W. E. Scott attracted the attention. One, on the left, showed a daughter of Ethiopia holding in one hand the *Defender,* or Light, and in the other the balance scales . . . before the oppressed of all lands and climes. . . . Under one painting the complete office equipment of the first *Defender* was exhibited — a small folding table and a single chair. . . . Guides met the incoming guests and escorted them through the plant. . . . At 10 o'clock, when the doors were closed, the crowd was still coming in.

One of the big attractions, not mentioned in the *Defender* account, was the paper's mechanical equipment, which fascinated the visiting crowds. Abbott himself would be equally fascinated by the *Defender* of 1963. Now run by his nephew, John H. Sengstacke, as editor and publisher, the newspaper is a daily and is housed in one of the most modern newspaper plants in the United States.

8. Herbert J. Seligmann, *The Negro Faces America* (New York, 1920), 288.

Other Negro newspapers were born in Illinois after the shoestring debut of the *Defender*. According to a record compiled by Vishnu V. Oak, of the department of sociology at State College, Xenia, Ohio, they included the *Illinois Chronicle,* 1210 South Sixteenth Street, Springfield (1917); *Robbins Herald,* P. O. Box 169, Robbins (1917); *Chicago World,* 118 East Thirty-fifth Street (1918); *Chicago Sunday Bee,* 3655 South State Street (1925); *Illinois Times,* 208 Ells Avenue, Champaign (1939); and *Crusader,* 2215 Missouri Avenue, East St. Louis (1943). Not listed by Oak were the following, all published in Chicago: the *Chicago Enterprise,* the *Chicago Whip,* the *Searchlight,* the *Chicago Advocate,* and the *Broadax.*[9]

The *Chicago Defender* remains the dominant Negro newspaper in Chicago and in Illinois, but others which are now being published in Chicago include the *Chicago Courier,* the *New Crusader,* the *Bulletin,* and the *Woodlawn Booster.* The *Courier* is a division of the widely known *Pittsburgh Courier,* now owned and published by S. B. Fuller, president of Fuller Products Company. The *New Crusader* is published by Balm Leavall. Both the *Bulletin* and the *Booster* are community newspapers and are the only pair in the entire listing owned by whites.

Historically, what have Negro newspapers in Illinois contained? What kind of news? In what manner was it handled? One of the best answers to these questions is contained in a study of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations published in 1922.

Three newspapers, covering a forty-week period, were selected for detailed analysis: the *Defender,* the *Whip,* and the *Searchlight.* At the end of the study the commission concluded:

> The news items in Negro papers show a bias in reporting the opposite of that of many white papers. They emphasize the Negro's view, frequently to the point of distorting fact. If anything,

9. Vishnu V. Oak, *The Negro Newspaper* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1922), 156.

they might be said to provide a compensatory interpretation of the news.[10]

In addition to its reports of general news concerning Negroes, the *Defender* gave one page to sporting news, one page to theatrical news, two pages to personal news items sent in by correspondents in other cities, and one page to local personal items. On its editorial page, two and one-half columns each week were devoted to health articles by Dr. Wilberforce Williams.

The *Whip* gave one page to sports, one to club and theatrical news, one to out-of-town personal news items, and one to local personal items. Its editorial page devoted one column to "Legal Hints to Women," one-half column to "Health Hints," one column to "Legal Catechism," and two columns to editorials from other papers.

The *Searchlight* gave one page to theatrical, local, and personal news, and church notes. The editorial page had two half-columns each week by "The Man About Town."[11]

The charts on page 577 show a content analysis of the three papers. The first chart is a breakdown, by subject, of local news stories, and the second chart is a similar breakdown on the out-of-town stories.

Sensational news, especially crime stories in which Negroes and whites were involved, was featured in each of the three newspapers. The intention of the editors appears to have been the presentation of the Negro's side of the story. The following table shows the number of crime stories involving Negroes only, Negro v. white, white v. Negro, and whites only:

LOCAL AND OUT-OF-TOWN CRIMES COMBINED[12]

	Defender	*Whip*	*Searchlight*
Negroes only	233	75	26
Negro v. White	90	70	37
White v. Negro	55	44	11
White v. White	4	8	1

10. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *Negro in Chicago*, 557.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, 560; figures on amount of space devoted to each category have been omitted.

Number of articles in three Chicago Negro newspapers during a forty-week period, ca. *1920:*[13]

	Chart I: Chicago News			Chart II: Out-of-town News		
Subjects	*Defender*	*Whip*	*Search-light*	*Defender*	*Whip*	*Search-light*
Crime	55	46	42	282	152	32
Racial clashes	6		1	19	18	4
Education	2	9	11	54	42	74
Business	4	26	14	31	10	14
General news not involving race issues	5	66	65	81	104	138
Vice	14	8	10	31	3	
Bombing	5	10	10			2
Politics	26	60	61	27	46	85
Social work	6	9	17	12	6	42
Public meetings	2	16	13	14	12	8
Religion	7	18	34	36	23	
Science	2	5	4		4	
Negro progress	2		17	28		40
Negro soldiers		6		11	11	33
Courts	4	24	2	15	24	15
Discrimination	3	9	1	30	21	10
Race contacts				9	3	3
Lynchings				32	54	32
Industrial relations	8	10	1	8	16	22
Philanthropy		2		11	4	2
Personal	9		34	105	9	5
Jim Crow	1	1	3	6	6	2
General local welfare	2	11	3			
Art		3	1	1	7	5
General race relations		22	1	15	60	44
South				38	50	5
Africa				1	12	4
Migration				2	3	5

The commission found that the *Defender's* editorials were, as a rule, "carefully written, balanced, and critical, at times in contrast with the popular appeal of the news articles." The *Whip's* editorials usually were "on some aspect of the general race problem in the United States . . . [and were] characterized by strong pronouncements of the views of Negroes and violent criticism of practices alleged to be inimicable to Negroes."[14]

13. *Ibid.,* 558-59; figures on the amount of space devoted to each category have been omitted.

14. *Ibid.,* 564.

Negro newspapers have traditionally lectured to Negroes in an effort to urbanize them, educate them, or otherwise improve them. Typical of this type of content is the following article which appeared in the *Searchlight* of May 22, 1920:

> Did you ever get on the elevated train at Indiana Avenue about 5:30 o'clock in the afternoon and meet the "gang" from the Stock Yards? It would make you ashamed to see men and women getting on the cars with greasy overalls on and dirty dresses in this enlightened age. There is really no excuse for such a condition to exist. There is plenty of soap and water in the Stock Yards and you have better clothes in your homes. Why not take a suit to the Yards and wash up and change your clothing before attempting to mingle with men and women, many of them being dressed for theaters and club parties, etc.? Don't you know you are forcing on us here in Chicago a condition similar to the one down South?

Because the color question is a problem faced in every state, the social issues that plagued Illinois and clogged the channels of interracial communication were not essentially dissimilar from the problems in other large urban industrial centers of the North. The racial problem in Illinois became acute, however, as a result of the influx of culturally raw Negro migrants from the rural communities below the Mason and Dixon Line. And the process of urbanizing newcomers to the point that they perceive their civic responsibilities remains a complicated problem in urban sociology.

Both the practicing social worker and the professional sociologist tend to look upon the Negro press as an instrument to bridge the gap at those points where the potentialities of racial clashes are constant and imminent. This was the assumption nurtured by the University of Chicago's Dr. Edith Abbott, dean of the School of Social Service Administration, and by Professors Robert Parks, Ernest Burgess, and Louis Wirth of the department of sociology. Taking the *Chicago Defender* as an index to the character and intellectual range of the Negro press in Illinois and elsewhere, this group was acutely critical of the *Defender's* position in

the 1919 Chicago race riot and the 1943 Detroit riot.

At a hasty conference held in the University's Quadrangle Club at the suggestion of this writer, on June 21, the day following the Detroit riots, Parks and Wirth registered sharp criticism of the *Defender's* story about the bloody conflict in Michigan. These professors also thought an eight-column headline, "Cop Slays Schoolboy, 16," which had appeared in the *Defender* on May 15, was unwise and irresponsible at a time when emotions had been stirred to a frenzied pitch in a neighboring state and when the tragic incidents might spill over into Illinois, where interracial bad feeling was already mounting.

The validity of this view is debatable. It raises the elusive question of the conflict between responsibility of the press and freedom of the press. If we accept as an irrevocable dictum the advisability of suppressing news for society's sake, inevitably the question arises: who is to be the final arbiter in the determination of what to print or what not to print? Obviously the responsibility lies with the editors. Though they must take into consideration public taste and public interests, they must never subordinate their own judgment to that of their readers.

After the 1919 Chicago riots Governor Frank O. Lowden appointed a Commission on Race Relations which investigated that affair. In its report of January 1, 1921, the commission implied that the *Defender's* coverage of the incidents that had led to the riots lacked objectivity and insight. The *Defender* held then, and still holds, the contention that riots should be prevented, as many incipient ones have been, by quick police action and not by suppression of the news.

Most of the Negroes involved in the 1919 riots were recent migrants who had not been involved in city life long enough to make adjustments, and they were resented by the city's white residents because they had not yet acquired the attributes and social graces of a modern community. The *Defender* assumed the responsibility for informing the new-

comers about the requirements of city life. Though all the other Negro newspapers in Illinois joined the crusade to help the migrants find work and to improve their living conditions, it was the *Chicago Defender* that carried the torch relentlessly and vigorously for Negro survival in Chicago's industrial complex. The *Defender* felt obliged to aid and protect the indigent southern Negroes who had responded to the paper's message to come north. Robert S. Abbott was the man behind the call to the "promised land" that had resounded throughout the southern Negro world. The *Chicago Defender,* circulated in some cities from one work-worn hand to another and read in secret away from resentful white eyes, was the beckoning bugle.

The time in history was important. The plantations were waning, northern factories had a wartime boom and were clamoring for workers, immigration from Europe was cut off, and stories of earlier migrants to the North were beginning to rekindle the hope of freedom in the long-beaten souls of black folk.

Abbott saw that the *Defender,* too, was ready for its role. He had tried out his headlines, his satirizing cartoons, his direct style of appeal to the masses, his techniques of protest and group control. This was his opportunity. He had dreamed of the emigration of Negroes from the South and envisioned their movement out of the suppressive, exploitative shackles of the slave-tradition South as the first step for the "Race's" claim to the freedom Emancipation had been intended to give them. Abbott therefore publicized the idea, and did so with great dramatic flair at a time that was ripe for the movement.

He labeled the movement the Great Northern Drive. It was the Negro's push for self-realization just as the Hindenburg Drive was the Allied push for victory in 1918. Abbott set departure dates; he showed pictures of the best homes, schools, and parks in Chicago next to pictures of the worst in the South; he gave abundant space to job offers and news

about the happy people who had already come. The South was a bad place, Abbott told his readers, and he flooded his columns with vivid descriptions of the most distasteful aspects of living in the South. He dared to articulate in print what southern Negroes were afraid to whisper. He gave them courage to acknowledge their dissatisfaction, as well as some sense of security in the knowledge that others would champion their cause and could give them protection in the city that was the home of the *Chicago Defender*.

Headlines blazoned the call "North." Poems sang the theme song of migration. The *Defender* became the "herald of glad tidings" to the restless and discontented. Adventure in a big new city, where a man would be considered a man, was the message. The response was a mass movement with the fervor of a religious crusade.

The *Defender* had given Negroes dignity; they breathed the strength of solidarity in reading about their group and their common interests in fighting discrimination. Abbott had succeeded in a gigantic project of exerting group control to express protest; and, indeed, the Great Northern Drive had sharply changed the course of history. Negroes were freed from their enslaving attachment to the poverty-bound agricultural economy; the migrants laid the groundwork for more economic freedom as industrial workers; they learned to voice their protests, to ask for recognition of their constitutional rights; and they were soon to be involved in catastrophic race riots in the industrial cities. The movement was thus a protest action that eventually involved 500,000 migrants directly, and affected the entire history of Negro-white relations. For this, Robert S. Abbott was responsible.

What was the burning motivation within this sensitive man that made what was once only a four-page sheet the pacemaker of protest and group control, and made the Negro press the greatest power instrument of its people? The following analysis of Abbott's basic philosophy and his concept of his role has been gleaned from his writings in the *Defender*.

Robert S. Abbott, founder and first editor of the Chicago Defender

Riots and lynchings twisted Abbott's heart, and he remembered his stepfather's frequent statement that a good newspaper is one of the strongest weapons ever to be used in defense of a race deprived of its citizenship rights.[15] The horror of the Atlanta riots in 1906, the year after his paper appeared, prodded Abbott to action. He saw the riots as the vile manifestations of everyday discrimination and hate against Negroes. As a solution he evolved a theory and plan which called for fearless militancy in protesting against wrongs, so that, with a sensitized mass population of Negroes, America would eventually be unable to avoid granting equal rights and opportunities to her black citizens.

At the same time that he was attempting to influence millions of his race to be aware of their rights, Abbott pounded hard and loud against the wall of discrimination. In his own words, he aspired "to influence the actions of millions

15. Ottley, *Lonely Warrior,* 7.

of our unseen and unknown fellows."[16] Another time he wrote, "I have made an issue of every single situation in which our people were denied their rightful share of participation."[17] In these two statements he clearly outlined his two-pronged basic strategy of 1) newspaper group-control over the Negro population and 2) protest against the discriminatory policies of the white population.

Abbott made a practice of asking for Negro participation and representation in everything from the President's Cabinet to baseball teams. He insisted that there should be no segregation in any sense, that the same policy should apply equally to Negroes and whites.

His stand on racial integration was as uncompromising twenty-three years ago as that of the most radical advocates of equality today. The Congress of Racial Equality, better known as CORE, the sit-in movement, and the Southern Christian Leadership movement, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. – all have adopted Abbott's long-preached gospel of unflagging militancy. The program of labor organization by industry regardless of race, now adopted by the AFL-CIO, was the earnest plea of Abbott over a generation ago.

It was in terms of a fight that Abbott wrote and thought about the Negro in America. And he passionately wanted to have his people aware that it would take a fight, at least a moral one, to win their rightful place as citizens. By reaching the masses, using all the best Hearst tricks of appeal, he hoped to sensitize them to expect and demand the rights that were guaranteed to them in the highest law of the land.

As relentlessly as he fought against a system which allowed racial discrimination, he never once forgot that the fundamental law and democratic structure of America were on his side. Despite disillusioning disappointments, Abbott was, as most Negroes are, almost pathetically loyal to the Ameri-

16. Metz T. P. Lochard, "Phylon Profile, XII: Robert S. Abbott—'Race Leader,'" *Phylon,* VII (Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., 1947, No. 2): 126.
17. *Ibid.*

can system of government, clutching desperately the hope that America might some day extend democratic practices as well as words to her darker citizens. Karl Marx's dialectical materialism did not appeal to Abbott. He saw the battle for recognition, equality, and economic opportunity not in the distorted perspective of the class struggle between capital and labor, as in the communist concept, but in the struggle for the application of those democratic principles to which America constitutionally and historically had already been committed. He fought for the triumph of the ideal expressed in the historical testament of the American democracy, not for a radical transfiguration of political ideology. Though black and racked by the acute agony of American race prejudice, Abbott was a patriot of the noblest motive and highest order.

He believed that the practice of separation of Negroes and whites was unnatural, and detrimental to the rise of a unified nation of heterogeneous racial roots. He warned that segregation would intensify sectionalism among groups, blinding them to issues that demanded national unity.

Throughout his caustic commentary on the inequities in the application of democratic principles, he intimated that, though Negroes still clung to the Constitution, constant whipping with indignities might make them let loose. He bitterly criticized men who define constitutionally guaranteed rights in a manner "which allows the privileged group and knaves to fling aside like a worn-out garment the equality of men."[18] And he added, "When you consider the fact that few men in responsible political positions are in love with great principles that are vouchsafed by that historic document, you may not wonder that the Constitution has become more of a reference than a philosophy of action."[19]

It was a terrible indignity to Abbott that "foreigners" received preferential treatment by the federal government and by private industry over the "black citizenry born and reared

18. *Ibid.*, 127.
19. *Ibid.*

here and which has served with unswerving devotion the cause of this nation."[20] Abbott's tendency was to make a special problem of the Negro's subjugation to discrimination. Almost without exception he failed to point out the related problems of other minorities in the population, who, if united with the Negroes, could have wielded far greater power than any of them did alone.

Abbott strongly blamed the federal government for indifference to the unequal application of justice. He said, "In regard to equity, fair play, economic opportunity and social justice, the black man, by all the symbols of distinction, is truly the much forgotten man."[21] He wanted the national government to guarantee the free exercise of civil rights. At the same time, he envisioned a scientifically controlled, missionary-like movement in the South to explode the race myth.

He was interested in an overall program, and he warned that only if an organized campaign were launched could the Negro effectively be prevented from enlistment in the Red army. Though Abbott sometimes protested against the practice, he himself periodically flaunted the Red scare before the American public. Such tactics put him in a bargaining position with the leaders of the white population who, especially during the great depression, were fearful of the Communist inroads in the black belt. But Abbott was a political conservative and agreed with the Communist party only in its insistence upon the protection of Negro rights.

Abbott also relentlessly exposed the faithlessness of Americans to their own professed Christian principles, including the brotherhood of man and the dignity of human personality. Sharp and persistent were these lashings from his pen. He meant to reach the conscience of the vast white population, or at least of its leaders, in order to make them ashamed of their treatment of a tenth of the people of the

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*

nation. Besides the tactic of protest, he took advantage of another mighty weapon — the white man's own soul — to fight against his racial prejudice.

One of Abbott's eccentricities was his aversion to the use of the term "Negro," which he believed to be unnecessary identification for Americans who happened to be at least partly of African descent. When it was absolutely necessary for identification, he substituted "Race" for "Negro."

Because of the single-mindedness of his attack on prejudice, Abbott undervalued the literature and music that came from staunch souls encased in the crushed and humiliated bodies of Negroes. His charge that prejudice had made Negro creative effort mediocre was an unconscious apology for the race's not having produced a timeless literary giant, when there actually was no need for apology.

Thus it was that Robert S. Abbott hammered away at the system of semi-caste in general, at the federal government, the South, white Christianity, and specific institutions that either condoned discrimination with their silence or actually perpetuated the myth of superiority. His criticisms were usually concerned with the specific issue of Negro equality, but occasionally he allowed his objections to transfer unreasonably to a condemnation of entire institutions. Despite his emotional outpouring, he exhibited a mountainous will and a profound wisdom about basic strategy, and the *Chicago Defender* became a concrete expression of Abbott's personality and philosophy.

To this point, I have attempted to outline Abbott's fight against the white society that humiliated him and his race, and to illustrate his strategy of creating an alert mass citizenry of Negroes to join him in the battle. This report of his philosophy would be grossly perverted if his criticisms of his own race were omitted. "As violently critical as Abbott was of the society that hurt him, his analysis of what was wrong with Negroes was even more harsh"[22] — and was

22. Ottley, *Lonely Warrior,* 11.

sometimes more cutting than that of race-baiting white southerners.

In his efforts to influence members of his race, Abbott was probably as potent as any leader in lashing up a militant mass. He chastised those who did not ask for the rights that were guaranteed to them by law and by their ancestors' blood and sweat. He especially lamented the lack of militant leadership in the church and politics. The churches failed to give a practical religion, he asserted, because they were not contributing to a "spirit of brotherhood, an impulse toward unity, and an ideal making for a more enlightened civilization." Of the potentialities of leadership from politicians, he said, "If we are depending on them to solve our problems, we shall wait for a long time."[23]

Citing the schemes of going-back-to-Africa, of carving out a special state within the Union for Negroes, or operating a separate black economy, all of which suggested that good could come from the "stings of segregation," Abbott said: "These formulae are unmistakably symptoms of despair."[24] He insisted that a program of escapist independence would only encourage segregation: "The walls of discrimination can only be scaled with determination to fight the enemy on his own ground."[25]

He saw Negro-controlled economic institutions not as a separate power structure, but as a means of breaking into the larger economy and gaining its acceptance and respect. It was with the goal of eventual integration in mind that he called for the support of "Race" business enterprises, but he warned that such businesses should not be the nucleus of a Negro ghetto. "The black belt must be abolished. Until then we shall live in squalor, economic and social persecution," he maintained.[26] He attacked Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois — the man who laid the intellectual foundation for the Na-

23. Lochard, "Robert S. Abbott — 'Race Leader'," 130.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, 131.

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) — for his advocacy of a black economic nation within a nation, calling him "irrational" and his program but a "dream."[27]

Abbott set the tone for the Negro press not only in Illinois but throughout the United States. The *Chicago Defender* laid the groundwork for the national Negro press. As biased as Abbott's thinking may have been without a humanity-wide perspective, no one today challenges his basic strategy of rousing the masses to participate in a program of protest to reach the conscience of white America.

The Negro press in Illinois, as elsewhere, provides symbols of faith for the vague longings that are sweeping the Negro population. The awkward gestures of the awakening black peasantry, the new desire of Negroes for independent status, the revolt against a culture which has but partially assimilated the Negro masses, the feelings of kinship with all oppressed dark peoples — these new attitudes are articulated forcefully by the Negro press.

New emotions accompany new objectives. Where there is ferment and unrest, there the leaven for change is to be found. Traditions are being shaken and uprooted by the percussion of new ideas. For instance, in this year of 1963, cities throughout the country are in violent agitation over "restricted" residential areas. Where once there was ineffectual grumbling, acquiescence, or silent resentment about the injustice to Negroes, there are now new convictions which more often prompt action. It is this spirit, aided by realization of economic and educational success by Negro leaders, that has resulted in the sit-in movement, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Negro press in Illinois has helped the Negro to slip from under the tyranny of social intimidation and shake off the psychology of imitation and implied inferiority. By

27. *Ibid.*

shedding the old chrysalis, we are achieving something like a spiritual emancipation, a century after President Lincoln's historic Proclamation. Until recently, however, we were, because we lacked self-understanding, almost as much a problem to ourselves as we still are to others. But the decade that found us with a problem has left us with only a task. Either emotionally or intellectually, the Negro now knows that the vital inner grip of prejudice has been broken.

With this renewed self-respect and self-dependence, the Negro community, under the constant urging of the Negro press, is bound to enter a dynamic new phase, the buoyancy from within compensating for whatever pressure there may be from without. The migrant masses, shifting from countryside to city, hurdle several generations of experience at a leap. More important, the same thing happens spiritually in the life-attitudes and self-expression of the young Negro, in his poetry, his art, his education, and his new outlook; he has the additional advantage, of course, of the poise and greater certainty of knowing what it is all about. From this comes the promise of a new leadership.

The Negro press in Illinois, as elsewhere, acts to insure the survival of a free society, taking active measures for greater economic effectiveness and social well-being. The merit of this approach is that it goes beyond the rhetoric of ideas. This press calls upon the black man to reassert his individual dignity, to meet the hazards of freedom manfully, to suffer without complaint in the interests of liberty. Such, historically and intrinsically, is the program and role of the Negro press.

This is no time for timidity; danger calls for boldness and for accepting responsibility. The responsibility of the Negro press a hundred years after the abolition of chattel slavery is not only to bridge the chasm between integration and isolation, but also to maintain a constant *qui vive* to the democratic image so that it may not be transfigured into a symbol for subtle differentiation in the allocation of social

justice and rights. It is a stubbornly militant philosophy of unaltering protest that gives the *Chicago Defender* a unique place in the epic struggle for recognition and equality.

Negroes are still creatures of moral debate and historical controversy. And they are wary of seeing themselves in the distorted perspective of a social problem. The Negro of the northern centers has reached a stage where tutelage, even of the most interested and well-intentioned sort, must give place to new relationships in which positive self-direction must be reckoned with in ever increasing measure. The white American must reckon with a fundamentally changed black man.

The Negro, for his part, has idols of the tribe to smash. If the white man has erred in making the Negro appear to be that which would excuse or justify the treatment given him, the Negro, in turn, has too often unnecessarily excused himself because of the way he had been treated. The intelligent Negro is resolved not to make discrimination an extenuation for his shortcomings in performance, individual or collective; he is trying to hold himself at his own real value, neither inflated by sentimental allowances nor depreciated by current social discounts. For this he must know himself and be known for precisely what he is, and for that reason he welcomes the new scientific rather than the old sentimental interest. It is the Negro press which has undertaken the role of racial identification while preaching the gospel of social adjustment and economic parity.

Sentimental interest in the Negro has ebbed. We used to lament this as the falling off of our friends; now we rejoice and pray to be delivered both from self-pity and from condescension. There is a growing realization that in a social effort cooperation must supplant long-distance philanthropy and that the only safeguard for the future is in the carefully maintained contacts of the enlightened minorities of both race groups. Each racial group has had a bitter weaning, apathy or hatred on one side matching disillusionment or

resentment on the other; but they face each other today with at least the possibility of new attitudes.

It does not follow that if the Negro were better known, he would be better liked or better treated. But mutual understanding is basic for cooperation and adjustment. The Negro press has attempted to establish such understanding, and its success is vital to all of Illinois, where race relationships have been unsatisfactory and where the more intelligent and representative members of the two race groups have at so many points gotten out of touch with one another.

In the intellectual realm a renewed and keen curiosity is replacing the recent apathy. In art and letters, instead of being wholly caricatured, the Negro is being seriously portrayed and painted. The Negro press is being carefully studied, not just talked about and discussed. It is contributing its share to social understanding; it is playing an indispensable part in interracial communication. The attempt to build Americanism on race values, as some Chicago Negroes have tried to do (as in the Black Muslim movement, for instance), is a unique social experiment, but the Negro press in Illinois has repeatedly emphasized that American Negroes can achieve fulfillment only through the complete sharing of American culture and institutions. There should be no delusion about this. American nerves, unstrung in some places with race hysteria, are often soothed with the opiate that the trend of Negro advance is wholly separatist, and that the effect of its operation will be to encyst the Negro as a benign foreign growth in the body politic. This cannot be – even if it were desirable. The racialism of the Negro is no limitation to his Americanism.

Democracy is obstructed and stagnated to the extent that any of its channels are closed. Indeed, they cannot be selectively closed. So the choice is not between one way for the Negro and another way for the rest, but between frustration of American ideals on the one hand and fulfillment on the other.

IRVING DILLIARD

Civil Liberties of Negroes In Illinois Since 1865

In addition to contributing an editorial column to Chicago's Sunday American, *Irving Dilliard has been lecturing, traveling, and writing since his retirement from the* St. Louis Post-Dispatch *nearly four years ago. Last spring he was Regents' Lecturer at the University of California, Riverside, and he has been invited to visiting professorships in government and English at Princeton University for the 1963-1964 academic year. His latest book, published earlier this year, is* One Man's Stand for Freedom: Mr. Justice Black and the Bill of Rights. *He is a trustee of the University of Illinois, a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and a former trustee of the State Historical Library.*

A REVIEW of the civil liberties of Negroes in Illinois falls roughly into three periods. The first starts four decades before statehood and closes with the surrender of the Confederates at Appomattox Court House. The second period runs through the turn of the century to the formation of the organizations of Negro protest. The third period covers most of the present century down to this centennial year of the great Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.[1]

The reception accorded the Emancipation Proclamation was far from enthusiastic in some quarters even outside the slaveholding and rebelling South. Although Lincoln was an Illinoisan and his home state might have been expected to give him at least the benefit of the doubt if not active

1. For the history of the pre-Civil War period see "The Illinois Background of Lincoln's Attitude Toward Slavery and the Negro," by Arvarh E. Strickland, p. 474, and "The Black Laws of Illinois," by Elmer Gertz, p. 454. See also Irving Dilliard, "The Emancipation Proclamation in the Perspective of Time," *Law in Transition,* Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1963), 95-105.

support, Illinois was almost immediate in its official condemnation of the Proclamation. Notwithstanding the fact that the staunchly pro-Lincoln, pro-Union Richard Yates was in the governor's chair at Springfield, the Illinois legislature, only seven days after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, denounced Lincoln's great act "as unwarrantable in military as in civil law," as "a gigantic usurpation, at once converting the war, professedly commenced by the administration, for the vindication of the authority of the Constitution, into the crusade for the sudden, unconditional and violent liberation" of slaves. The resolution went on to say that the freeing of the Negroes in bondage in the Confederate States was "a result which would not only be a total subversion of the Federal Union but a Revolution in the social organization of the Southern States, the immediate and remote, the present and far-reaching consequences of which to both races cannot be contemplated without the most dismal foreboding of horror and dismay."[2]

The war years of 1863 and 1864 brought a deep change in sentiment in the Illinois legislature and, when the new General Assembly met in 1865, Lincoln "felt proud" that his state was the first to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery.[3] (Also it was at this session that the 1853 Black Laws were repealed.) Thus Illinois was back on Lincoln's side before John Wilkes Booth fired his fatal bullet.

But it was plain, even in 1865, both in the North and in the South, that freeing the slaves by the Thirteenth Amendment was not enough. Freedom was less than freedom if the right and opportunity to use it did not go along with the new freedom. The Fourteenth Amendment, which made the Negro a citizen and protected his rights from abridgment by the states, was submitted by Congress in 1866 and declared ratified by the required number of states in 1868. Then the Fifteenth Amendment, which expressly guaranteed

2. Milton R. Konvitz, *A Century of Civil Rights* (New York, 1961), 42-43; Theodore C. Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago, 1949), 170.
3. *New-York Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1865, p. 5.

the Negro's right to vote, was submitted in 1869 and declared ratified the next year. Thus the Emancipation Proclamation and its implications were written into the Constitution of the United States.[4]

The more alert Negroes in Illinois saw early that no matter what white officials did for them they would have to do a great deal for themselves and to a large extent make of their rights what they could. John Jones was the first member of his race to be elected a commissioner of Cook County. The year was 1840. The first Negro to serve in the state legislature was John W. E. Thomas of Chicago, whose tenure was in the 1870's and 1880's. Only thirty-four when he was elected the first time, he sponsored in 1885 a state civil rights law for Negroes.[5]

The Illinois Civil Rights Act sponsored by Representative Thomas was strengthened with amendments and supporting statutes until it unqualifiedly prohibited discrimination against Negroes in public places. The legislation was made positive and specific rather than general by a detailed listing of facilities which were to be held open to Negroes on equal terms with white people. The penalty for violation included an award of damages ranging from $25 to $500 to the person discriminated against, as well as a fine up to $500 and imprisonment for the offender.[6]

These equal rights statutes, like all laws, were only as effective as their administration and enforcement. If in 1870 the Illinois Supreme Court censured the Chicago and North Western Railway for withholding first-class passage from a Negro, three-quarters of a century later Negroes still had no recourse but to sue for damages when they were required to occupy the back seats on many bus routes in Illinois. And, of course, not everyone who was discriminated

4. Edgar Bernhard, Ira Latimer, and Harvey O'Connor, *Pursuit of Freedom: A History of Civil Liberties in Illinois, 1787-1942* (Chicago, 1942), 95-96.
5. *Ibid.*, 96.
6. *Ibid.*

against had the facilities, money, and time to bring suit against the discriminators.

Moreover, a suit was not certain to be successful. In 1939 Earl B. Dickerson, then a member of the Chicago Board of Aldermen and also an assistant attorney general for the state, sued a Springfield hotel named the Abraham Lincoln on charges of discrimination because of his color. Two years later his plea for damages under the Civil Rights Act was rejected in a court of law.[7] Discrimination along racial lines was the general rule, but it was more widespread and yielded more slowly in the southern parts of the state than in Chicago, where the rapidly growing Negro population in itself forced breaches in the racial barrier in areas of employment and elsewhere.

It was not long after the Civil War that the Negro vote began to make itself manifest in Chicago. But the expectation that it would remain firmly Republican was quickly dispelled. In 1885 Carter Harrison I conducted a Democratic campaign for mayor marked by, among other things, friendliness for the Negroes of the community. A result was that he received half of the Negro vote. When his son, Carter Harrison II, ran for the same office in 1899, he collected about 65 per cent of the ballots cast by Negroes.[8]

A citadel for Negro rights was established in Chicago when Jane Addams and her Rockford College friend Ellen Gates Starr opened the doors of Hull House, September 14, 1889. For the first physician on the Hull House staff, Jane Addams had the vision to choose a medically well-trained Negro woman. Hull House also had its effect on Negro rights as the pioneering social service agency which helped lift the level of Negro education, employment capabilities, and artistic and cultural achievement.[9] As even a few Ne-

7. *Ibid.*, 96-97.

8. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1962), 492n.

9. Margaret Tims, *Jane Addams of Hull House, 1860-1935: A Centenary Study* (New York, 1961).

groes were able to attain success, they were in a better position to stand up for a fairer measure of enforcement of their rights under the law.

The worst denials of individual rights came in violence that cost Negroes – and some white people – their lives. Springfield, East St. Louis, and Chicago, three widely separated communities, were the scenes of the three most serious outbreaks in the first two decades of the century.

The rioting in Springfield took place only some six months before the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln – indeed, as the Illinois capital was making plans to celebrate the centennial occasion. The dates of the rioting were August 14 and 15, 1908. The precise cause of the tragic events is not too easily stated. The classic study of Negro life and problems in Illinois, still not displaced after forty years, described the Springfield rioting as "an outstanding example of the racial bitterness and brutality that can be provoked by unsubstantiated rumor or, as in this case, by deliberate falsehood."[10]

This objective account, prepared by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations and published in 1922, continues:

> The two Negro victims were innocent and unoffending. They were lynched under the shadow of the capitol of Lincoln's state, within half a mile of the only home he ever owned, and two miles from the monument which marks the grave of the Great Emancipator.
>
> A second fundamental factor in the Springfield riot situation was the fertile field prepared by admittedly lax law enforcement and by tolerance in the community of vicious conditions, the worst of which were permitted to surround the Negro areas.
>
> The spark which touched off the explosion was the old story of the violation of a white woman by a Negro, and not until the damage had been done was its falsity confessed by the woman who told it.
>
> On the night of Friday, August 14, 1908, according to her story, Mrs. H——, wife of a street-railway conductor, was asleep

10. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago, 1922), 67.

in her room. She was alone in the house. She declared that a Negro entered, dragged her from her bed to the back yard, and there committed the crime. She said she had attempted to scream but was choked by her assailant, who left her lying unconscious in the garden.

A Negro, George Richardson, who had been at work on a neighboring lawn the day before the attack, was accused by Mrs. H—— and was arrested when he returned to work the next morning. He was placed in the county jail and on August 19 he was indicted.

During inquiry by a special grand jury certain facts were disclosed concerning Mrs. H——'s character, and she admitted that, though she had been brutally beaten by a white man on the night indicated, Richardson was not present and had no connection with the affair. She admitted that she had not been raped. For reasons known only to herself, she wished to keep the name of the real assailant a secret, and therefore she had accused Richardson. She signed an affidavit exonerating him. Richardson had no criminal record. He and two of his family were property owners in Springfield.

While Richardson was in custody and before he was exonerated, feeling against him was intensified because of the murder, three or four weeks before, of Clergy A. Ballard, a white man, by Joe James, a Negro tramp, who was a drug and whiskey addict. James had been taken from a freight train and placed in jail for thirty days and had been released on the night of the crime. He was charged with entering the room of Ballard's daughter, Blanche, at night. Ballard grappled with him, but James broke away and ran. In the struggle Ballard was mortally injured. James was found asleep in a park near the Ballard home about noon the next day, under the influence of a drug. He was tried and hanged, and his body was taken back to Mississippi by his mother for interment. Rev. Mr. Dawson, spiritual adviser of James, stated that James declared he had no knowledge of the crime.

Springfield was, therefore, in a receptive mood when, on the morning of Friday [*sic*], August 15, it got the first rumors concerning the attack on Mrs. H——. Richardson had been taken before her and partially identified. In the afternoon, when it became known that he had been arrested, crowds gathered about the jail. They seemed good-natured rather than blood-thirsty. It was also known that James, accused of the Ballard murder, occupied a cell in the jail. The sheriff preserved order through the afternoon, no

effort being made to disperse the crowd of 300 or 400 persons. About five o'clock Richardson and James were taken in an automobile to Sherman, north of Springfield, and there they were transferred by train to Bloomington.

About 7:00 p.m. leadership began to develop in the mob about the jail. The leaders demanded the two Negroes, but were finally convinced by the sheriff that they were not in the jail. Then the story spread that Harry Loper, a restaurant keeper, had provided the automobile in which the men had been removed. The crowd rushed to the restaurant five blocks away. In response to the mob's hootings Loper appeared in the doorway with a firearm in his hand. About 8:30 p.m. someone threw a brick through a plate-glass window and in a few minutes the front of the restaurant had been smashed out. Then followed the complete wrecking of the restaurant, as well as the owner's automobile, which had been standing in front.

When the mob began to surge through the town the Fire Department was called to disperse it, but the mob cut the hose. Control having been lost by the sheriff and police, Governor Deneen called out the militia. The mob, by this time very much excited, started for the Negro district through Washington Street, along which a large number of Negroes lived on upper floors. Raiding second-hand stores which belonged to white men, the mob secured guns, axes, and other weapons with which it destroyed places of business operated by Negroes and drove out all of the Negro residents from Washington Street. Then it turned north into Ninth Street.

At the northeast corner of Ninth and Jefferson streets was the frame barber shop of Scott Burton, a Negro. The mob set fire to this building. From that point it went a block farther north to Madison Street and then turned east and began firing all the shacks in which Negroes and whites lived in that street.

Burton, the first victim of the mob's violence, was lynched in the yard back of his shop. The mob tied a rope around his neck and dragged him through the streets. An effort was then made to burn the body, which had been hung to a tree. This was at two oclock in the morning.

About this time a company of militia arrived from Decatur, Illinois, and proceeded through Madison Street to Twelfth Street, where the mob was engaged in mutilating Burton's body, riddling it with bullets. The mob was twice ordered to disperse, and the militia fired in the air twice. The third time the troops fired into

the ankles and legs of the mob. At least two of the men in the mob were wounded and the mob quickly gave way.

By this time the Negroes were badly frightened and began leaving town. Meanwhile, Governor Deneen had sent for more troops, including two regiments from Chicago. Before the rioting ended 5,000 militiamen were patrolling the streets of Springfield. On Saturday morning the militia began to arrive in force, including detachments from Chicago. This was a comparatively quiet day, but that night another Negro was lynched within a block of the State House. The mob gathered on the Court House Square and marched south on Fifth Street to Monroe, west on Monroe to Spring, and south on Spring to Edwards. At the southeast corner of Spring and Edwards streets, a Negro named Donegan and his family lived for many years. Donegan was eighty-four years old and owned the half-block of ground where he lived. He was found sleeping in his own yard and was quickly strung up to a tree across the street. Then his throat was cut and his body mutilated. The troops interfered at this point and cut down the man, taking him in an ambulance to the hospital where he died the following morning. Donegan's only offense seems to have been that he had had a white wife for more than thirty years. He bore a good reputation, and the mob had found no reason for lynching him.

Abe Raymer, who was supposed to have been the leader of the mob, was charged with the murder of Donegan, but was released.

As an example of the disorder which occurred Friday evening, it is narrated that Eugene W. Chafin, Prohibition candidate for the presidency, was delivering an address on the east side of the public square. A Negro pursued by the mob ran toward the speaker's stand from Fifth and Washington streets where he had been pulled from a street car. Two men helped him to the speaker's stand, while Chafin at the front of the platform threatened to shoot into the crowd. Although he had no revolver he made a motion toward his hip pocket. During the mêlée before gaining the platform the Negro drew a knife from his pocket and slashed several white men. When he had escaped from the rear of the platform, missiles flew in the direction of Mr. Chafin, one of them hitting him on the head.

Four men were rounded up who had been blacked up to resemble Negroes and had been firing on soldiers during the night in an effort to substantiate the assertion that the Negroes did not welcome the soldiers.

Sunday was quiet. No effort was made to reorganize the mob.

The whole city was as if under martial law. The saloons were shut and every place of business was closed at 9:00 p.m.

The people who took part in the mob violence had no grievances against the Negroes. They were hoodlums and underworld folk. Many of the hoodlums, according to one observer, were less than twenty years old.

During the rioting four white men were killed. They were: Louis Johnson, of 1208 East Reynolds Street, whose body was found at the foot of the stairs leading to the barroom in Loper's restaurant. He was shot through the abdomen; John Colwell, of 1517 Matheny Street, who died at St. John's Hospital; J. W. Scott, of 125 East Adams Street, who was shot in the lungs; Frank Delmore, who was killed by a stray bullet.

Seventy-nine persons were injured. The property destroyed included Loper's restaurant and automobile, Scott Burton's barber shop, the Delmonico saloon, and one block of houses between Tenth and Eleventh streets, which were burned, with all their contents. Scores of families were left destitute. Many Negroes were severely beaten before they were able to escape from the district. Numbers of these homeless colored people swarmed to neighboring towns and to Chicago. Three thousand of them were concentrated at Camp Lincoln, the National Guard camp grounds. Some of the refugees were cared for at the arsenal.

Current comment concerning the riots suggested political corruption and laxity of law enforcement as important underlying causes of the riots. An assistant state's attorney in Springfield charged that saloons had long been violating the law, and that the law was not generally enforced as it ought to be. He cited these conditions as responsible in large measure for the rioting and murders. Pastors in their sermons on the riot focused attention on the way in which vicious elements were permitted to flout the law with impunity. This comment came so generally and insistently from those conversant with the situation that the *Chicago Daily News* was led to remark editorially upon the responsibility of the public authorities in Springfield. It said:

> "Vice and other forms of law breaking have been given wide latitude here. The notoriety of Springfield's evil resorts has been widespread.
>
> "A mob which murders, burns and loots, is a highly undesirable substitute even for a complacent city administration. It is a logical result, however, of long temporizing with vice and harboring of the vicious. When a mob begins to shoot and hang, to destroy and pillage, there is instant recognition on the part of

responsible persons of the beauty of law enforcement and of general orderliness."

On Sunday following the riots some Springfield saloonkeepers took advantage of the fact that large crowds of sight-seers had come to town to open their places, in violation of the order by Mayor Reece to remain closed. Some of them were arrested for defiance of the mayor's proclamation to remain closed until order had been restored.

By Monday or Tuesday order was pretty well restored in Springfield. Some of the National Guard troops were kept on duty for several days. Almost 100 arrests were made, and a special grand jury returned more than fifty indictments.[11]

Among the many accounts of the Springfield riot in the national press was an especially moving report by William English Walling in the *Independent*. Calling his article "Race War in the North" and invoking "the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy" to help improve the life of the Negro, the author asked: "Who realizes the seriousness of the situation and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?"[12]

The writer's question stirred still another writer and student of racial problems in both Manhattan and the South. She was Mary White Ovington, who had served as a correspondent for the racially concerned *New York Evening Post,* published by Oswald Garrison Villard, a grandson of the great abolitionist editor, William Lloyd Garrison, and himself a strong advocate of equal rights for all Americans regardless of race or creed. Miss Ovington proposed a concerted approach based on a realistic inventory of the state of racial relations. A small meeting thus inspired in New York recommended a national call to action. This call was prepared by Villard for release to the nation on the one-hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth.

The sixty signers included notable men and women, several

11. *Ibid.,* 67-71.

12. Langston Hughes, *Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP* (New York, 1962), 21; Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation* (New York, 1948), 179-89.

of whom were or had been associated with Illinois.[13] Among these were Jane Addams, who twenty years earlier had opened the doors of Hull House to all races and national backgrounds; Brand Whitlock, then mayor of Toledo, who had served as secretary to Governor John Peter Altgeld in the 1890's; and John Dewey, who had made his mark in philosophy and education at the University of Chicago.

Out of this appeal to the entire country to make the Lincoln centennial truly meaningful came the organization of the National Negro Committee. It operated through the rest of 1909 and into 1910. Then, in May, 1910, just a year after the establishment of the Committee, the organizing and operating group decided to give itself a name of greater significance. Thus the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People came into being the year of the Lincoln centennial, and took its name and its long since widely known initials, N.A.A.C.P., soon afterward.[14] But the Springfield riot had touched off a movement that would produce not one but many organizations of Negro protest, liberation, and accommodation. The formation of the National Urban League was another response to Walling's statement of the alternatives: "either . . . absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North." Established in 1911 as a social service organization, the Urban League "undertook a program of assistance to newly arrived Negro migrants from the South and their problems of adjustment to northern urban life." Depending chiefly on white financial support, its activities soon included job placement for Negroes, community improvement projects, schools, playgrounds, public health clinics, and housing betterment.[15]

Meantime able Negroes were winning their way here and there in Illinois. One of the most unusual instances of Negro advancement was that of Augustine Tolton of Quincy,

13. Hughes, *Fight for Freedom,* 22-23.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Haywood, *Negro Liberation,* 189-91.

who became the first Roman Catholic priest of the Negro race in the United States.[16] Another leader was John C. Buckner, who opened the way for Negroes to advance in the Illinois State Militia. Originally a headwaiter for private parties, he rose through the command of the Ninth (Negro) Battalion. In 1895 this unit was incorporated into the Eighth Illinois Regiment by Governor Altgeld, and Buckner was promoted major. He also served as a representative in the Illinois legislature from the Fifth District. Other Negroes who distinguished themselves in the late 1890's or early 1900's by obtaining election to the Illinois General Assembly were William L. Martin, John G. Jones, and Edward H. Morris. Perhaps the most notable display of Negro power in politics in Illinois at the time was shown by Edward H. Wright. As a member of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, beginning in the 1890's, he refused to vote for an appropriation to run the office of State's Attorney Charles S. Deneen until Deneen had fulfilled a promise to appoint a Negro to his legal staff. When Deneen made the appointment, Wright backed the appropriation.[17]

That was the period, and Illinois was the state, which offered a *shocking court defiance* of lawful public school integration. Judge James O. Monroe, Jr., recently summarized the case People *ex rel.* Bibb v. Mayor as follows:

> A Negro [Scott Bibb] of Alton, where Lovejoy was martyred in 1837 and supposedly revered, sought mandamus for admission [of his children, Minnie and Ambrose Bibb] to noncolored grades. In the circuit court where I now sit, juries heard the case, 5 adverse decisions came; all were reversed, and the [State] supreme court in disgust issued its own writ. *People ex rel. Bibb* v. *Mayor,* 179 Ill. 615, 54 N. E. 421 (1899); 193 Ill. 309, 61 N. E. 1077 (1901); 209 Ill. 461, 70 N. E. 640 (1904); 221 Ill. 275, 77 N. E. 429 (1906); 233 Ill. 542, 84 N. E. 664 (1908). By then, the

16. *Western Catholic* (Springfield, Ill.), July 7, 1963, under the heading "First Negro Priest in US Product of Alton Diocese." For more information about Father Tolton see "Negro Churches in Illinois," by Miles Mark Fisher, p. 552.

17. Information from Carl G. Hodges, Springfield author who has been doing research in Negro history.

"child" was twenty-one years old. The present Court Clerk, Simon Kellermann, Jr., who sat on one jury, recalls how futilely it hung. A retired educator, C. H. Dorris, recalls how fruitlessly the Negroes gave up. Change finally came, in 1950. The last colored school in my own home city [Collinsville] closed only in 1958. The North can scarcely look down its nose.[18]

Nearly a decade passed between the Springfield riot and the next serious instance of violence against Negroes in Illinois. It occurred in East St. Louis, and the Chicago Commission on Race Relations reported on the tragic events as follows:

Following a period of bitter racial feeling, frequently marked by open friction, a clash between whites and Negroes in East St. Louis, Illinois, occurred on May 28, 1917, in which, following rumors that a white man had been killed by Negroes, a number of Negroes were beaten by a mob of white men. This outbreak was the forerunner of a much more serious riot on July 2, in which at least thirty-nine Negroes and eight white people were killed, much property was destroyed by fire, and the local authorities proved so ineffective and demoralized that the state militia was required to restore order. A Congressional Committee investigated the facts of the riot and the underlying conditions, which included industrial disturbances and shameful corruption in local government. [This statement is based mainly upon the report of this special committee appointed by Congress to investigate the East St. Louis riots and upon the stenographic report of the testimony taken by it. This testimony, comprising 6,000 typewritten pages, was placed at the disposal of the Commission through the courtesy of the chairman of the Committee, Representative Ben Johnson, of Kentucky, and the interest and co-operation of Representative James R. Mann, of Illinois.][19]

The coroner of St. Clair County in which East St. Louis is situated held thirty-eight inquests, as a result of which it was found that twenty-six of these deaths had been due to gun-shot wounds, four to drowning, four to burns, two to fractured skulls, one to hemorrhage of the brain, and one to pneumonia after a fracture of the thyroid cartilage. Hundreds of persons were estimated to have been more or less seriously injured, seventy having been treated in St. Mary's Hospital. It has been impossible to get an accurate

18. *New York University Law Review,* XXXIV (April, 1959): 815.

19. The bracketed sentences are in a footnote in the source publication.

accounting of the deaths and injuries. One man who had taken a deep interest in the situation estimated that from 200 to 300 Negroes were killed.

About 200 people were arrested. Some of these were released, some were charged with rioting and conspiracy, and others with arson. Two white women were tried for conspiracy and rioting, and fined $50.00. Ten Negroes were convicted of rioting and murder. Indictments of 104 white persons grew out of the immediate activities of the rioters. Three policemen were among those indicted for murder in connection with firing upon Negro bystanders. In this same group of assailants were seven soldiers who were court-martialed. No finding in their cases has been announced. Three white men were indicted for murder in connection with a raid upon a street-car load of Negro passengers in which a father and son were killed, a mother was wounded severely, and a little daughter escaped. Twenty-six men, two of them Negroes, were indicted for arson.

The efforts to bring the guilty to justice were commented upon and summarized by this Congressional Committee as follows:

> "Assistant Attorney General Middlekauf had active charge of the prosecutions growing out of the riot, and he showed neither fear nor favor. Capable, determined, and courageous, he allowed neither political influence nor personal appeals to swerve him from the strict line of duty.
>
> "As a result of these prosecutions by the attorney general's office 11 Negroes and eight white men are in the State penitentiary, 2 additional white men have been sentenced to prison terms, 14 white men have been given jail sentences, 27 white men, including the former night chief of police and three policemen, have pleaded guilty to rioting and have been punished.
>
> "These convictions were obtained in the face of organized, determined effort, backed with abundant funds, to head off the prosecutions and convictions. In the case of Mayor Mollman there seems to have been an open, paid advertising campaign to slander and intimidate the Attorney General."

The burned area of the city was on Fifth Street, Broadway, Walnut Street, Eighth Street, Eleventh Street and Bond Avenue, as well as "the Flats" on Seventh Street, between Division and Missouri avenues. This latter area was that occupied by Negroes. There were 312 buildings and forty-four railroad cars totally or partially destroyed, with a total loss of $393,600.

Without doubt conditions resulting from the migration of a large number of Negroes from the South, a movement which was more or less general at that time, account in large measure for the riots,

but also involved in it all are the facts that there had been industrial friction, and that the city was flagrantly misgoverned.

The Congressional Committee observed an effort to shift the blame from one element to another. The labor interests sought to place responsibility for the riots upon the employers, who, they said, had brought great numbers of Negroes to East St. Louis in order that they might more readily dominate the employment situation. The employers, on the other hand, thought the blame rested upon the city and county administration because of laxity in law enforcement, exploitation of Negroes for political purposes, and all sorts of political corruption, including the "protection" of vice and crime. The political ring sought to dodge responsibility by emphasizing economic and industrial causes of the outbreak.

Whatever may have been the conditions resulting from the influx of Negroes, they were undoubtedly actuated by a desire to improve their condition. Some 10,000 or 12,000 Negroes had come to St. Clair County from the South during the winter of 1916-17. During the year and a half preceding the riot, the number of such migrants was estimated at 18,000, although it was reported that many had returned during the winter of 1916-17, because of the unaccustomed cold climate. It is certain that this influx severely taxed the housing accommodations of East St. Louis, which were of the insanitary and inadequate nature that so often characterizes urban districts in which the Negroes find that they must live. The report of the Congressional Committee on this point says:

> "It is a lamentable fact that the employers of labor paid too little heed to the comfort or welfare of their men. They saw them crowded into wretched cabins without water or any of the conveniences of life, their wives and children condemned to live in the disreputable quarters of the town, and made no effort to lift them out of the mire. The Negroes gravitated to the insanitary sections, existed in the squalor of filthy cabins and made no complaint, but the white workmen had a higher outlook, and failure to provide them with better homes added to their bitter dissatisfaction with the burdens placed upon them by having to compete with black labor."

From the industrial point of view it should be noted that in the summer of 1916 there had been a strike of 4,000 white men in the packing-plants of East St. Louis. It was asserted that Negroes were used in these plants as strike breakers. A report on the Negro migration by the United States Department of Labor states that when the strike was ended Negroes were still employed, and some of the white men lost their positions. It says further: "The white

leaders undoubtedly realized that the effectiveness of striking was materially lessened by this importation of black workers."

Furthermore, it is stated in the report of the Congressional Committee that the Aluminum Ore Company, during a strike, brought hundreds of Negroes to the city as strike breakers in order to defeat organized labor, "a precedent which aroused intense hatred and antagonism, and caused countless tragedies as its aftermath. The feeling of resentment grew with each succeeding day. White men walked the streets in idleness and their families suffered for food and warmth and clothes, while their places as laborers were taken by strange Negroes who were compelled to live in hovels and who were used to keep down wages." . . .

Closely related to this situation was a notice sent to the delegates of the Central Trades Labor Union by the secretary of the Union, dated May 23, which declared that the immigration of the southern Negro had reached a point where "drastic action must be taken if we intend to work and to live peaceably in this community." This notice declared that these men were being used "to the detriment of our white citizens by some of the capitalists and a few real estate owners." It called a meeting to present to the mayor and city council a demand for action to "retard this growing menace, and also devise a way to get rid of a certain portion of those who are already here." The notice read further: "This is not a protest against the Negro who has long been a resident of East St. Louis, and is a law abiding citizen."

This meeting was held on May 28 in the auditorium of the City Hall and was attended not only by the labor men but also by a large number of other persons. The Congressional Committee refers to one of the speakers at this meeting as "an attorney of some ability and no character." The report of the Committee says that he virtually advised the killing of Negroes and burning of their homes. The report says further:

> "He was not authorized to speak for those who went there to protest against the lawlessness which disgraced the city and the presence of thousands of Negroes who it is claimed were taking the places of white workmen, but his inflammatory speech caused many of his hearers to rush into the street and to resort to acts of violence. . . . He was full in sympathy with the action of the mob. They followed his advice and the scenes of murder and arson that ensued were the logical result of his utterances."

That night, May 28, following the meeting, a crowd of white people assembled in front of the police station and clamored for

Negro prisoners. A rumor circulated through the crowd that a white man had just been killed by Negroes, and parts of the crowd left, forming a mob which severely beat a number of Negroes whom it met. The situation was so serious that the mayor called for troops. The trouble subsided, however. It is important to note that from this time until the riot of July 1-2, no effort was made to strengthen the police force nor were any other steps taken to control the situation.

. . . . . .

The employers were fighting unions of any sort, whether of whites or Negroes. Unions were seeking membership of Negroes as well as whites in the hope that the use of Negroes as strike breakers might be prevented. Whether union men or not, the white workers resented the influx of Negro workers who might take their jobs.

. . . . . .

The Mayor, continues the report, was a tool of dishonest politicians, the electorate was "debauched," the police were a conscienceless bunch of grafters, and the revenue of the city was largely derived from saloons and dens of vice.

Several officials and politicians of high standing were singled out by the Committee for especial condemnation as the "brains of the city's corruption."

A great deal of the city's crime and vice was concentrated in what is known as "Black Valley." This was the section in which the Negroes lived, but much of the vice and crime was promoted and practiced by vicious whites. There was much mixing of whites and Negroes in the vilest practices.

Similar conditions existed in the town of Brooklyn nearby, with about 3,000 people, of whom only about fifty were white. Its dens of iniquity were notorious and were the resort of many white people. So openly operated were these resorts that the Congressional Committee reported that in the Brooklyn High School "24 out of 25 girls who were in the graduating class went to the bad in the saloons and dance halls and failed to receive their diplomas."

Not only were conditions of this sort demoralizing and degrading for the decent Negroes, but the sanitary conditions were likewise extremely bad. Some of the houses in the Negro districts had not been painted for fifteen years and were in a state of great disrepair. Their setting consisted largely of pools of stagnant water and beds of weeds. At one period during the migration, Negroes were coming in so fast that even these miserable housing conditions were inadequate, and some of them were forced to live in sheds. In one

instance sixty-nine newcomers were found living in one small house. Whenever houses were vacated by white people and rented to Negroes, the rental price was largely increased, sometimes doubled.

After reviewing the corruption in East St. Louis, the report of the Congressional Committee discussed the riot. It described the condition of affairs on the night of July 1, 1917, when the second and most serious outbreak occurred. An automobile (some witnesses said two) went through the Negro section of the city, its occupants firing promiscuously into homes. This aroused fierce resentment among the Negroes, who organized for defense and armed themselves with guns. The ringing of the church bell, a prearranged signal for assembling, drew a crowd of them, and they marched through the streets ready to avenge the attack. A second automobile filled with white men crossed their path. The Negroes cursed them, commanded them to drive on, and fired a volley into the machine. The occupants, however, were not the rioters but policemen and reporters. One policeman was killed and another was so seriously wounded that he died later.

Thousands viewed the riddled car standing before police headquarters. The early editions of the newspapers gave full accounts of the tragedy, and on July 2 the rioting began. Negro mobs shot white men, and white men and boys, girls and women, began to attack every Negro in sight. News spread rapidly and, as excitement increased, unimaginable depredations and horrible tortures were committed and viewed with "placid unconcern" by hundreds. Negro men were stabbed, clubbed and hanged from telephone poles. Their homes were burned. Women and children were not spared. An instance is given of a Negro child two years old which was shot and thrown into a doorway of a burning building.

On the night of July 1, Mayor Mollman telephoned to the Adjutant General of Illinois saying that the police were no longer able to handle the situation and requesting that the militia be sent. Both the police and the militia are severely censured by the Congressional report for gross failure to do their duty. The police, says the report, could have quelled the riot instantly, but instead they either "fled into the safety of cowardly seclusion or listlessly watched the depredations of the mob, passively and in many instances actively sharing in the work."

In all, five companies of the Illinois National Guard were sent to East St. Louis. Some of them arrived on the morning of July 2, the first at 8:40 A.M. These forces were in command of Colonel S. O. Tripp. Concerning the conduct of the militia, the Congres-

sional Committee reported in strong terms, singling out Colonel Tripp for especial condemnation. It said that he was a hindrance instead of a help to the troops; that "he was ignorant of his duties, blind to his responsibilities and deaf to every intelligent appeal that was made to him."

The troops, in the estimation of the Committee, were poorly officered and in only a few cases did their duty. The report states that "they seemed moved by the same spirit of indifference or cowardice that marked the conduct of the police force. As a rule they fraternized with the mob, joked with them and made no serious effort to restrain them."

Many instances are given of active participation and encouragement of the mob in its murders, arson, and general destruction.

The only redeeming feature of the activities of the militia, according to the Congressional Committee, was "the conduct, bravery, and skill of the officer second in command, whose promptness and determination prevented the mob from committing many more atrocities."

By eight o'clock of the evening of July 2 there were seventeen officers and 270 men on duty, and by July 4 the force had increased to thirty-seven officers and 1,411 men. On the evening of July 2 the fury of the mob had spent itself, and the riot subsided.

The behavior of the troops was condemned not only by the Congressional Committee but by citizens generally, and a special inquiry was made into their conduct by the Military and Naval Department of the State of Illinois. Witnesses to dereliction on duty on the part of the soldiers were examined and commanding officers of troops were asked to testify and explain specific acts of violence and neglect of duty. In all seventy-nine persons were examined. Although the charges against the soldiers in a large number of cases were serious and sufficient to warrant the criticism which they received, identification of individuals guilty of these acts was difficult. This probably accounts for the fact that only seven court-martials resulted from the inquiry. The commanding officer, although severely censured by the Congressional Committee, was exonerated by this inquiry."[20]

The notorious violence at Chicago in 1919, which extended from July 27 to August 2 of that year, was a consequence

20. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago,* 71-78; for information about a newspaper reporter who figured in the investigation see Irving Dilliard, "Paul Y. Anderson," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XXII (New York, 1958): 13-15.

of the acute shortage in housing for Negroes.[21] Many thousands of emigrants from the South, attracted to Chicago as war industry workers, overflowed the old racial ghetto, then roughly bounded by Twelfth and Thirty-ninth streets and Wentworth and Cottage Grove avenues. As the Negro population spread beyond these borders, inter-racial incidents occurred until on Sunday afternoon, July 27, rioting was touched off by the drowning of a seventeen-year-old Negro boy. Intense heat had driven crowds of both races to the Lake Michigan beach at Twenty-seventh and Twenty-ninth streets. When four Negroes crossed the generally observed segregation line, white swimmers ordered them back. Other Negroes took up the challenge and stones were thrown. The Negro youth, after swimming earlier into the white section, was accosted by missiles. He tried to protect himself by holding onto a floating railroad tie, then released his grasp and went under as a white boy swam toward him. Efforts to rescue him in time were futile, and he was drowned. Word spread that he had been hit by a stone thrown by a white man. Negroes asked that the man be arrested. Instead a Negro was arrested on a white man's complaint. At that Negroes mobbed the policeman, and almost a week of rioting had begun.

As in East St. Louis, statistics did not necessarily record all the losses. At least 38 were killed, 537 injured, and approximately 1,000 left without homes or other possessions because of the burning of the area. Criminal charges were brought against 154 Negroes and 75 whites. Also, as in East St. Louis, the evidence was overwhelming that the police had been anything but even handed with respect to the two races. Cook County State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne said in testimony before a committee on race relations appointed by Governor Frank O. Lowden: "There is no doubt that a great many police officers were grossly unfair in making arrests. They shut their eyes to offenses committed by white

21. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago,* 1-52.

men while they were very vigorous in getting all the colored men they could get."[22]

The next serious outbreak occurred in Waukegan, May 31-June 2, 1920, but it was brought under control and no lives were lost.[23] Chicago was relatively quiet with respect to racial matters for the next decade. During that time, however, Negro housing and businesses pushed as far south as Sixtieth Street, always in the face of white opposition.[24] Notwithstanding this expansion beyond the old ghetto, Negroes were still packed in tightly. As late as 1944 it could be said that in Chicago's Black Belt Negroes were "living 90,000 to the square mile as compared with 20,000 to the square mile in adjacent white" neighborhoods. These living conditions had their effect on public health. The Chicago death rate among white people from tuberculosis, during 1939-1941, was 45.4 per 100,000 population, but shot up more than five times to 250.1 per 100,000 among Negroes.[25]

An attempt to restrict Negro residence in Chicago through private agreement was undertaken in 1928 by the Woodlawn Property Owners' Association. Its members covenanted not to sell, lease, rent, give, or permit occupation or use of their property to or by Negroes in an area bounded by South Parkway, Cottage Grove Avenue, Sixtieth and Sixty-third streets. The covenant defined a Negro as any person "having one-eighth or more of Negro blood, or having appreciable admixture of Negro blood, and every person who is what is commonly known as a colored person."[26]

Carl A. Hansberry, a Negro businessman, managed to overcome the restrictive covenant in 1937 by purchasing a building at 6140 Rhodes Avenue. This brought on a suit which went against Hansberry in circuit court for want of

22. *Ibid.*, 34.
23. *Ibid.*, 57-58.
24. Bernhard, Latimer, and O'Connor, *Pursuit of Freedom,* 101.
25. Haywood, *Negro Liberation,* 75-76.
26. Bernhard, Latimer, and O'Conner, *Pursuit of Freedom,* 101.

equity. The Illinois Supreme Court upheld the restrictive agreement, 6 to 1, and directed that Hansberry's property be confiscated. The defendants (Hansberry, his wife, and others) then appealed to the United States Supreme Court and there they won a reversal, November 12, 1940, in an opinion by Justice Harlan F. Stone to which there was no dissent.[27] The decision in Washington, however, did not pass on the constitutionality of restrictive covenants, but held, on a legal technicality, that "an agreement between two property owners respecting the number of signatories to the restrictive covenant agreement is fraudulent." *The Nation* said of this case:

> These covenants are the walls of Chicago's black ghetto, and they have their counterparts in almost every city in the country. *Hansberry* v. *Lee* indicates the lengths to which the courts of a great Northern state were prepared to go to uphold these covenants; it also demonstrates how far the United States Supreme Court must still go before it overturns them.[28]

In the distress of the 1930's Negroes were frequently dispossessed for non-payment of rent, and this led to friction and trouble. Even when the Jane Addams Housing Project opened its doors in 1937, evidence of discrimination in the handling of applications was found by the Chicago Urban League. Thanks to Robert R. Taylor, an appointee of Mayor Edward J. Kelly as a commissioner of the Chicago Housing Authority, a policy resolution ordered "that applications from Negroes for tenancy in the Jane Addams Project be accepted in the same manner that applications are accepted from white families."[29]

The exercise of voting rights by Negroes in Illinois, particularly in Chicago, needs to be examined in closer detail. Although Negroes have been kept from voting by whites in many areas of the United States, Negroes in Chicago have

27. Hansberry v. Lee, 311 U.S. 32 (1940); Bernhard, Latimer, and O'Connor, *Pursuit of Freedom,* 101-2.
28. Bernhard, Latimer, and O'Connor, *Pursuit of Freedom,* 102.
29. *Ibid.,* 103.

actually tended to vote in higher percentages than white citizens. In 1930, for example, 77 per cent of the adults of a Negro ward registered as compared with 68 per cent for the entire city.[30] Myrdal calls this fact about Chicago Negroes "startling" and suggests that it means that "Negroes are relatively more conscious of the vote."

Although the Carter Harrisons attracted a sizeable proportion of Negro votes to the Democrats in their mayoral races, northern Negroes generally remained in the Republican column until after Franklin D. Roosevelt's first election as President in 1932. Many Negroes were already dissatisfied with the Republican Party by that year, largely because of the policies of the Hoover administration in the depression years. Even so, their loyalty to the party Lincoln helped found was so great that in 1932 only 23 per cent of the Negro vote in Chicago went to the Democratic nominees. In the ensuing years the New Deal not only relieved the economic distress of the Negroes but "treated them almost without discrimination." The result was that the 23 per cent figure of 1932 became 49 per cent in Chicago four years later. And in 1940, when he ran for a third term, Roosevelt received 52 per cent of the Negro vote in Chicago.[31]

Meanwhile few Negroes were taken in by the Communist Party. Harold Gosnell has estimated that no more than 500 Negroes joined the party in Chicago during the depression.[32]

This change from the Republican to the Democratic Party was reflected in the party affiliation of Negroes in the Chicago Board of Aldermen, the Cook County Board of Commissioners, and the Illinois General Assembly. The first Negro elected to the Illinois Senate, Adelbert H. Roberts, in 1924, was a Republican. A quarter of a century later it was on the Democratic ticket that the larger number of Negroes found legislative favor.[33]

30. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma,* 493.
31. *Ibid.,* 494-95.
32. *Ibid.,* 495.
33. Information from Carl G. Hodges.

Chicago Negroes, with the help of Republican Mayor William Hale Thompson, sent the first member of their race to Congress in a generation or more.[34] He was Oscar De Priest, first elected in 1928, the Hoover presidential election year. De Priest was a native of Alabama who had served first as a member of the Cook County Board of Commissioners and then as a Chicago alderman. His entry into the United States House of Representatives from the First Illinois District in 1929 was a historic event. Re-elected in 1930 and again in 1932, in the face of the Roosevelt landslide that year, De Priest was more than the representative of his Illinois district. Politically alert Negroes of the entire country looked on him as their congressman regardless of where they lived. This high and widespread regard was reflected in the countless invitations extended to him for speaking engagements. Oscar De Priest in a seat in Congress, as one Negro journalist put it, "meant new hope, new courage and new importance for the Negro."[35]

In order to have any hope of defeating De Priest, the First District Democrats found it necessary to run a Negro against him. Their 1934 choice was Arthur Wergs Mitchell, a graduate of Tuskegee Institute in his native state of Alabama who had also attended Harvard and Columbia universities.[36] Mitchell had been a registered Republican, but was one of the many Negroes who changed parties early in the New Deal years. He was elected over De Priest in 1934, the off-year when the Democrats increased their congressional strength contrary to political experience. Re-elected in 1936, 1938, and 1940, Mitchell became the first member of his race to address a national political convention.

The third Negro in the First Illinois District succession, William Levi Dawson, was elected on the Democratic ticket in 1942 and re-elected to his eleventh term in 1962, twenty

34. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, 1961), 802.

35. Information from Carl G. Hodges.

36. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961,* 1339.

years later.[37] A native Georgian, he was graduated from the Northwestern University Law School. He combined politics with law, serving on the Democratic State Central Committee, 1930-1932, and on the Chicago City Council, 1933-1939. His major committee was that on civil service, and through the seniority system and his long tenure he became the first Negro to serve a congressional committee as chairman.

If Illinois afforded little refuge to Negroes in earlier times, it has provided a legal shelter in more recent years. As a rule governors of the state have refused to extradite Negroes to the South "whenever there was a reasonable doubt concerning their guilt or their opportunity for a fair trial." The case of Sam Bennett, Arkansas sharecropper, is in point.[38] Bennett was wanted in Arkansas for "assault with intent to kill." The facts were that during a cotton strike an overseer with a gun tried to force him to work. Bennett grabbed his own hunting gun in self-defense. After Bennett fled in 1936 to Chicago, where he lived with relatives, the Arkansas authorities asked for his return through legal channels. Governor Henry Horner refused the extradition request. He took the position that it was not a crime warranting extradition "for a man to defend himself in his own home without firing a shot or striking a blow." Governor Horner also said it was "not certain whether Bennett's rights or person would be safeguarded in that state [Arkansas] if he were returned."

Illinois figured prominently in improving the lot of the Negro in World War II. The legislature at Springfield sent a committee to Washington in 1941 to protest against discrimination against Negroes in defense industries. Following this the House of Representatives passed a bill to penalize labor unions that discriminated against Negroes. War Governor Dwight H. Green appointed a Negro to the Illinois Defense Council.[39]

37. *Ibid.*, 790.
38. Bernhard, Latimer, and O'Connor, *Pursuit of Freedom*, 106.
39. *Ibid.*, 106.

An Illinoisan, Frank Knox, as Secretary of the Navy, announced the lowering of the color bar in the United States Navy. This followed heroic acts by Negroes in the war in the Pacific. But although Knox said that Negroes would be accepted for enlistment, it was a condition that the Negroes would be in segregated units under white officers.[40]

But if Illinois, as Lincoln's state, might have been expected to be a leader in fair employment practices legislation, it did not follow the example of other states in this field until the Civil War centennial observance had begun. The Free Schools Act of 1909 was a fitting Illinois observance of Lincoln's one-hundredth birthday year. Yet violations were common from the Wisconsin line to the confluence of the Mississippi and the Ohio. Moreover, that the separate Negro schools, wherever they existed, were equal to white schools would scarcely be argued seriously by anyone who knew the comparable facilities, equipment, and staffs.

New York pioneered the state F.E.P.C. field in 1945, and New Jersey enacted its statute later the same year. By 1950 Massachusetts, Connecticut, Washington, Rhode Island, and Oregon had passed similar laws. As still others acted in the 1950's, the issue arose session after session at Springfield.[41] A bill almost passed in 1959 when Governor William G. Stratton called for enactment, but opposition in employing circles produced narrow adverse majorities. Governor Otto Kerner made F.E.P.C. a major item in his first legislative program in 1961. The bill (S.B. 609) passed the state senate, 31 to 23, on May 24, 1961, and the house, 123 to 21, on June 29. Governor Kerner signed the bill July 21, 1961.[42]

In summary the purpose of the Illinois F.E.P.C. law is to "reduce denial of equality of employment opportunity

40. *Ibid.*, 105.

41. Morroe Berger, "Fair Employment Practices Legislation," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CCLXXV (May, 1951): 34-40.

42. *Journal of the Illinois House of Representatives,* 72 G.A., II: 3289; *Journal of the Illinois Senate,* 72 G.A., II: 979.

because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry where an employer employs more than 100 persons." The statute provides the machinery by which those who regard themselves as victims of discrimination may obtain official investigation of the facts and, if necessary, a public hearing with a finding by the commission under the authority of the state of Illinois.[43] In 1963 a clarifying statute made it plain that the law applied to units of the state government, including the state universities, and to governmental subdivisions such as counties and townships. On August 2, 1963, the commission recommended in a public statement that the rising racial unrest be alleviated by a series of steps taken by business and industrial organizations and individual business enterprises. These were:

1. That every business firm issue to all of their employees a statement of merit employment and equal employment opportunities that makes every manager with the authority to hire, fire, or promote responsible for implementation.
2. That they develop new sources of recruitment that will bring to their doors qualified applicants from minority groups.
3. That they work with the private agencies representing minority groups in their recruiting and screening and selection of employees.
4. That business leaders in every community in the state make a positive direct approach to the minority group leaders in the community in order to establish communications.
5. That any employer seeking counsel and advice on merit employment practices, problems and programs utilize the staff and facilities of the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

At the same time the Illinois F.E.P.C. recommended "direct action" to the Negro citizen as follows:

Whenever you have reason to believe that you have been deprived of an employment opportunity because of your race you should file a charge with the Fair Employment Practices Commission. This is a direct legal action which provides recourse under the authority of the law and redress with the strength of enforcement.[44]

43. Fair Employment Practices Commission, Charles W. Gray, chairman, *Fair Employment Practices Act of Illinois* (Chicago, 1962), 1-12.

44. Fair Employment Practices Commission, Charles W. Gray, chairman,

Although Illinois was slow in setting up an F.E.P.C., it was one of the first states to establish a civil rights division in the office of the State Attorney General. Leading the way with New York, California, Massachusetts, and Michigan, Illinois enacted a statute providing:

> There is created in the office of the Attorney General a Division to be known as the Division for the Enforcement of Civil and Equal Rights. The Division, under the supervision and direction of the Attorney General, shall investigate all violations of the law relating to civil rights and the prevention of discrimination against persons by reason of race, color, or creed, and shall whenever such violations are established, undertake necessary enforcement measures.[45]

In 1963 a pamphlet, *Know Your Civil Rights,* was prepared and issued by the Illinois Commission on Human Relations and the office of Attorney General William G. Clark. It summarized Illinois civil rights and antidiscrimination laws and gave the citations to the 1961 *Revised Statutes of Illinois* for ready reference.

A typical summary of existing Illinois legislation concerning civil rights is that which deals with public places of accommodation. It reads:

> Any person who denies to another the full and equal enjoyment of the facilities and services of any inn, restaurant, eating house, hotel, soda fountain, soft drink parlor, tavern, roadhouse, barber shop, department store, clothing store, hat store, shoe store, bath room, rest room, theatre, skating rink, public golf course, public golf driving range, concert, cafe, bicycle rink, elevator, ice cream parlor or room, railroad, omnibus, bus, stage, aeroplane, street car, boat, funeral hearse, crematory, cemetery, or public conveyance on land, water or air, because of race, religion, color or national ancestry, commits a violation of civil rights.[46]

Similar summaries describe statutes that prohibit racial discrimination in Illinois in state and municipal government, civil service, hospitals, housing and redevelopment, liquor

Memorandum to Public Advisory Committee and Agency Heads, Aug. 9, 1963.

45. Konvitz, *A Century of Civil Rights,* 192.
46. *Illinois Revised Statutes,* 1961, chap. 38, art. 13.

dispensing, parks, public welfare, public works, professions and trades, public schools, state militia, voting, and employment practice.[47] The statute concerning state parks, for example, not only guarantees that the parks shall be open to all regardless of race, but makes it

> . . . . the duty of the Governor and Director of the Department in charge of the administration of State Parks to cancel immediately the lease on any concession when the person holding the concession or an employee thereof discriminates on the basis of race, color or creed against any patron thereof.[48]

In the midst of World War II, Illinois presented an instance in race relations which one observer and writer called "a successful rebellion against a war agency of the United States Government."[49] Following the announcement of a projected Negro march on Washington to petition Congress and the White House for more defense industry jobs for Negroes, set for July 1, 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, decreeing:

> There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries and in Government because of race, creed, color or national origin. . . . And it is the duty of employers and labor organizations . . . to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers.[50]

When an effort was made to apply the order to the Western Cartridge Company through the Federal F.E.P.C. the appliers ran up against the unbroken practice of the community of East Alton, in keeping its gates closed to Negroes. Malcolm Ross relates, under the heading, "Failure at East Alton," that the company, then producing urgently needed

47. *Ibid.*, chap. 38, art. 13; chap. 24½, sec. 38b 15; chap. 111½, sec. 86; chap. 120, sec. 500(7); chap. 67½, secs. 82, 93.13, 91.13, 157(9); chap. 43, secs. 133, 149; chap. 105, sec. 468.1; chap. 23, sec. 111; chap. 29, secs. 17, 24c; chap. 38, art. 13.2(c); chap. 127, sec. 60.3; chap. 122, secs. 10-22.5, 18-12, 24-4, 34-18(7), 30-15-5; chap. 129, sec. 220.07; chap. 46, sec. 19-1,2; chap. 48, sec. 851-866.

48. *Ibid.*, chap. 105, sec. 468.1.

49. Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men: The Racial Crisis in American Life* (New York, 1948), 49-66.

50. Hughes, *Fight for Freedom*, 85.

small-arms munitions in the form of cartridges, said it faced a strike of race-prejudiced employees if Negroes were allowed to work under President Roosevelt's order. Describing the case as "one of the few F.E.P.C. total failures," he says: "It well illustrates the kinds of opposition to Negro employment which (under war conditions) could hold out against the national policy of nondiscrimination."[51]

In the years following World War II, not only large cities such as Chicago, East St. Louis, and Peoria were the scenes of striving on the part of Negroes for a fairer share of the benefits of American life; this effort reached to smaller cities like Cicero, Cairo, and Cahokia, and even communities no larger than Colp. This was the period also of more than one notable case concerning racism in Illinois that went all the way to the United States Supreme Court. On January 6, 1950, Joseph Beauharnais, as president of the White Circle League of America, Inc., passed out bundles of anti-Negro leaflets to volunteers for distribution the following day on downtown street corners in Chicago. The printed matter called on "One million self-respecting white people in Chicago to unite" as a means of preventing "the white race from becoming mongrelized by the Negro." Beauharnais was found guilty under the Illinois statute that, in effect, forbids "group libel" and was fined $200. He carried his case to the United States Supreme Court on the grounds that conviction abridged his free speech and freedom of the press as well. He lost there also, five to four, in a majority decision by Justice Felix Frankfurter who cited the history of violence associated with the race issue in Illinois back to the murder of Lovejoy.[52]

Of a different nature, the case of *Monroe* v. *Pape*[53] also arose in Chicago where the Negro population was rapidly expanding. The unanimous opinion by Justice William O. Douglas (Justice Frankfurter dissented in part) did not

51. Ross, *All Manner of Men*, 50, 64.
52. Beauharnais v. Illinois, 343 U.S. 250-52 (1952).
53. Monroe v. Pape, 365 U.S. 167 (1961).

dispose of the case finally, but it did permit the plaintiff Negroes to sue several Chicago police officers for violating the federal civil rights acts. The complaint alleged that:

> On Oct. 29, 1958, at 5:45 A.M., thirteen Chicago police officers led by Deputy Chief of Detectives Frank Pape, broke through two doors of the Monroe apartment, woke the Monroe couple with flashlights, and forced them at gunpoint to leave their bed and stand naked in the center of the living room; that the officers aroused the six Monroe children and herded them into the living room; that Detective Pape struck Mr. Monroe several times with his flashlight, calling him "nigger" and "black boy"; that another officer pushed Mrs. Monroe; that other officers hit and kicked several of the children and pushed them to the floor; that the police ransacked every room, throwing clothing from closets to the floor, dumping drawers, ripping mattress covers; that Mr. Monroe was then taken to the police station and detained on "open" charges for about ten hours, during which time he was interrogated about a murder and exhibited in lineups; that he was not brought before a magistrate, although numerous magistrate's courts were accessible; that he was not advised of his procedural rights; that he was not permitted to call his family or an attorney; that he was subsequently released without criminal charges having been filed against him.[54]

But at the same time Negroes were winning their way in Illinois as never before, for this was the period when Roi Ottley was a by-line writer on the *Chicago Tribune,* Fletcher Martin, on the *Chicago Sun-Times,* and Wilfred Smith, on *Chicago's American.* In 1958 Richard A. Harewood, former member of the state House of Representatives, became the first Negro to win statewide election in Illinois. Sponsored by the state Democratic convention, with the support of Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, Harewood that November won election as a trustee of the University of Illinois, his alma mater. He held the post until he resigned in 1962 following elevation to the bench in Chicago. In 1961, President Kennedy appointed Judge James B. Parsons to be United States District Judge in Chicago, and two years

54. *Justice: 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report,* 20-21.

later Edith Sampson became the first Negro woman judge in Chicago's municipal court.

Outstanding successes were scored by John H. Johnson, president of the Johnson Publishing Company, Chicago, publishers of *Ebony* magazine (1945), *Jet* (1951), and *Hue* (1953),[55] and by Percy Lavon Julian, chemist, educator, and businessman, who was research director for the Glidden Company, 1936-1945, and president of the Julian Laboratories, Chicago, beginning in 1953.[56]

The year of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation was marked by notable activity in Illinois in behalf of Negro rights. The Illinois legislature anticipated the centennial observance by ratifying the proposed Twenty-fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution, banning the payment of a poll tax as a qualification for voting in federal elections and primaries. The Illinois action on November 14, 1962, by a vote of 29 to 12 in the Senate and 150 to 12 in the House, was the first by any legislature, and put Illinois at the top of the list of ratifying states.[57] At the subsequent regular session of the 1963 General Assembly, a bill was passed to extend the Fair Employment Practices Act to state and local governments in Illinois. In signing the measure, Governor Kerner said: "While these amendments do not change the basic structure of the F.E.P.C., each is designed to strengthen the commission's procedures and aid it in handling of complaints of discrimination."

The University of Chicago observed the centennial year with the eminently fitting announcement that it had appointed John Hope Franklin to a professorship in history.[58] Chairman of the history department at Brooklyn University from 1956, Dr. Franklin, author of books on the Emancipation Proclamation and the advancement of the Negro in

55. *Who's Who in America,* XXXII, 1962-1963 (Chicago, 1962), 1594.
56. *Ibid.,* 1626.
57. *Congressional Quarterly, Weekly Report,* April 26, 1963, p. 664.
58. *Who's Who in America,* 1962-1963, p. 1059.

the United States, had been visiting professor of history at Harvard, Cornell, Wisconsin, California, Oxford, Cambridge, and the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies.

A high point of the centennial year in Chicago was the annual convention of the N.A.A.C.P., followed by spirited demonstrations for Negro rights in Chicago and many other Illinois communities. At one point, Roman Catholic nuns joined in picketing in Chicago. In East St. Louis, in August, a series of "sit-ins" at banks, led by a youthful white paraplegic, resulted in agreement on the part of the banks to institute a policy of hiring and training of Negro employees for bank work.[59] This was a major victory for mass demonstrations, and word of it went over the country.

However, when an Illinois delegation arrived at Vicksburg for the centennial commemoration of the heroism of troops from the Prairie State in the memorable Civil War siege at the Mississippi river port, discrimination reared its head. State Representative Corneal Davis of Chicago was in the party, and upon arrival it became clear that he would not be treated like the white Illinoisans. Thereupon the delegation placed a wreath at the monument and returned home without an intended overnight stop.[60]

For all the ground that has been gained between 1863 and 1963, much more remains to be won in the second century of the Emancipation Proclamation.[61]

59. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* Aug. 12-17, 1963; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Aug. 17-18, 1963; *Evening Journal* (East St. Louis, Ill.), Aug. 17-18, 1963.

60. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), July 6, 1963, p. 3. The two other members of the Illinois delegation representing Governor Otto Kerner were Clyde C. Walton and Ralph G. Newman.

61. See Carey McWilliams, *Brothers under the Skin* (Boston, 1951); American Jewish Congress and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Civil Rights in the United States: A Balance Sheet of Group Relations* (New York, 1954); Milton L. Barron, ed., *American Minorities* (New York, 1957); "The Negro in America," *Newsweek,* July 29, 1963, pp. 15-36; "Civil Rights: The South's Stand," *Newsweek,* Aug. 19, 1963, pp. 20-24; "James Baldwin Speaks on the White Problem," *Frontier: The Voice of the New West,* XIV, No. 8 (June, 1963): 5-10.

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In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

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JAMES T. HICKEY

The Lincolns' Globe Tavern

A Study in Tracing the History Of a Nineteenth-Century Building

James T. Hickey is curator of the Lincoln collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, and also teaches a course in Lincoln literature at Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois.

ON FRIDAY night, November 4, 1842, Abraham Lincoln and his bride, Mary Todd, left the festivities following their wedding at the Ninian W. Edwards home and took up residence in Springfield's Globe Tavern. It was to be their home until the fall of the following year. Their first child, Robert, was born there August 1, 1843, and soon thereafter they moved to a small house on Fourth Street.

Mary Lincoln left no description of the Globe Tavern, and Lincoln's only comment about it is found in a letter to Joshua F. Speed, of June 10, 1843: "We are not keeping house; but boarding at the Globe Tavern, which is very well kept now by a widow lady of the name of Beck. Our room (the same Dr. Wallace occupied there) and boarding only costs four dollars a week."

Little has been written about this first home of the Lincolns', but in the accounts that do exist it is implied that the Globe Tavern represented quite a comedown for Mary Lincoln. No other circumstance of her life gives the historian reason to assume that she would have married, knowing she was going immediately to live in surroundings she considered demeaning or unbecoming to her family and social standing. Yet most writers and historians have assumed that

she did just that. This tantalizing inconsistency, together with a renewed interest in Springfield landmarks, recently led this writer to search out the history of the Globe Tavern. The results of this work give a somewhat different picture of the status of the tavern as a place of residence in mid-nineteenth-century Springfield.

Tracing the history of a piece of property or a building is occasionally simple, but more often than not it becomes an involved and time-consuming project. Although procedures differ, certain basic steps that were followed in this case can be applied in tracing the history of any building in any place. (The side trips involved are bound, however, to vary considerably.)

A great initial help is the acquisition of a copy of the abstract (or legal history) of the property. This may not always be possible, for if the property is mortgaged, the abstract is held by the mortgagee and may not be available. It is also possible that an abstract may never have been made on the property. Though unlikely, it is even possible that the owner may not share your interest in the historic background of the property (in fact, he may be opposed to your interest) and may thus refuse to make the abstract available.

In that case the next best avenue of approach is to try to get the history of ownership from an abstract company. If you have a legal description of the property (which can be obtained from a plat of the town or city, or from a county plat book), the abstract company can check its tract index for the book and page number of every deed, mortgage, or legal transaction recorded in the county recorder's office. The tract index is the most important piece of equipment most abstract offices have, and upon its completeness and accuracy their business depends. Generally it is not available for public use, since it is the key to the work of abstracting for which the company is paid, but most abstractors are quite cooperative in making their facilities available to serious students of history. If an abstractor's index is not avail-

able, the same information can be found in the county recorder's office by using his volumes that list the grantors and grantees of all property. This job is not as simple as it sounds, for the names of the owners are entered chronologically as transactions are recorded. One must therefore check every entry in a series of indexes. Every reference to the name of an owner must be noted from the time he acquired the property until he disposed of it; then the name of the next owner must be followed through the listing and so on until you can complete the chain of title from the beginning date down to the present. This will take a great deal of time; for actually you are making your own tract index.

Once you have the book and page number of every transaction relating to the property, the next step is to look up each of the transactions in the files of the recorder's office. Each document should be read thoroughly, for frequently deeds and mortgages will contain far more information than might be suspected. As an example, in one deed to the Globe Tavern, I found a complete list of all the furniture and equipment in the tavern; and this list gives some idea of the size and condition of the tavern.

After checking all the deeds and mortgages in your chain of title, you will at least know the names of all the persons who have owned the property or held a mortgage against it from beginning to end. This list of names should then be checked in the records of the probate clerk, who has a name index to every estate probated in the county. By checking each name on your list against the probate index you will undoubtedly find some whose estates were probated in the county, and the file on the estate records may yield still more information. For instance, if the person who built your historic house died soon after construction was completed, it is possible that many bills for labor and material remained unpaid and had to be settled by his estate. From the bills filed against the estate, you may even be able to determine the cost of the building.

Having completed this search, your list of names should then be checked in the name index to all the cases that have been heard in the circuit court, for the owners of your property might have been involved in litigation. Sometimes the most unlikely lawsuits provide information of value. Once I was able to get a detailed description of a farm and its buildings from the testimony of a witness in a suit over disputed ownership. The testimony of this witness – all in the record – concerned the building of the house, the barn, and other outbuildings, and even described fences, the number and kinds of shade and fruit trees and the dates of their planting. In fact, the witness in this case presented an almost complete history of the farmstead.

After completing the check of court records, the final step is to fill in the gaps by searching newspapers, county histories, and city directories. When all these sources are exhausted, you should have sufficient information to tell the history of your building, and tradition and legend can either be laid to rest or substantiated by documentary evidence.

The story of the Globe Tavern – traced by the procedures outlined above – began on April 13, 1835, when Captain Wharton Ransdell purchased, for $250, a lot on the north side of Adams Street, in the middle of the second block west of the southwest corner of the public square. Since January, 1832, Ransdell had been operating the Springfield Hotel on the west side of the square, and he bought the Adams Street lot in order to construct a new hotel building. On January 26, 1836, he announced in the *Sangamo Journal* that he had moved to his new and commodious "Eagle Tavern." The building was two stories high with a two-story porch on the east and west sides, and was set back from the street approximately thirty feet (see illustration, page 640). Ransdell's tavern license from the Sangamon County Commissioner's Court – for which he paid a fee of $12 – allowed him to charge 37½ cents for breakfast and supper, 25 cents for lodging, 50 cents for stabling a horse, 25 cents for a single

feeding for a horse, and 75 cents for the care of a horse one night and day.

During the first year the tavern was in operation, at least two large entertainments were held there. The first was on Wednesday evening, October 5, when fifty to sixty men gathered at Captain Ransdell's invitation to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of the Thames (Ontario, Canada, October 5, 1813). Dan Stone, a Sangamon County legislator, was elected president of the meeting, and A. Lincoln, another Sangamon County legislator, was named vice-president. Among the many toasts offered to General William H. Harrison, the hero of the battle, was one by J. M. Cabiness and another by John Maxcy, both of whom had served under the General in the battle.[1] (The fact that Harrison was then a presidential candidate no doubt had some bearing on the meeting.)

Two weeks later, on Wednesday and Thursday, October 19 and 20, Captain John J. Hardin's cavalry company and Captain William W. Happy's infantry unit of Jacksonville were entertained at the tavern by two Springfield militia companies, those of Captains Elias H. Merryman and Edward D. Baker.

On the opening day Captain Ransdell served a sumptuous dinner in his new tavern, and this was followed by a military ball on the evening of the second day. The *Journal* reported that all in attendance were pleased with the elegant affair.[2]

Ransdell operated the Eagle Tavern until May, 1839, when he leased the building and sold the furniture to the Rev. William T. Bennett.[3] The new proprietor changed the name of the hotel to the Globe Tavern and advertised for the first time in the May 3, 1839, *Sangamo Journal*. Bennett's tenure was short, and on September 23, 1839, Ransdell rented the

1. *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), Oct. 8, 1836.
2. *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1836.
3. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1836. William T. Bennett was a Methodist minister who had come to Springfield from Shepherdstown, Va., in December, 1834. John Carroll Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Springfield, 1876), 111.

building to Colonel George Washington Spottswood and his two sons, William A. W. and Charles F. M., both officers in the U.S. Navy. Spottswood leased the tavern for four years and seven months, commencing on October 1, 1839; his rent was $700 per year.[4]

During Bennett's short stay he had started building a frame addition to the front and west side of the tavern. This addition, plus the furniture he had purchased from Ransdell, Bennett sold to Dr. Richard F. Barrett.[5] Spottswood then purchased the furniture and the addition from Barrett, giving him, on November 6, 1839, a mortgage in the amount of $3,700, to be paid back in five annual payments. The mortgage also included the furniture Spottswood brought to the Globe Tavern from the Kline House which he had previously operated and on which he still owed the State Bank of Illinois $1,335. Ransdell, moreover, had a lien against the furniture which Bennett had sold to Barrett and Barrett had sold to Spottswood (the lien was for rent Bennett had failed to pay on his lease).[6]

Colonel Spottswood completed construction of the Bennett addition and started to furnish that section of the tavern.[7] The Colonel, incidentally, was a grand-nephew of President Washington's; his mother, Elizabeth Washington, was a niece of the President's, and his father, Alexander Spottswood, was the manager of Washington's Virginia estate during the time Washington was President. The younger Spottswood came to Springfield in the early 1830's, and on May 21, 1836, opened the Rural Hotel.[8]

4. Article of Agreement between George W., William A. W., and Charles F. M. Spottswood and Cyrus G. Saunders. Original document owned by the author. (See Appendix.) Article of Agreement between William A. W., Charles F. M., and George W. Spottswood, Sangamon County Deed Book P, pp. 78-80. (See Appendix.)

5. *Ibid.*

6. Mortgage deed, George W. Spottswood to Richard F. Barrett, Sangamon County Deed Book P, pp. 66-67. (See Appendix.)

7. Mortgage deed, Cyrus G. Saunders to Richard F. Barrett, Sangamon County Deed Book P, pp. 310-13. (See Appendix.)

8. Biographical file, Illinois State Historical Library.

Spottswood's successor as proprietor of the Globe Tavern was Cyrus G. Saunders, who announced in the *Sangamo Journal* of February 18, 1840, that he had taken possession of the Globe Hotel formerly occupied by Colonel Spottswood. On January 24 Saunders had entered into an agreement with Colonel Spottswood and his two sons whereby he assumed several financial obligations, some of which the Spottswoods had assumed from Bennett and others they had incurred during their own tenure. These obligations included $2,200 which the Spottswoods still owed Dr. Barrett on the furniture and the addition to the tavern, and which had been covered by a mortgage between Barrett and Spottswood dated November 9, 1839. Also included was the debt of $1,335 which Spottswood owed the State Bank of Illinois on the furniture he had moved from the Kline House into the Globe when he took over. There was also a debt to Blaine, Tompkins & Barret, St. Louis wholesale grocery and commission merchants, in the amount of $400; and two construction debts amounting to $565. One of these, for $523.03, was owed to Archibald Trailor and Frederick Myer, contractors, for carpentering work on the addition started by Bennett and continued by Spottswood, and the balance was owed to a man named Hedrich for lathing and plastering.[9]

In consideration for assuming these debts, the Spottswoods transferred to Saunders all their rights in and title to the furniture and the Bennett addition, and their lease from Ransdell of the original tavern building; and they guaranteed possession of the premises by February 1, 1840.[10] But Saunders was still faced with the problem of getting title to the tavern furniture. Wharton Ransdell held a lien against the furniture for rent during the time Bennett had occupied the tavern; but the furniture meanwhile had been sold to Dr. Barrett, and then to the Spottswoods, and now

9. Article of Agreement between George W., William A. W., and Charles F. M. Spottswood and Cyrus G. Saunders.

10. *Ibid.*

EAGLE TAVERN,

THE subscriber has removed to his new and commodious building, situated on thetreet run ing west from the south-west corner of the public square, where he can better accommodate the travelling public than he has heretofore been able to do. Having kept the principal Hotel in Springfield for the last four years, he thinks it necessary for him only to say, that he will employ all the additional means furnished by his new establishment, to render comfortable those who may call upon him. WHARTON RANSDELL.

Springfield, Ill., Jan. 26, 1836.

GLOBE TAVERN,

MAIN STREET, WEST OF THE PUBLIC SQUARE.

THE subscriber would respectfully announce to his friends and the public generally, that he has rented the house heretofore kept by W. Ransdell, where he will cheerfully receive and entertain all those who may favor him with their patronage. He pledges himself to do all in his power to render general satisfaction.

W. T. BENNETT.

Springfield, Ill., May 1, 1838. 303

N. B. Connected with the house there is a LIVERY STABLE, for the accommodation of travellers and others.

SPOTSWOOD'S

GLOBE TAVERN

A few rods south-west of the public square

GLOBE HOTEL.

THE undersigned takes this method to inform the public in general, that he has taken possession of the Globe Hotel, in Springfield, Illinois, situated a few rods west of the State House, (formerly occupied by Col. G W. Spotswood) where he will at all times be happy to accommodate all who may give him a call.

He flatters himself by strict attention to business to merit a share of public pattonage.

C. G. SAUNDERS.

—

Ye strangers who for enterprise may roam,
We here invite you to a friendly home,
Where always ready with an anxious care,
To serve our guests with choice substantial fare,
Pledg'd we stand to set a plenteous board,
With every wish the season can afford;
And when fatigue demands a peaceful rest,
We give you beds and bedding of the best.
N. B The Stabling, too, we confident commend,
And sober Ostlers willing to attend,
To all who sojourn through a Western course,
With tired oxen, jaded mule or horse.

February 18, 1840. 433.3m

The career of the Globe Ta is traced here in advertisem published in the Sangamo Jou *The one at the top, for Ransd Eagle Tavern, appeared on J ary 26, 1836. Below that is nett's advertisement of Ma 1838. Spottswood's brief nouncement appeared on Nov ber 1, 1839, and the Saun poem is dated February 18, 1*

GLOBE HOTEL.

One Square South West of the State House,—Springfield, Illinois.

J. M. ALLEN,

WOULD inform the public that he has taken the above Hotel, and built extensive additions, and has had the whole concern completely renovated and is now in good order, and furnished entirely new and ready to accommodate the travelling community—families and others can have private apartments if desired. The accommodations not surpassed by any in the city. The house large, convenient and airy, having four front parlors on the first floor, and thirty chambers with fire places and stoves. There is also, a large stable attached, which will always be well attended, and furnished with the best provender the country affords.

Terms—25 cts. the single meal, 50 cts. per day.—Horses 25 cts. per night. [May 28, '46—tf

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Globe Hotel,

BY CHANBLIN & WILSON,
Springfield, Illinois.

THIS well known Hotel having been thoroughly repaired and improved, the traveling public and their friends are invited to give them a call. No pains will be spared to procure for their table the best the country affords, and to make the Globe Hotel the traveler's and the stranger's home.

Attached to the Hotel is a good Stable—where horses will have the best of care. dy oct 10, '49

NATIONAL HOTEL

AND STAGE OFFICE,

A FEW DOORS WEST OF THE SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE SQUARE, SPRINGFIELD, KEPT BY

I. H. GRAY.

This is a quiet strict Temperance House, and that it is worthy of public patronage, the proprietor has been permittted to refer to the following gentlemen:

REFERENCES.—Rev. A. Hale, Rev. J. V. Dodge, J. Bunn, wholesale merchant, Hon. J. M. Palmer, attorney at law. N. H. Ridgley and Thomas Lewis, bankers, S. Francis, editor Journal, Hawley and Loose merchants, J. C. Conklin, attorney at law, C. H. Lanphier, editor Register, W. Kline, President C. M. H. Insurance.

ISAAC H. GRAY,
Proprietor and General State Agent.

---

e Sangamo Journal *ad-*
tisements were continued
J. M. Allen (top) on
y 28, 1846, and then by
amblin and Wilson, Oc-
er 10, 1849. The Gray
d Wetherbee advertise-
nts appeared in the
ringfield City Directory
1855-1856 and 1857-
58 respectively.

NATIONAL HOTEL
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

FRANK W. WETHERBEE, Proprietor,

Late of the Gibson House, Cincinnati.

GENERAL STAGE OFFICE:

For Beardstown, Chandlerville, Athens, Petersburg, Havana, Lewistown, Bath, etc.

☞ Free omnibus to and from the cars.

was being sold to Saunders. To settle all these transactions Saunders borrowed $4,400 from Dr. Barrett, giving him a mortgage on all the furniture plus the addition.[11]

Further complicating the ownership of the tavern and its equipment was a suit brought by Robert Irwin & Co. against Wharton Ransdell for payment of a debt. In the March, 1839, term of the Sangamon County Circuit Court the tavern was ordered sold at a sheriff's sale. It was bought by Joseph Klein, who apparently gave Saunders a new lease, for he continued to operate the tavern. In advertisements in the *Journal* and the *State Register* in April, 1842, Saunders announced that the hotel had undergone considerable repair and that a few families could then be accommodated. Saunders had completed the addition started by Bennett, and though the building had not yet reached its ultimate size, it was then an L-shaped structure. Klein did not get final title to the tavern until August 21, 1840, and five days later he sold his interest to Robert Allen.[12]

Thus when Abraham and Mary Lincoln moved in to the tavern on November 4, 1842, the land and the original portion of the tavern were owned by Robert Allen; and the furniture and the tavern addition (commenced by Bennett, continued by Spottswood, and finally finished by Saunders) were owned by Saunders himself.

In starting their married life at the Globe Tavern, the Lincolns were in fact following a precedent set by other members of Mary Lincoln's family. John Todd Stuart, her cousin and Lincoln's first law partner, had taken his bride there in November, 1837;[13] Dr. William S. Wallace and Mary's sister Frances also lived there after their marriage, on May 21, 1839. The Wallaces stayed more than three years, and it was into their recently vacated rooms that the

11. Mortgage deed, George W. Spottswood to Richard F. Barrett.

12. Elkin [as] Sheriff to Joseph Klein, Sangamon County Deed Book Q, p. 199. Joseph Klein to Robert Allen, Sangamon County Deed Book Q, p. 202.

13. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XV (April-July, 1922): 477.

Lincolns moved.[14] These rooms were in the addition that fronted on Adams Street. Other residents of the Globe at that time included the family of Albert Taylor Bledsoe, a Kentuckian who had been a West Point classmate of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis and was later Assistant Secretary of War in the Confederate government. His wife attended Mary Lincoln when Robert was born.[15] Dr. Richard F. Barrett and his family also lived at the tavern, and their expenses were deducted from the loans Saunders owed the doctor.[16]

Although Lincoln wrote Speed that their "room and boarding" cost only $4.00 a week, in all probability he meant $4.00 each for himself and his wife. The rates charged by the Globe were not advertised in the *Sangamo Journal,* but Joel Johnson, who operated the City Hotel, advertised his rates as follows:

Regular boarders per week with lodging	$3.00
" " " " without "	2.50
Transient " per day	1.00
" " per meal in all cases	.25
Horse keeping per day	.50

Presumably the Globe was still being widely used for large social functions, and at least one big party is known to have been held there while the Lincolns were residents. General William F. Thornton gave the party on February 20, 1843 for members of the legislature and their friends.[17]

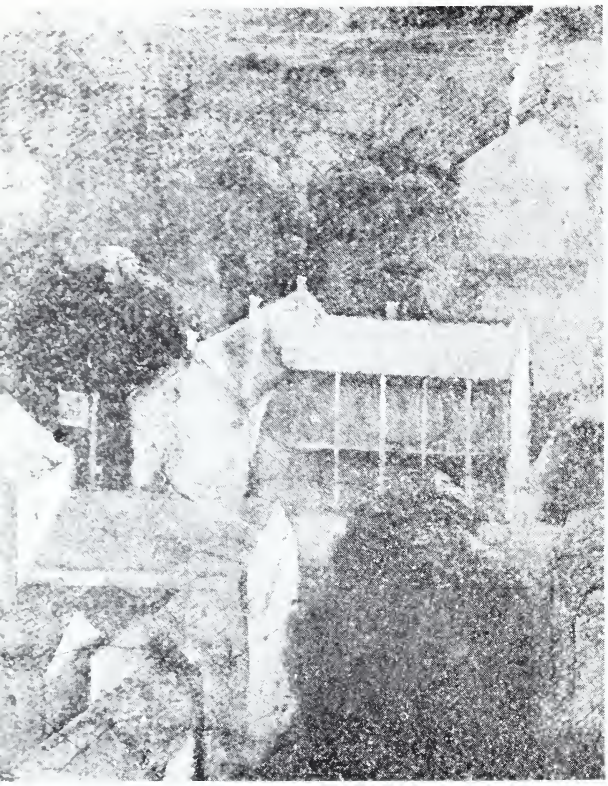
For many years Lincoln's statement that the Globe was kept by "a widow lady of the name of Beck" has confused historians. She has been identified as Mrs. Sarah Beck, widow of James Beck, by Boyd B. Stutler who found out a great deal about her early life, but little on her operation of

14. Lincoln to Joshua F. Speed, June 10, 1843. Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), I: 325.

15. Ruth Painter Randall, *Mary Lincoln, Biography of a Marriage* (Boston, 1953), 82.

16. Richard F. Barrett vs. Cyrus G. Saunders, Sangamon County Circuit Court files.

17. *Lincoln Lore,* No. 941.



The Globe Tavern as it was seen in 1857 from the dome of the old Statehouse by an itinerant German artist. This artist, whose last name was said to have been Weimar, made paintings of the view from each of the four sides of the capitol. This picture represents a four-by-five-inch detail from the three-by-two-and-a-half-foot painting of the scene at the west. On the right is Wharton Ransdell's original Eagle Tavern with its two-story porches, to the left at the front is the Allen addition and behind that the Bennett-Spottswood section. The picture shows the completed Globe Tavern to have been a rather large T-shaped structure. Weimar's four paintings are now in the Illinois State Historical Library.

the Globe Tavern.[18] When or why Mrs. Beck arrived in Springfield is not known. During the 1840's an Andrew Beck and his wife Ann were living in Springfield. Beck died January 16, 1849, and his estate records show that he had married children then living in Washington County, Pennsylvania.[19] Since Mrs. Sarah Beck had come from Washington, in Washington County, Pennsylvania, it is quite possible that Andrew Beck was a brother of her late husband's, and that she either came to Springfield with Andrew's family or came because they were here.

In any case, her connection with the Globe Tavern has been documented by records in the Sangamon County Circuit Court. Although Saunders had operated the tavern when the Lincoln moved in, he sold the furniture to Mrs.

18. Boyd B. Stutler, "Mr. Lincoln's Landlady," *The American Legion Magazine,* XXXVI (Feb., 1944): 20-64.

19. Sangamon County probate files.

Beck for $890 on April 1, 1843 and on the same date rented her the Bennett addition for one year, for which she paid $100 in advance.[20] A few months earlier Robert Allen had sold the original tavern building and land to Dr. Barrett,[21] so Mrs. Beck would also have had to rent or lease the original portion of the tavern from him. No record of a lease or rent receipt has been found, but an earlier proprietor (Spottswood) had paid an annual rental of $700, and this may have been what Mrs. Beck contracted to pay. Apparently Dr. Barrett was not pleased with the arrangement that existed, however, for in October, 1843, he notified her not to pay Saunders any rent. This advice was a little late, since Mrs. Beck had paid Saunders's share of the rent in advance.[22] Since Saunders had sold Mrs. Beck the tavern furniture for $890, he now owned only the Bennett addition to the tavern; and this situation endangered Dr. Barrett's 1840 mortgage for $4,400 on the furniture and Bennett addition.

Represented by Logan and Lincoln, Dr. Barrett filed suit against Saunders and Mrs. Beck for payment of the mortgage, and the case was heard at the March, 1844 term Sangamon County Circuit Court. The agreement that was reached is not clear in the court record, but the case was dismissed on March 17, 1845.[23] Neither is it clear whether Mrs. Beck continued to operate the tavern after April 1, 1844, when her agreement with Saunders expired.

Dr. Barrett sold his interest — that is, the original tavern and land — to William Butler, on June 6, 1845.[24] There is a tradition that Butler operated the tavern for a short time, and it may be that he bought out Mrs. Beck's interest as well as the doctor's.

20. Answer of Sarah Beck in Richard F. Barrett vs. Cyrus G. Saunders. Sangamon County Circuit Court files.

21. Deed, Robert Allen to Richard F. Barrett, Sangamon County Deed Book U, p. 88.

22. Answer of Sarah Beck in Richard F. Barrett vs. Cyrus G. Saunders.

23. Richard F. Barrett vs. Cyrus G. Saunders, Sangamon County Circuit Court files.

24. Deed, Richard F. Barrett to William Butler, Sangamon County Deed Book X, p. 99.

It is reported that about that time Mrs. Beck moved to Iowa, where she later died.[25]

In May, 1846, J. M. Allen announced in the Springfield papers that he had taken over the Globe Tavern. He had completely renovated the older parts of the building and added a new section as well. The hotel now had four front parlors on the first floor and thirty "chambers" with fireplaces and stoves. Meals were twenty-five cents each or fifty cents per day, and the stable charge was twenty-five cents a night for a horse. Allen's new section was a continuation of Bennett's addition to the east, so that the building now was in the shape of a T; the Bennett and Allen additions fronted on Adams Street, with the original tavern built by Ransdell extending to the north from the middle of the newer sections.[26]

The proprietors and owners each changed several times in the next eight years,[27] and in October, 1854, Isaac H. Gray became the first person since Ransdell to own the entire business: the ground, the original tavern building (which Ransdell built in 1835), the Bennett-Spottswood addition, the Allen addition, and the furniture and contents of the building.[28] However, on the very day he acquired full title – October 10, 1854 – Gray sold the hotel to Willis H. Renfro for $20,000; he continued as the proprietor, however, until 1857.[29] Gray renamed the tavern the National Hotel, and it was known by this name until 1860, when it became the Owen House.[30] By 1880 all of the building, except for

25. Stutler, "Mr. Lincoln's Landlady," 20-46.

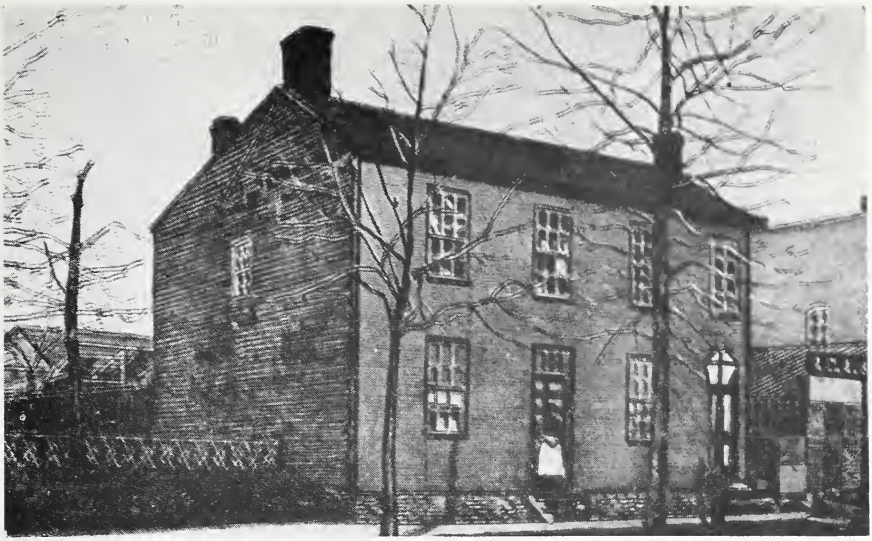
26. *Sangamo Journal,* May 28, 1846; *Illinois State Register,* May 20, 1846.

27. Deed, William Butler to Philip C. Johnson, Nov. 28, 1846, Sangamon County Deed Book Z, p. 302. Philip C. Johnson to Thomas Lewis, Feb. 10, 1849, Sangamon County Deed Book BB, p. 433.

28. Deed, Thomas Lewis to Isaac H. Gray, Sangamon County Deed Book PP, pp. 650-51.

29. Deed, Isaac H. Gray to Willis H. Renfro, Sangamon County Deed Book PP, p. 651. *Springfield City Directory, 1855-56.*

30. Willis H. Renfro sold the tavern to F. W. Wetherbee, Sept. 29, 1855. Sangamon County Deed Book TT, p. 355. Wetherbee sold to Marvin Owen, June 3, 1858; Sangamon County Deed Book 3, p. 206.



The picture above was taken by Springfield photographer August Kessberger in 1879 and was used on postal cards with the title "Globe Tavern." This gave the impression that the Lincolns had lived in a very small hotel when actually this was the Bennett-Spottswood addition and only one of two units that made up the tavern as it was in 1842-1843. The picture below was taken from the east at about the same time but the exact date and the name of the photographer are not known.

the Bennett addition, had been torn down, and the once-pretentious hotel had deteriorated to a "public house."[31]

This one dilapidated addition – actually just a small part of the hotel as the Lincolns knew it – was identified for years by oldtime Springfield residents as *the* Globe Tavern. It is no wonder, therefore, that misconceptions arose about the lowly nature of the Lincolns' first home.

Appendix

Following are the full texts of several deeds, agreements, and court documents involved in the history of the Globe Tavern. They contain information not used in this article and are excellent examples of the information found in these kinds of sources when tracing the history of a building or a piece of property. The original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been retained.

Agreement between William A. W., Charles F. M., and George W. Spottswood.

(*Sangamon County Deed Book P, pages 78-80*)

Agreement. Made this 20th, day of November A.D. one thousand Eight hundred and thirty Nine. by and between William. A. W. Spotswood and Charles. F. M. Spotswood of the one part and George W. Spotswood their Father of the other part. Witnesseth, Whereas Wharton Ransdell did on the Twenty third day of September. A.D one thousand Eight hundred & thirty Nine, agree with Said George. W. Spotswood to rent to him or to his said sons William. A.W. and Charles. F. M. the Globe Tavern in Springfield, for four years and Seven Months from the first day of October one thousand Eight hundred and thirty Nine, at a rent of Seven hundred Dollars, per year and whereas also Said George W. has removed his family Into Said Globe Tavern and now has therein all the furniture purchased from Mr Bennett the former occupant thereof, and, also the Furniture removed from the Kline House which said George W. heretofore occupied, and has also an agreement with Said Ransdell to remove from said premises the New buildings thereon, which said Bennett erected and finished in part; and whereas also by agreement with said Ransdell. the furniture in the House was to be Mortgaged him to Secure the rent, or he was to have a lien thereon for that purpose; and whereas

31. Marvin Owen sold to Gershom J. Little, May 7, 1894, who converted the property to a livery stable. Sangamon County Deed Book 96, p. 351.

Said Furniture has also been Mortgaged by said George W. to Doctor Richard F. Barrett as by reference thereto being had will more fully appear,

Now therefore the Said parties do hereby mutually Agree to and with each other as follows; the said William A. W. & Charles. F.M. agree that they will take the Lease from said Ransdell for the premises above recited and on the Terms above recited and that said George. W. may occupy the same with his family and carry on said establishment as a Tavern for and during the full Term thereof and also that they will on or before the Expiraration of said Term remove the New Buildings so erected by said Bennett and all other Improvements that may be put on said Premises, during Said Lease (if they should not sell the Same) to some Suitable lot in the Town of Springfield to be by them procured by Lease or purchase, and to be Designated by said George W. Spotswood and fit up in the Same. Suitable for a dwelling or Tavern and that said George. W may with his family use and occupy the Same at and for a reasonable rent, and the said George. W agrees to occupy said Globe Tavern with his family and to keep a good Tavern therein for the Said Term and to pay all rents and Expences of said Tavern punctually and to Take good Care of all the Furniture in Said House and that Should Said New house be removed that he will with his said family occupy the Same and pay therefor a Reasonable rent and that he will and by these presents doth assign and Mortgage to the Said William. A. W. and Charles F. M. (Subject nevertheless to the lien of said Ransdell for Rent and to the Said Mortgage of said Bennett and all Just debts contracted by the said George. W. Since the year one thousand Eight hundred & thirty seven. or to . . . by him hereafter Contracted while on said premises all the furniture now in said Globe Tavern being the same as above recited as Mortgaged to said Barrett & all the Improvements for the full performance of this agreement on his part, and the Said George. W. doth hereby empower the said William. A. W. and Charles. F. M. in case they have to pay any of said rents or other Expences of said Globe Tavern. or in case said George. W. shall not pay the reasonable rents for said new House when removed to take for Either of said purposes the possession of said Property hereby Mortgaged or Intended so to be, and Sell the same at public or private Sale for the best price they can, and out of the avails to return all arrearages and necessary Costs and Charges and Overplus if any to pay over to the said George W. or his legal representatives, and it is Expressly under-

stood that the Said Buildings when so removed and fitted up are to be the Exclusive property of the said William A. W. and Charles F. M. Spotwood, with all the furniture before
In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and Seals the day and year first above written

W. A. W. Spotswood
C. F. M. Spotswood
Geo. W. Spotswood

Mortgage deed, George W. Spottswood to Richard F. Barrett
(*Sangamon County Deed Book P, pages 66-67*)

Know all men by these Presents that I. George. W. Spotswood of the Town of Springfield and State of Illinois for and in Consideration of the Sum of Three thousand Seven hundred Dollars. to me in hand paid the rect of which is acknowledged. I have this day Bargained & Sold to Richd T. Barret of the Same Town & State all the Household & Kitchen furniture which I used in the Hotel. belonging to Magr. Kleine of Springfield. Consisting of the followne articles viz. Twenty feather Beds, Bed Steads & Furniture. Suitable for each. viz. Sheets Blankets Counterpins &c &c Seventy five Chairs one Settee one Side Board. Two. Beaurows. Bar furniture. one large Kitchen Stove and all the Kitchen furniture. generally. and Dinning Room furniture Consisting of Tables, plates, Dishes, Knives forks, also all the Tables Wash Stands &c in the lodging Rooms & others &c. &c. &c. one carrage and Harness, one Waggon & Harness, two Sets, Six Cows, three now in the possession of my Son Robinson; also all the House Hold. Kitchen & other furniture, which I bought of the Sd Richd F. Barret, and which he bought of Mr. Bennett, late proprietor of the Globe Hotel in Springfield which Sd Furniture was Designated in a list given to the Sd Barret by the Sd Bennett and the Same that the Sd Bennett had Mortgaged to W. Ransdell. also the House Frame Building, Situated West & adjoing the Said Globe Hotel in Sd Town of Springfield

The Condition of the above Sale is to "Secure the payment of five promissory Notes dated 23d Sept 1839. for Seven hundred & fifty Dollars. each, and one payable annually for five years. Executed by Norborn D. George R. & George. W. Spotswood and payable to the Sd Richd. T. Barret the property of the Klein Hotel which was Designated is first to be Subject to the payment of a

Debt of Thirteen Hundred & thirty five Dollars which the Sd Geo. W. Spotswood owes to the Springfield Bank; and the Bennett Furniture therein Designated to be Subject to the payment of Rents. which Sd Spotswood owes & will owe to W. Ransdell for said Globe Hotel which Sd Spotswood is now occupying; If said five Notes are well & truly paid, at the times they fall due. then this Sale is null & voids otherwise to remain in full force and virtue. and this Mortgage be Subject to foreclosure. to Satisfy Sd Notes payable to the Sd Richd. F. Barret together with all costs &c &c
Given under my hand & Seal this Sixth day of November 1839

GEORGE W. SPOTSWOOD

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SPOTTSWOODS AND CYRUS G. SAUNDERS

(*Original document owned by the author*)

Article of agreement made & entered into between George W. Wm A W. & Charles F M Spottswood of the first part & Cyrus G Saunders of the Second part all of the Town of Springfield Illinois (witnesseth) first, that the following obligations shall be mutally obligatory under the penalty of five hundred dollars to be paid by the person failing in any respect to comply with all the covenants & obligations following (viz) The Said Spottswoods have Sold to the Sd Saunders all the household and kichen furniture which they now own & belonging to the Globe Hotel in Springfield, now occupyed by the Said Spottswoods, consisting of the furniture which the Spottswoods bought of Richd. F. Barrett, which he bought of Wm T Bennett, and also all the furniture which the Sd Spottswoods brought from Rural Hotel recently ocupyed & kept by Sd George W Spottswood, also the new building Situated West, & ajoining Sd Globe Hotel & all other buildings & additions the Sd Spottswoods have made to Sd Globe Hotel Since they come in possession of it. In Consideration of Sd improvements made to Sd Globe Hotel the Sd Saunders is to Settle for the Sd Spottswoods the following debts viz

To Richd F Barrett	$2200.00
State Bank of Illinois	1335.00
Blain Tompkins & Barrett St Louis	400.00
and other debts of Sd Spottswoods	565.00
makin in all	4500.00

Said Saunders is also to pay to the Sd Richd F Barrett five hundred & fifty dollars per annum, or in that proportion untill he may

have paid to Sd Richd F Barrett the 2200 dollars above named, being the Same which the Sd Spottswoods have to pay to Sd Barrett for his intrest in the new building ajoining to Sd Globe Hotel. & the furniture they bought of him. Sd Saunders is also to pay the workmen any accounts they may have against Sd Spottswoods for work done on Sd building & other additions to Sd Globe Hotel which has not bin paid by Sd Spottswoods Sd accounts Consist of the following (viz) To Trailor & Myer & Hedrich for carpenters work, to those who have done the lathing plastering masonry &c &c

Sd Spottswoods also transferred to Sd Saunders the bargain or lease of the Sd Globe Hotel given by Wharton Ransdell & is to give him possession of Sd Globe Hotel on or before the 10th of next month

In testimony of this agreement we hereunto set our hands & offix our seals this 24 day of January 1840

Signed

Witness
RICHD F BARRETT

GEO W SPOTTSWOOD
WM A W SPOTTSWOOD
CHARLES F M SPOTTSWOOD
C G SAUNDERS

MORTGAGE DEED, CYRUS G. SAUNDERS TO RICHARD F. BARRETT
(*Sangamon County Deed Book P, pages 310-13*)

This Indenture Made and entered into this 5th day of February 1840. Between. C. G. Sanders of the Town of Springfield County of Sangamon and State of Illinois of the first part and Richard F. Barret of the same Town County and state aforesaid Witnesseth, that the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of Four thousand four hundred Dollars to him In hand. paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged. hath given granted. bargained. Sold and assigned to the said party of the Second part. all the Household and Kitchen furniture and all the utensils property and furniture now in the Tavern house occupied by George. W. Spotswood in the Town of Springfield. also the furniture of every Kind and description now in the occupation and possession of the said Party of the first part. an Inventory of the principal Part of which said Furniture both that in the Tavern House occupied by said Spotswood and that in the Possession of said Sanders Is hereto annexed as part of this Deed. And the Said party of the first part does hereby also grant, bargain Sell convey and assign over to the Said party of the Second part. all the Furniture and other Property of every description whatever

which he may at any time hereafter during the space of Four years purchase or become the owner of for the purpose of Furnishing or Supplying the Tavern Stand now occupied. by said Spotswood—And the said party of the first part does also. give grant, bargain. Sell and assign to the said party of the second part all the addition to the Tavern House now occupied by said Spotswood which addition was commenced by Bennett and has been further carried on by Spotswood. and is to Be furnished by said Sanders; and also all other Improvements which may be made by said Sanders to the Said Tavern House—

To have and to hold all the before Described property, and all the Property to be purchased and acquired as aforesaid to the said Richard. F. Barrett His Executors administrators and assigns forever and the said Sanders does hereby convenant that he will at all times hereafter make to the said Richard. F. Barret such Deeds of Conveyance. Mortgages and other assurances. conveying and securing to the said Barret the Property aforesaid and all the Property to be acquired by said Sanders hereafter for the use of Said Tavern House as he said Barret may require for the Purpose of Effecting the object of this conveyance the Same Deeds Mortgages and assurances being prepared by said Barret at his proper Expences; And the said Sanders Does further Covenant and agree that he will at his own proper Cost Cause the Property aforesaid to be Insured and Kept Insured at some good Insurance office and assign, the said Policy or policies of Insurances to the said Richard F. Barret the Trust for the Objects of this Conveyance This Deed of Conveyance is however made in Trust and on The following Conditions. that whereas the said party of the first part hath Executed to the said Richard. F. Barret his four several Notes. one for the sum of $550. payable on the first day of February 1841. one for the like sum of $550. payable on the first day of February 1842. one for the like sum of $550. Payable on the first day of February 1843. and one for the sum of $2750. payable on the first day of February 1844 which several sums of money will be Justly due to said Barret at the Period aforesaid. now if the said Sanders Shall well and truly pay off and discharge the aforesaid several Notes. as they respectively become due, then this conveyance to be void . . . and of no Effect otherwise to remain In full force and virtue and the Property aforesaid to Be in Mortgage and Subject to be sold. for the payment of the debts aforesaid—and it is further agreed that if at any time the said Sanders shall fail to pay any of said Notes as they become due or if he shall at any time

fail to have and Keep said property Insured at some good Insurance office and assign such policy or policies to said Barret. or if the said Sanders Shall at any time fail or Refuse to Execute such other Deeds Mortgages, or assurances as aforesaid which may be demanded by the said Barret then the said Barret Is to be entitled to have and take Immediate possession of so much of the Property herein Conveyed as may be Necessary, and Subject the same to the payment of the debts aforesaid as they become due but it is further understood and agreed that the said Sanders is to Retain possession of the Property herein conveyed until Breach be made in the performace of the Covenants and Conditions aforesaid
In Testimony of all which the said C. G. Sanders has hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal the day and year first above written—

C. G. Saunders

"The following are the principal articles of Furniture in Said Hotel—

Feather Beds	37	Mantle Glass. large	1
Bolsters	36	Chamber Glass Small	7
Pillow Slips	90	Bar Room Table	1
Blankets	67	Superior Quality in Bed rooms	45 yds.
Wash Stands	14	Settees	4
Large Tables for Dining Room	10	Stoves for Wood	7
Beaureaus	2	Straw Beds	19
Center Table	1	Chairs	160
Mantle Glass. Smaller	1	Clock	1
Beadsteds	44	Rag Carpeting	150 yds
Pillows	60	Ditto on Setting Room	30 yds
Sheets	60 pair	Stoves large coal	2
Coverlids	45	Cooking Stoves	2
Small Tables	14	Mattrasses	12
Kitchen & Pastry Tables	2	Desks	2
Side Board	1	Table Cloths	25

Also the Kitchen furniture Sufficient for Cooking for 50 & 100 persons Consisting of ovens Kettles Pots Stove furniture &c &c &c. also all the Dining Room furniture Sufficient to accomodate the same number of persons consisting of Plates. Dishes. Cups & Sauchers. Knives & forks. Spoons Large & Small &c. &c. &c. Including Tumblers pitchers &c. &c. &c also the fire Irons in the Several Rooms. Tongues, Shovels & other Room Furniture 24 Candle Sticks & Small Lamps 1 650

Globe lamp large 2 fish Lamps 1 Street Lamp. 1 large Tin Churn. and all other furniture Belonging to said Hotel not above named & forgotten— Also all the following Furniture which the Saunders is to bring into said Hotel from his private dwelling viz — — —

Feather Beds	3	Bead Steads	3.
Straw Beds	3	Blankets	6
Counterpans or Coverlids	3	Sheets	6 pair
Bolsters	3	Pillows	6
Chairs	14	Pillow Slips	6 pr
Dining Table large	1	Side Tables	2
Carpeting	60 yds	Center Table	1

Also Kitchen furniture in Quantity Sufficient for a common sized family consisting of the usual articles and also Table furniture for the same family Consisting of Plates Dishes pitchers waters Knives & forks Spoons Tumblers &c &c &c also 1 pr Brass hand Irons— Shovel & Tongues &c. &c &c—

The above & all other furniture that I may Bring & take into the said Hotel in the place of that which may be destroyed in the Course of the next four years is designed to be covered by this Mortgage to the said Richd F Barret—
Given under my hand and Seal this 21 day of February 1840
C.G. Sanders

ANSWER OF SARAH BECK IN RICHARD F. BARRETT VS. CYRUS G. SAUNDERS (*Sangamon County Circuit Court files*)

To the Honorable Judge of the Circuit Court of Sangamon County — Sitting in Chancery:

The seperate answer of Sarah Beck to a bill in Chancery filed in said Court against her and one Cyrus G. Saunders, by Richard F. Barrett: this Respondent making the usual reservation of the gross in said bill, for answer thereto, or so much thereof as it is material for her to answer, says, that she knows nothing about the execution of the notes and mortgage mentioned in said bill of her own knowledge. She admits that she visited the tavern house mentioned in said bill of the said Cyrus G. Saunders, and that she now occupies the same. She admits that said addition to said tavern is situated as described in said bill; and that it is a house of the construction & dimensions therein mentioned. She admits that she was notified verbally in the latter part of October last not to pay any rent due for said addition to said Saunders but to pay the same

State of Illinois, } ss
Sangamon County. } Personally appeared before the undersigned the within named Respondent Sarah Beck, who being duly sworn says, that the within answer, and the matters therein contained are true to the best of her knowledge and belief.

Sarah Beck

Sworn to before me,
this 20th day of March 1844.

J. Calhoun Ck
for Thos Davis Ck.

Sarah Beck signed the transcript (above) of her testimony in the Sangamon County Circuit Court case of Barrett vs. Saunders, March 20, 1844. See page 651 for the text of her answer. Below is a receipt Mrs. Beck signed for a Mr. Duncan on February 24, 1844. His overnight stay at the Globe Tavern cost $1.75 ($1.00 for two horses and seventy-five cents for their owner). These are the only two known signatures of Sarah Beck. The original of the receipt is owned by King V. Hostick, Chicago and Springfield manuscripts dealer.

Springfield Feb 24th 1844

Mr Duncan
To Globe Tavern Dr.
to 2 horses over night 1 00
" self 75
Credit by cash in full 1 75

Sarah Beck

to said Barrett. She states that she rented said addition from said Saunders from the day of April 1843 till the day of April 1844, for the sum of one hundred Dollars, and that she has fully paid that sum to the said Saunders, & does not owe him one cent for the rent of said house. She does not know who has the fee simple

in said lot on which said tavern stands, or any thing about said Saunders' interest therein. And now having fully answered the allegations contained in said bill, she prays to be dismissed with her reasonable costs.
Robbin[s] & Smedes for Respondent

State of Illinois,
ss
Sangamon County,
Personally appeared before the undersigned the within named Respondent Sarah Beck, who being duly sworn says, that the within answer, and the matters therein — contained are true to the best of her knowledge and belief.
Sworn to before me, Sarah Beck
this 20th day of March 1844.
J Calhoun Ck
pr Thos Davis D. C.

The Globe Tavern Picture on the Front Cover

The picture on the front cover of this *Journal* shows the Globe Tavern building at its full size. This picture was taken in May, 1865 by Chicago photographer S. M. Fassett, who was in Springfield for Lincoln's funeral (the men in Lincoln-type hats gathered on the plank sidewalk were probably also visitors for the occasion). In 1865 the old hostelry was known as the Owen House and was beginning to show the effects of time. At the extreme left can be seen the original building constructed in 1835 by Wharton Ransdell and operated by him as the Eagle Tavern. The left front is the addition started in 1839 by William T. Bennett and finished by George W. Spottswood. The tavern consisted of these two sections when the Lincolns lived there in 1842-1843 in the front of the Bennett-Spottswood addition. The far half of the front is the addition built by J. M. Allen in 1846.

C. DAVID TOMPKINS

John Peter Altgeld as a Candidate For Mayor of Chicago in 1899

C. David Tompkins is an instructor in history at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo. He has B.S. and M.A. degrees from Northwestern University, an M.S. in Speech from the University of Wisconsin, and is completing the requirements for a Ph.D. in modern American history at the University of Michigan, for which he is writing a biography of the late Michigan Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg. Articles by him have been published in Michigan History, The Michigan Quarterly Review, *and* Quarterly Journal of Speech.

ONE NAME that should be added to the list of late nineteenth-century municipal reformers is that of Illinois Governor John Peter Altgeld, who had been concerned with municipal problems long before he was elected governor in 1892. Altgeld had clearly outlined his views on city government in an address before the Sunset Club of Chicago in 1890. Three fundamentals, he said, must be maintained: 1) no permanent office-holding class, 2) an independent officer for every important position, and 3) government by law, not by caprice of individuals.[1]

During his term as governor, Altgeld was particularly concerned with urban problems. When the legislature presented him with several "monopoly bills" giving perpetual franchises to gas, water, and streetcar companies, he responded with a resounding veto and suggested that municipalities should take over the operation of some of these natural monopolies:

Some of the largest, most conservative and best governed cities

1. John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899), 185.

of Europe and America now furnish their inhabitants gas, electric light and even street car service, and do this at greatly reduced rates and yet derive a large revenue from this source, just as Chicago now does in furnishing water. If we had a law permitting cities to do the same in this state, then, if these bills were adopted, the people could at any time free themselves from the monopoly by building or acquiring plants and furnishing the service themselves, or, if the corporations could be compelled to pay a part of their gross earnings into the treasury, then the public would get some compensation.[2]

Altgeld was defeated by Republican John R. Tanner in his bid for re-election as governor in 1896 and returned to Chicago to practice law. But he was now a national political figure, as well as a popular speaker, and he spent much time traveling throughout the nation for speaking engagements. At Philadelphia on September 5, 1897, he delivered a stirring talk on "Corruption and Usurpation in Government, and Municipal and Governmental Ownership," in which he argued persuasively and convincingly for government ownership of public utilities. He warned of the evils of monopoly and urged the people to act to regain control of their municipal governments. He concluded his speech:

This is Labor Day throughout the United States, and many beautiful things will be said about the dignity of labor, but I want to say to you that if our government is not rescued from corporations and if the snaky form of government by injunction is not crushed, then it would have been better for your children if they had never been born.[3]

Although he no longer held public office, Altgeld was still the leader of the Democratic Party of Illinois and was determined to preserve the national Democratic Party platform of 1896 as a permanent part of the party philosophy. He had been the dominating figure in the national convention that year and had written much of the platform himself.[4]

2. *Ibid.*, 942.
3. *Ibid.*, 773.
4. Francis F. Browne, "The Presidential Contest — Altgeld of Illinois," *National Review*, XXVIII (Dec., 1896): 452.

Among its basic planks were those calling for the rights of local government, for an end to federal interference in local labor disputes, and for free silver.[5]

The following year, Altgeld played an important part in selecting a Democratic nominee for mayor of Chicago, and adherence to the 1896 national platform was the basic guide for selection. Consequently, several prominent "Gold-Bug" Democrats were refused the nod. Finally, to maintain party harmony and insure the principles he so strongly believed in, Altgeld chose Carter H. Harrison II as the nominee.[6]

Young Harrison had "immense personal presence" and was "a fine figure of a man with blazing eyes, a clean-cut jaw, a trim mustache, the guise and comport of a theater matinee idol."[7] Although he was the kind of man who could be expected to sell the "Democracy" to Chicago, he would never have been considered for the nomination without Altgeld's support. Harrison ran on the Chicago platform[8] and with the vigorous support of the former Governor was able to score 148,880 votes to 69,730[9] for his nearest opponent.

Altgeld considered the election a vindication of his own political principles, but he had reservations about Harrison's loyalty to his backers. In a letter to Judge Lambert Tree, Altgeld wrote, "So a number of us – that is, the people – lifted young Carter H. Harrison into the saddle. . . . But his election was recognized by the country as a silver victory, and even if he should now betray us I feel that we did the

5. See Harvey Wish, "John Peter Altgeld and the Election of 1896," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXX (Dec., 1937): 353-81.

6. Walter S. Cooling, *The Chicago Democracy: A History of Recent Municipal Politics* (Chicago, 1899), 22; and Harry Barnard, *"Eagle Forgotten," The Life of John Peter Altgeld* (New York, 1938), 417.

7. Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Lords of the Levee: The Story of Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink* (Indianapolis, 1943), 160.

8. The specific planks upon which he campaigned are mentioned in Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 28. They included: eight-hour day for municipal laborers, reduction of telephone rates, no franchises without full compensation to the city, and just salaries for city officials.

9. *The Chicago Daily News Almanac and Political Register for 1898* (George E. Plumbe, comp., Chicago, 1898), 349.

John P. Altgeld — this picture was taken in 1896, while he was governor.

right thing. . . . I hope all will be well."[10] Altgeld's fear that Harrison might betray his supporters soon became a reality.

The ensuing break between Altgeld and Harrison — both known today as outstanding liberals who were in basic agreement on the vital issues of their times — resulted from their varying conceptions of political realities and responsibilities. Altgeld, the idealist, had hoped that young Harrison would use his administration to implement the policies he had espoused in the campaign. But this was not to be. The new mayor not only neglected to discuss his appointments with Altgeld and other silver Democrats but generally appointed gold Democrats to city posts — often on the advice of Altgeld's most hated enemies.

It soon became apparent to Altgeld that Harrison was willing to accept political support from any Democrat. In 1897 "Marse Henry" Watterson, a gold Democrat who had fought bitterly against William Jennings Bryan and the 1896 platform, came out in his Louisville *Courier-Journal* for Harrison as President.[11] Not long thereafter, Harrison gave

10. Quoted in Waldo R. Browne, *Altgeld of Illinois: A Record of His Life and Work* (New York, 1924), 304.
11. Barnard, "*Eagle Forgotten*," 413.

his support to the boss of Tammany, Richard Croker, an arch-enemy of Altgeld, who had also fought the Chicago platform and led the New York delegation from the Chicago convention in 1896. Nevertheless, Harrison accepted Croker's invitation to go to New York in October of 1897 to speak in behalf of the Tammany candidate for mayor. Another candidate in that election was Henry George, a close friend of Altgeld's and a silver Democrat, who was running as an independent. George was severely critical of the "monied interests" controlling politics in the nation, and Croker reasoned that there was no better way to cut into George's support than to bring in a silver Democrat who favored the Tammany candidate. When Harrison spoke for Croker and Tammany, he viciously attacked George, who was, he said, "unworthy of being entrusted with any share of American government. This republic of ours is good enough for you; this republic of ours is good enough for me. If it is not good enough for Mr. George, let us say to him: 'The world is wide, and there are daily sailings of steamers from the port of Greater New York!' "[12] This slur against George's loyalty was especially galling to Altgeld since George died a few days later. Altgeld was also aware now that the eastern gold interests were slowly crushing the silver forces in the Democratic Party. The Tammany Hall convention of 1897 not only ignored the 1896 platform but called its principles "socialistic."[13]

In Chicago, meanwhile, Harrison was gaining control of the city and county Democratic organizations, further increasing Altgeld's anxiety. In the 1898 county elections most of the candidates were chosen by the Harrison faction of the party. The results were disastrous, with the Democrats losing all of the contests. These overwhelming defeats further convinced the silver men that the party was going in the wrong direction under the leadership of Harrison.[14]

12. *Ibid.*, 418-19.
13. Cooling, *Chicago Democracy*, 14.
14. *Ibid.*, 52.

It was the traction issue, however, that finally caused an open split between Harrison and the former Governor. Charles T. Yerkes, traction king of Chicago, had repeatedly tried to gain tighter legal control of the city's streets. In 1896 he had lobbied a set of "Eternal Monopoly" bills through the legislature with lush bribes to the "People's representatives." Altgeld vetoed the bills, and spurned the bribes he was offered, but Yerkes refused to give up. When the new administration entered the statehouse in 1897, a new bill allowing cities to give fifty-year franchises to the street-car companies was introduced and passed. Subsequently, on December 20, 1898, an ordinance was introduced in the Chicago city council extending the franchises, including Yerkes', for the maximum fifty-year limit. Harrison assumed leadership of the movement against the bill, and at meetings throughout the city Harrison, Altgeld, and other public officials spoke against the ordinance.[15]

Despite their united opposition to the franchise extensions, Altgeld and Harrison split over the traction issue. Altgeld called for municipal ownership at once, while Harrison favored granting franchise extensions of twenty years. The city then would be in a position, Harrison said, to discuss public ownership. Meanwhile the five-cent fare should be guaranteed and the city should receive 10 per cent of the gross profits each year.[16] "On the night when the vote was taken in the city council, City Hall was surrounded by a mob – armed with nooses and guns. The vote went against Yerkes." In January the council resolved that the state enabling legislation (the Allen Act) should be repealed, and in March the legislature wiped it from the books.[17]

At the last meetings of the protest groups in December of 1898 the break between Altgeld and Harrison had been evident to everyone, and the newspapers had begun to specu-

15. Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America: the Lincoln Ideal versus Changing Realities* (New York, 1958), 179-80.

16. *Ibid.*, 180; *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 12, 1898, pp. 1-2.

17. Ginger, *Altgeld's America,* 182.

late about a possible contest between Altgeld and Harrison for the office of mayor: When would a declaration of war come from Altgeld? Who would win? What would be the effect on the national Democratic Party?[18] Everyone admitted that the former Governor was still a force to be considered in Illinois and national politics, and even the *Tribune* carried a glowing account of the power of persuasion of a man it hated:

> Altgeld brought his audience [at the last franchise protest meeting] to its highest pitch of fervor when he declared that the city, not the traction companies should dictate terms, and that the time for consideration was not now, but 1903. The tension to which he moved his hearers was illustrated again when he declared municipal ownership attended by a pronounced reduction in fares the ultimate solution. There was first a moment of silence, then a shout as from a single throat.[19]

That meeting on the night of December 11, 1898, was the last time Altgeld and Harrison shared the same platform. Although the former Governor had not yet announced his intention to seek the mayor's chair, everyone in Chicago expected him to do so.

On December 19 Harrison supporters placed posters on every corner (tilted against the lampposts) which read: "Chicago and Harrison against Yerkes and boodle!" Some Chicago newspapers and political commentators interpreted this move as the beginning of the formal fight between the two Democrats; others interpreted it as an indication of the anxiety Altgeld caused the Harrison camp.[20] Regardless of the last-minute attempts to dissuade Altgeld from entering the mayoralty race, his candidacy was announced in the *Freie Presse* of December 20:

> The Democrats of Chicago have noticed with alarm the effort of Mr. Harrison to renominate himself with the assistance of the 14,000 men employed in the city service, who will be whipped into

18. *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 12, 1898, pp. 1-2.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.,* Dec. 19, 1898, p. 7.

line, in order to carry the Democratic city primaries. It is the purpose of the City Hall ring to call a convention early in January to prevent the Democrats who are not controlled by Mr. Harrison's machine to form a powerful organization and to make an effective fight on the primaries.

Under the prevailing circumstances there is only one way open to the Democracy of Chicago to prevent another defeat: the party must nominate their strongest man by petition and this petition must be circulated without delay.

Ex-governor Altgeld has no desire to be Mayor of Chicago, but he has been convinced that he must accept the nomination and make the fight in order to save the Democracy from another overthrow. A document for this purpose will be circulated in a day or two. Every good Democrat and many Republicans will sign it.[21]

Altgeld's decision to run for mayor had come after prolonged consideration and hesitation. As early as the fall of 1898 many Chicago and Cook County Democrats had urged him to head an independent movement within the party to nominate fit candidates for the spring elections. He was then reluctant to take on the thankless and laborious task,[22] but the pressures exerted on him to enter the political arena persisted. His change of mind in late 1898 came after several close friends, including Clarence Darrow, convinced him of the necessity for his running.[23] In a newspaper interview following the announcement of his candidacy, Altgeld said,

For several months I have had many people coming to me and asking me to make this fight. I have been opposed to it. I have no desire to be running around the city making speeches in an exhausting campaign. But those who have broached the matter to me have been insistent. I have told them I did not want the office; that I refused the nomination before I was Governor, and cared nothing for the position now. But I have always been ready and stand ready now to do anything I can to assist the Democractic party. If the making of this fight will do anything to stop the treachery which is destroying the local organization, and which threatens to ruin the national organization, then I am willing to

21. *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1898, p. 3.
22. Cooling, *Chicago Democracy*, 63.
23. Clarence Darrow, *The Story of My Life* (New York, 1932), 108.

make the fight. I will run for any office if my doing so will serve such an end.[24]

Although Altgeld's candidacy did not come as a surprise, his backers were faced with the problem of either opposing Mayor Harrison in the Democratic primary in mid-March or of running Altgeld as an independent candidate. To run without the help of an organized political party was exceedingly difficult in Chicago. Since the mayor held the power of patronage and appointment, he could force city employees to support his campaign by active work as well as financial contributions. He could also dismiss any city worker who supported or actively worked for an opponent. If Altgeld ran as an independent, he would have to raise money, recruit volunteer workers, and find an experienced and competent campaign manager.

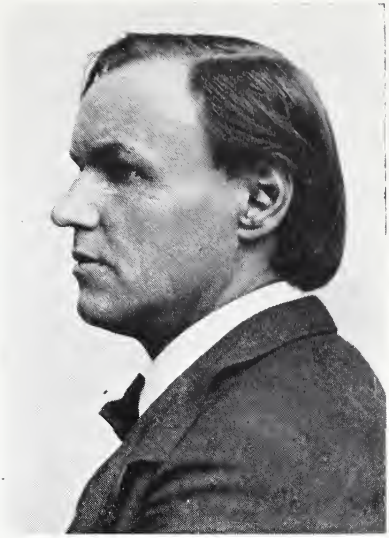
In spite of these difficulties, Altgeld decided that he could not hope to gain the nomination of the Democratic Party which was in the complete control of Harrison. In late December Altgeld said,

> The only way to success in politics is to go squarely before the people, and that is what I always have done and always will do. Other persons can have the party machinery if they think it will do them any good. It is the people, however, who have the final disposal of all matters.[25]

Altgeld established headquarters in the Unity Building, and his campaign began to move. As Clarence Darrow reported:

> "Altgeld for Mayor" was a slogan that gathered from the highways and byways the old guard that had frantically followed him and Bryan to defeat. Day after day his headquarters were crowded with weird-looking idealists and worshippers — the poorly clad, the ill-fed, the unemployed, the visionaries gazing off toward the rainbow espying something farther on than the very stars themselves.[26]

24. *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 20, 1898, p. 3.
25. *Ibid.,* Dec. 25, 1898, p. 11.
26. Darrow, *Story of My Life,* 108.



Clarence S. Darrow as he appeared at about the time he was backing Altgeld for mayor of Chicago.

For each of these people there was more than enough work to do; letters had to be addressed and a mass of literature sent to city and state employees who were known Democrats.[27] Not only the party regulars but voters all over the city received a circular stating that true Democrats had lost faith in Carter H. Harrison because of his betrayal of the party's true principles, his "talk[ing] silver, and act[ing] gold," his opposition to municipal ownership of the streetcars, and his generally corrupt administration of City Hall.[28] "Municipal Ownership and Chicago Platform" became the slogan of the Altgeld forces. People thronged to the office in the Unity Building to offer their support and active help. Hustlers were set up in each ward.[29] In addition to the Municipal Ownership League, other independent groups called special meetings throughout Chicago to endorse Altgeld. These meetings were generally crowded, and Harrison spies were often in attendance. If detected, they were thrown out bodily. Persons remaining signed pledges promising to vote for Altgeld and Altgeld-sponsored men.[30] Cam-

27. *Chicago Chronicle,* Jan. 19, 1899, p. 12.
28. *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 23, 1898, p. 12.
29. *Ibid.,* Dec. 21, 1898, p. 7.
30. Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* Jan. 20, 1899, as cited in J. C. Ambler scrapbooks for Citizens' Association of Chicago, Chicago Historical Society.

paign leaders hoped to have an Altgeld Club in each ward. All of this had to be supported by voluntary contributions.

When Altgeld decided to run as an independent, with the support of the Municipal Ownership League, he also decided to enter candidates for each of the city offices. The League nominees for the major city posts were Charles F. Driscoll for city treasurer, Charles H. Mitchell for city attorney, and Frank A. Stauber for city clerk. The candidate for South Town clerk was Joseph Harris, the first Negro nominated by the Democrats of Chicago for a public office.[31]

The Democratic Party was severely split by Altgeld's campaign. Most Harrison Democrats were surprised by the extent of the support which seemed to be rallying behind the former Governor. Among the prominent Democrats who quit the party to aid Altgeld were former Judge William Prentiss, city collector Joseph S. Martin and Congressman Thomas Cusack. Prentiss praised Altgeld for remaining faithful to the Chicago platform and the principles of Jefferson and Bryan. He likewise condemned Harrison for neglecting his campaign promises.[32] Cusack resigned as county vice-chairman of the Democratic Party to join the Altgeld campaign, and Martin quit his job as city collector.[33]

Harrison forces labeled those who worked for Altgeld as traitors to the Democratic Party.[34] One Harrison man, State Senator J. N. C. Shumway, accused the former Governor of destroying the Democratic Party:

> No one in the country seems to know or understand why you, the former democratic governor of this state, upon whom the loyal democrats of Illinois have conferred the honor of their suffrage, should at this time declare yourself an independent candidate for the mayor of Chicago.

Shumway then demanded that Altgeld explain his reasons

31. *Chicago Chronicle,* March 15, 1899, p. 4.
32. Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 92-94.
33. *Chicago Chronicle,* March 23, 1899, p. 4; *Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 19, 1899, p. 5.
34. Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* Feb. 20, 1899, as cited in Ambler scrapbooks.

and position to all the Democrats of Illinois.[35] Altgeld immediately answered the query. He defined the issues of the Chicago situation as follows:

> 1. That of political decency and self-preservation. 2. The betrayal and utter destruction of that mighty reform movement for which the Democratic Party now stands. 3. Whether the people of Chicago shall be prevented from even making an effort to improve the condition of themselves and their children with reference to the Street car service.

In discussing his first point, Altgeld pointed to the nine thousand city appointees who were forced to do political work in the saloons, among contractors, and the semi-criminal classes. The net result, he said, was the easy domination of the party. After Harrison became mayor, Altgeld stated, he appointed only gold men, allowed corruption in the City Hall, and made no effort to carry out the reforms promised in the Chicago platform upon which he ran in 1897. Harrison's policy on the street railways, the former Governor charged, was in the interest of the monopolists rather than the people. Altgeld defended his willingness to depart from the party organization as follows:

> Free institutions in this land must depend on a patriotic democracy. My life is tied up with the great principles that can only be established through such a democracy, and I am not willing to sit idly by while everything that I have toiled for and hold dear is threatened with betrayal and destruction. To bolt a party is to disagree with its declared principles, but a man who is ready to sacrifice everything he had to prevent the principles of the party from being betrayed is not a bolter. To worship a corrupt political organization as a fetish and blindly follow it when it is moving toward destruction, is unworthy of a free citizen, and this practice has done infinite harm to our republic. Political machinery is a curse when prostituted to base purposes.[36]

Altgeld did not enter the March primary which elected delegates to the city Democratic convention, and, as a result, Harrison was easily nominated and the convention ended up

35. Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 64-69.
36. *Ibid.,* 68.

as a political rally for the Mayor. At the convention, Altgeld was read out of the party and condemned as a traitor. Although this may have been the sentiment of local Democrats, controlled as they were by Harrison, it did not express the opinion of the national organization. At first, national party leaders, including Bryan, tried to keep out of the fight, but they were eventually forced to take a stand, and on election eve the National Democratic Committee headquarters sent out bulletins, which said in part:

> The Harrison Democrats of Chicago, in convention assembled, failed to announce allegiance to the national platform of 1896. This for the reason that they owe no allegiance to it. To tell the truth, there were no real Democrats in the convention. It was Democratic in name only. All the real Democrats of Chicago are supporting John P. Altgeld, who is running on the national platform.
>
> Although elected as a Democrat, Harrison has never done anything while in office to entitle him to the honor of being called a Democrat. He no sooner got into the Mayor's chair than he placed himself under the protection of Mark Hanna's Chicago agents, and as a result the doors of the City Hall have for two years been closed to real Democrats.[37]

The convention which had nominated Harrison completely ignored the promises made by Harrison in 1897. Even in his campaigning he made no references to Democratic principles, and much of his support came from groups who wore Harrison buttons but were dedicated to business or special interests. As an example, not one of his posters or buttons had the words "Democratic Party" inscribed.[38]

Harrison had opened his campaign on February 4, 1899, at a meeting at Halsted and Forty-seventh streets. He predicted that he would get three Republican votes for every Democratic vote Altgeld took from him. He said,

> I believe that when a man wants anything he ought to come out and say so. Go right to the people and tell them what you want. I want to be mayor again, and I expect to put up the best fight I

37. *Chicago Tribune,* April 1, 1899, p. 5.
38. Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 91-92.

know how for the renomination and then for the reelection. I am not ashamed to say that I have been a fair mayor.[39]

In spite of his better advertised campaign with more posters, buttons, cigars, billboards, and lithographs, Harrison still felt he was in trouble. He was amazed by Altgeld's seeming strength, and his supporters made at least two attempts to persuade Altgeld to drop the fight.[40]

Altgeld formally opened his campaign on Saturday, February 18, with a public address at the People's Institute, at Van Buren and Leavitt streets. It was one of the largest political meetings ever held on the West Side. The size and enthusiasm of the crowd surprised the City Hall politicians and demonstrated that Altgeld's movement was not to be sneered at. As the *Tribune* reported: "What made it remarkable also was the total absence of the ward worker and payroll patriot, who is always so prominent at political gatherings."[41] The meeting had all appearances of being a genuine expression of the common man of Chicago.

Speaking with the indignation characteristic of the progressive reformer, Altgeld outlined the issues of the election:

> The most remarkable phenomenon of our times is the formation of trusts and the concentration of capital, through which competition is wiped out, small dealers and small manufacturers are crushed out, wages are arbitrarily fixed on the one hand and the price of products arbitrarily named on the other, so that the great masses of our people are rendered helpless and their independence is being destroyed.

Thus, he went on, local, state, and national governments had been bought off and had become the servants of the monopolists. Formerly no one could afford to buy a piece of legislation, but bribes "are now being offered that are too powerful for the ordinary man to resist. Consequently everything of value that the public owns is turned over to the corruptionists through crime." The only method of stopping these

39. *Chicago Tribune,* Feb. 5, 1899, p. 2.
40. *Ibid.,* Jan. 7, 1899, p. 9.
41. *Ibid.,* Feb. 19, 1899, p. 7.

crimes, he said, was to break the power of the trusts. Twenty years earlier stringent laws had been passed to prevent the formation of "these gigantic monsters, but these laws were only laughed at and have been productive of no good except to show the impotency of this line of procedure." Since concentration of capital was inevitable, he went on,

> What we must therefore do is to give the whole public the benefit of this, instead of allowing a few individuals to have it. In other words, we must have the public take the monopoly and own it for the benefit of all the people. While this may not be feasible in every case, it has been demonstrated that it can be done in most cases. Particularly is this true of all matters relating to municipal affairs.

Altgeld then suggested that streetcar fares could be reduced and the service improved, thereby removing the temptation of corruption from municipal officials. For the first time, he said, the people of Chicago had the opportunity to vote in a municipal election that meant something:

> We want an immediate reduction of street-railway fares, so as to lighten the burden of our people. We want to prepare to have the city take the local monopolies just as soon as we can get necessary legislation for that purpose, and we want to drag politics out of back alleys, out of rat holes into the open, where God's sunlight can get a chance at it. No man, be he republican or democrat, should be required to sneak down into dark places and either shut his eyes or hold his nose in order to stand by his party.

He then charged that Harrison was playing right into the hands of the "boodlers" by meeting their demands. First, the Mayor was willing to give a twenty-year extension of the streetcar franchises. Second, Harrison was originally willing to keep the five-cent fare. Third, he was bitterly opposed to municipal ownership until after twenty years. Fourth, he had asked for an insignificant 10 per cent of the earnings of the lines for the city. Altgeld admitted that Harrison appeared to be opposed to Yerkes and the gang, but he charged that this was a façade to deceive the voters as to his real intention and willingness to co-operate with the

monied interests. Altgeld cited examples of Harrison's receiving aid from the streetcar tycoon, to whom he later granted reciprocal "selected favors."

In addition to attacking Harrison's position on the traction issue, Altgeld criticized other aspects of the Mayor's record. He charged that the higher phone rates in Chicago than in other midwestern cities were due to poor city administration. Chicagoans paid higher phone bills, and the city received less revenue than other cities. He said that civil service principles had been flagrantly violated by Harrison with his appointment of hundreds of "temporary" city workers who were not required to take competitive examinations. And the school system had been used as a political machine. Harrison was guilty of criminality, Altgeld charged, in letting contracts; instead of taking competitive bids for contracts over $600, favorite contractors were given the work, for which they billed the city in separate statements of less than $600 — thus circumventing the requirement that all contracts of more than $600 be subject to competitive bidding. He added that the same type of illegal buying was used in securing water meters, sidewalks, water pipes, catch-basins, dynamos, hydrants, and tunnel repairs. Altgeld also pointed out that Chicago's special assessments were higher than those of any other large city. Average special assessments were $125 in New York, $110 in Detroit, and $215 in Chicago. One of the most fantastic examples of corruption charged by Altgeld involved the city's bill for cleaning and repairing the streets. In one two-year period a favorite contractor was paid $334,000 for less than $100,000 worth of street repairs — as both the contractor and the city comptroller admitted after the bills were paid.

The ex-Governor concluded his talk with an appeal:

> I am not especially in pursuit of office. The mayoralty of Chicago is the last thing in the world that I covet. But I am making a fight for the establishment of great principles — the inauguration of policies that will help the present, and will be a blessing to the coming generations. I am not appealing to the low partisanship

of anybody; I am not asking political favors of any mortal. I am appealing to the intelligence, to the patriotism, to the honesty of our people, asking them to thoroughly investigate the great problems that are pressing upon us, and then to act upon their best judgment. I will simply assure our people that, if this movement succeeds, we will put an end to an order of abuses and wrongs that are now a curse to this city.[42]

The Altgeld volunteers continued to work fervently at headquarters, entertaining interested persons, mailing out thousands of pieces of propaganda, and co-ordinating work in the precincts. On March 19, over three hundred men were organized for the purpose of securing the aid of "12 active men in every voting precinct. This will give us a working force of about 13,500."[43] Even Altgeld crowded in some work at headquarters, and attended the daily session of the executive committee there.[44]

Getting coverage in the Chicago newspapers was one of the greatest problems Altgeld faced. Of the nine Chicago daily newspapers, two remained impartial, two advocated election of the Republican choice, and five supported Harrison. Two normally Republican papers, the *Times-Herald* and *Evening Post,* came out in support of Harrison. To get a fair hearing it was necessary for Altgeld partisans to start their own publication, the *Municipal Ownership Bulletin,*[45] which was sponsored by the Municipal Ownership League. Though it was dedicated to public ownership of monopolies, the *Bulletin* was not socialistic. More propaganda sheet than newspaper, the *Bulletin's* ten issues included announcements of Altgeld meetings, along with caustic and critical articles condemning the city government and Harrison in particular. It also printed all of Altgeld's speeches and public testimonials favoring his election. Among these was a

42. The full text of the speech is reproduced in Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 72-88.

43. *Chicago Tribune,* March 20, 1899, p. 2.

44. *Chicago Chronicle,* March 30, 1899, as cited in Ambler scrapbooks.

45. The only complete file of the ten issues of the *Municipal Ownership Bulletin* is in the John Crerar Library, Chicago.

letter from Hazen Pingree, Republican reform governor of Michigan, who offered best wishes to the Altgeld campaign.[46] The *Bulletin* was mailed directly to more than 600,000 voters in Chicago. But as one of its chief writers later said, "It was, at best, a poor makeshift for a party organ, and its weekly chirp was drowned in the whirr, cackle, buzz and roar of the great 'gabble machines' of the daily press."[47]

The Harrison organization also had a campaign paper, the *Chicago Champion,* "published in the interest of the people." The *Champion* published some vicious charges against the integrity of Altgeld. One front-page story accused him of raiding the state treasury when he was governor. "Altgeld is surrounded by a despicable gang of moral and polluted cripples, but he himself is preeminently the financial cripple of the crowd." In another story, the *Champion* stated that Altgeld had appointed criminal bankers to state offices. In a typical criticism of Altgeld, the paper stated:

> If the people were disposed to do so, it would be abundantly warranted, from all the circumstances, in charging Mr. Altgeld with being the ally of Charles T. Yerkes in the latter's struggle for fifty year franchises. It is perfectly clear that in attacking Mayor Harrison Mr. Altgeld is fighting for Yerkes, either with or without a commission from that eminent captain-general of the brotherhood of corporate greed.[48]

Throughout the entire election campaign, countercharges answered charges regarding the relationship of the candidates to Yerkes. Altgeld charged that Harrison had been supported by Yerkes in 1897 and had given many favors in return. He also maintained that Yerkes was secretly helping Harrison in the 1899 election. Harrison denied both accusations,[49] but in a public letter Yerkes verified Altgeld's contention that Harrison had solicited and obtained aid from

46. *Municipal Ownership Bulletin,* Feb. 4, 1899.
47. Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 71.
48. The only issue of the *Chicago Champion* is in the Chicago Historical Society.
49. See Chicago newspapers for March 1 through 5, 1899.

him in 1897.[50] Harrison was never able adequately to refute that charge, but there is no evidence that he was receiving direct help from Yerkes in 1899.

In a similar manner, Harrison maintained that Yerkes was the only person who wanted Altgeld to win, and was willing to pay for Harrison's defeat. In a published interview in the *Chicago Chronicle,* Colonel J. H. Monroe denied that Altgeld was receiving financial support from Yerkes: "That is a lie. This is a people's campaign — a poor man's campaign. It is supported entirely by the contributions of the people. There is no other source of funds."[51] But Clarence Darrow admitted that some money may have come to the Altgeld coffers from Yerkes, but that Altgeld knew nothing of it.[52] Yerkes probably hoped that both Harrison and Altgeld would be defeated by the Republican candidate, Zina Carter, who was the least opposed to an extension of the franchises. Yerkes knew, of course, that Carter could win only if the vote were sufficiently split between the two Democrats.

All of the candidates concentrated their energies in making speeches throughout the city. There were as many as ninety-six ward meetings in one night, and each nominee made from four to six addresses per evening.[53]

The main issue Altgeld hammered on in his talks was municipal ownership of the street railways. At every meeting he addressed, he called for city ownership and reduced fares. He also continued to charge that the city administration was corrupt and did not serve the interest of the common man, but no new issues were brought out after the middle of the campaign.

One of the most moving speeches Altgeld made was at a meeting of twelve hundred Illinois railway men at Ken-

50. Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* March 2, 1899, p. 1, March 3, 1899, p. 5; Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 28.

51. *Chicago Chronicle,* March 28, 1899, p. 6.

52. Barnard, "*Eagle Forgotten,*" 420-21.

53. *Chicago Record,* March 28, 1899, p. 3.

sington, the former site of Pullman's city. After a demonstration of several minutes, Altgeld said:

> I am gratified to meet such a large audience, the last time I was in Kensington was under different circumstances. At that time I came here to see the model town of America — to see the starving people at Pullman when the great railroad strike was in progress. I remember that I had to appeal to the charity of the people of this great city to provide for these suffering men, women and children. But conditions have changed and in this respect, at least, for the better.
>
> This spring you are to decide whether you are to change in part the industrial system which now prevails, whether or not you will take the first step toward owning the natural monopolies — whether you are to vote for Carter H. Harrison, who stands for them, or try to relieve yourself from the burdens which oppress you.[54]

Altgeld delivered another effective appeal at the end of a speech at Englewood on March 27. After talking about municipal ownership, high payroll costs, and city hall collusion with the monopolies and trusts, he concluded:

> Since '96 the great Democratic Party has stood for the principles of Jefferson and Lincoln, two of the greatest Democrats that ever lived; it has stood for the great toiling masses. That is Democracy; higher justice, better institutions — not spoils and back alley politics. On the great subject of Democracy I do not stand aside for any man in America.
>
> The questions before you are vital. They concern you and your children and your children's children. Will you close your eyes and vote as the machine dictates? I appeal to your intelligence, your manhood; and self respect, and urge you to act on your best judgment.[55]

In the closing days of the campaign, the Altgeld forces were optimistic. A poll conducted by the *Chicago Chronicle* in mid-March showed Altgeld ahead in the race. Altgeld himself predicted that he would win by at least 30,000 votes,[56] and his campaign manager was even more confident,

54. *Chicago Tribune,* March 25, 1899, p. 2.
55. Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* March 28, 1899, as cited in Ambler scrapbooks.
56. *Chicago Chronicle,* March 16, 1899, p. 4.

saying Altgeld would win by 125,000 votes.[57] The feelings of the thousands of Altgeld supporters were expressed by Clarence Darrow, who said,

> This is the first campaign in Chicago in which I have felt that there was something worth voting for. We have elected many platforms and men who stood on them, but that has been the last heard of the platforms. . . . The only salvation is in electing a man who is the friend of the common people. That man is John P. Altgeld. No one can doubt his sincere interest in the great mass of the people.[58]

On the eve of the election, the former Governor was still confident of carrying the city.[59] The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* reported on one of his final speeches and the reaction of the six thousand people who attended the meeting:

> No political leader that Chicago has produced ever received a more enthusiastic reception than fell to the lot of ex-Governor John P. Altgeld. When the modest, unassuming, homely champion of the Illinois Democrats appeared on the stage the demonstration that followed was startling even to people who have been familiar with the politics of Chicago for years. Men stood on their seats and waved handkerchiefs and others hung from precarious places along the railings of balconies and boxes to cheer their leader, while at every door those kept outside pushed in, despite all opposition, to join in the great demonstration.[60]

But Altgeld could not overcome the machine. Harrison was re-elected on April 4, 1899, with 146,175 votes to Carter's 107,355 and Altgeld's 45,395.[61] Before the actual voting, Altgeld had appeared to be a sure winner. But the appearance had been deceptive, Darrow explained, "for the same footsore and weary would travel from one end of the city to another and attend meetings night after night."[62]

57. Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* March 27, 1899, p. 3.
58. *Chicago Chronicle,* March 16, 1899, p. 4.
59. *Ibid.,* April 4, 1899, p. 4.
60. Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* March 31, 1899, as cited in Ambler Scrapbooks.
61. *Chicago History,* II: 77 (No. 3) Fall, 1948-Summer, 1951, Chicago Historical Society.
62. Darrow, *Story of My Life,* 109.

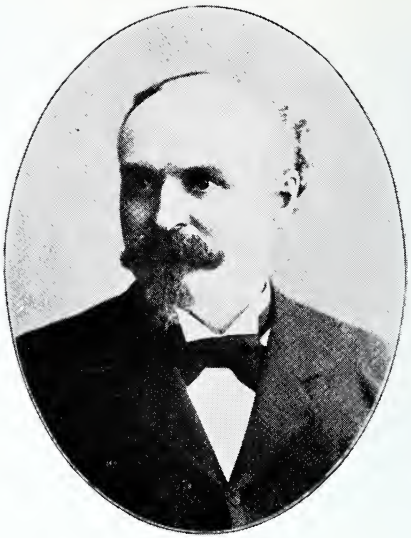
Carter H. Harrison II who, in 1899, was elected to his second of five terms as mayor of Chicago.

Thus the same people had come to meeting after meeting to hear the ex-Governor.

At least three of the Chicago newspapers reported fraud in voting places all over the city.[63] An Altgeld partisan went further and maintained that some fifty thousand votes had been stolen – enough to have insured Altgeld's election.[64] He reported that "Altgeld watchers were driven away; some were bought off; many were inexperienced men who could not follow the shuffling of the ballots. In many places there was only one Altgeld watcher or none at all. It takes at least two to watch the count of ballots."[65]

Despite his defeat it would be unfair to think that Altgeld had accomplished nothing in running for mayor. Perhaps more than any single event in municipal politics of the time his campaign represented the revolt of the middle class against the monied interests that had controlled the political parties. Shortly after the election the Chicago *Times-Herald* published tables showing that the very areas that had been

63. *Chicago Chronicle,* April 5, 1899, pp. 3-4; Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* April 6, 1899, p. 2; *Chicago Record,* April 5, 1899, p. 3.
64. Cooling, *Chicago Democracy,* 106-108.
65. *Ibid.,* 104.



Zina R. Carter, who placed second in Chicago's 1899 mayoralty race.

strongest for William McKinley in 1896 did not vote for Zina Carter, the Republican candidate. Instead they voted for Harrison.[66] Altgeld had succeeded in awakening many people to the need for reform, but these same voters rejected his program of municipal ownership or actual control of the monopolies as radical and socialistic.

66. *Chicago Herald,* April 6, 1899.

THOMAS E. FELT

The Stephen A. Douglas Letters In the State Historical Library

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THE ILLINOIS State Historical Library has long been widely recognized as a center of Lincoln studies, but it is seldom noted that the largest collection of Stephen A. Douglas letters has also been brought together there. Douglas wrote surprisingly few letters, and those that survive are not concentrated in any one group, but a sampling of the contents of some 128 letters in the Douglas manuscripts and the papers of six of his contemporaries suggests that important testimony can be found at Springfield from the Little Giant himself on nearly every phase of his career.[1]

In his early years, it will be recalled, Douglas was the boy wonder of Illinois politics. He had been admitted to the bar shortly before his twenty-first birthday in 1834, and by the end of another year had been made public prosecutor for the first judicial district. Joining other Democrats who

1. The Douglas manuscripts in the Illinois State Historical Library that are kept together under that name are a miscellaneous group of 77 letters built up over the years from various sources. The Charles H. Lanphier Papers include 35 Douglas letters. Others are the John A. McClernand Papers (7), the Sidney Breese Papers (4), Augustus C. French Papers (3), and one each in the Ricks Collection and the Richard Yates, Sr. Papers.

were promoting the novel system of organizing the party through county, district, and state conventions, he lost little time in winning a seat for himself in the state legislature. After one term, he obtained an appointment as register of the land office in Springfield where his opportunities to study and influence party policies at the state level were considerably enlarged. There, at the age of twenty-four, answering the inquiry of a prominent Tazewell County friend, he asserted that "there can be but one opinion upon the subject" of a current intraparty quarrel, and that he was "decidedly in favor of a District Convention to nominate a Candidate." He added that, on the banking question, he also had decided opinions which, incidentally, "I have no doubt are the opinions of Mr Van Buren & his cabinet."[2]

His loss to the powerful Whig candidate John T. Stuart by a handful of votes in the congressional race of 1838 damaged neither his self-confidence nor his influence. The campaign of 1840 found him again in the thick of the battle, leading the state central committee and virtually directing the entire Illinois campaign for Van Buren. Early in the summer he was exhorting his followers in true professional style:

> I am glad to learn that you are on the track this year with fair prospects of success. Every thing is depending on the result this year. Our prospects are brightening evry [*sic*] day. Energy and activity are all that is necessary to gain the victory. Let us not relax our exertions because we feel confident of success. I wish you would write to me what you candidly think will be the result in your county at August and also in November. Our friends here have some fears of the Military Tract. In every other part of the State we are perfectly safe, and if you can only hold your own on the West side of the River Van Buren's majority will be much greater this year than it was in 1836. I leave tomorrow for Jacksonville. We keep up the fire wherever we go.[3]

In Illinois the fire was sufficient, for Van Buren's forces carried the state in spite of Whig victories over the nation.

2. To Lewis W. Ross, Havana, Aug. 12, 1837, Douglas MSS.
3. To Lewis W. Ross, Lewistown, June 27, 1840, Douglas MSS.

Though not a candidate for office in 1840, Douglas's generalship of the party organization had given him a claim on a major appointive office. At that time the secretary of state was an appointed official, and it was to this office that Douglas moved soon after the election. Within four months, however, he had taken another step up into a newly created judgeship on the state supreme court. Shortly before his twenty-eighth birthday, the young jurist wrote his friend James Shields that in his first term of court on the circuit assigned to him he had

> entirely cleared the Dockett in this county the first time for seven years, having disposed of between 300 & 400 cases. The members of the Bar and the people generally have received and treated me with great kindness and courtesy, and seem to be entirely sati[s]fied with the Judicial Change. In this respect [I] have been agreeably disappointed, particularly with the Whigs, from whom I have a right to expect some opposition; but have experienced none. . . . You will excuse my neglect in writing to you and place it on the ground of great pressure of business which could not be postponed.[4]

"Judge" Douglas he would be called the rest of his life, but judicial robes did not for long conceal the party workhorse. His talents as organizer were given little rest during the two years he spent on the bench prior to his election to Congress, as witness the letter quoted below to William S. Prentice of Shelbyville written in August, 1841. After discussing President Tyler's moves and the prospects for party victory in the east, Douglas turned to local matters, giving his friend both blessings and advice:

> I am glad you have concluded to run for the Legislature. You ought to begin to make your arrangements immediately & take an early start, not publicly, but let your confidential friends understand it and act accordingly. Let the party in the county be thoroughly organized. The best way to do that, perhaps, would be to call a county meeting to appoint delegates to the State convention, in December & then appoint a county corresponding committee, say of five, seven or nine persons, near the county seat. Let the county committee appoint sub-committees in each Precinct com-

4. April 2, 1841, Douglas MSS.

posed of three men each. In this way you can have the most perfect organization in the county & the Whigs need know nothing about it. If you thing [*sic*] it advisable you could have a county convention to nominate a candidate for the Legislature next spring. By producing a perfect organization this fall & becoming well acquainted with the committee men in each Precinct, you can have any man you please nominated for the Legislature & can in all probability elect him. Any man who comes out against the regular nominee will be regarded as a Whig brought to divide the party. These are mere suggestions for your consideration, to act on or not as your judgment shall determine. *This letter must be strictly confidential,* the necessity of which is obvious. I don't know what to say about a called Session of the Legislature, but am inclined to think there will be one. I will let you know as soon as I find out, probably in a few weeks. Let me once more urge you to make a bold push for the Legislature, but am certain you can succeed. Now is your time for many reasons which I can explain to you when I see you.[5]

Aggressiveness and a sense of urgency appear as often in Douglas's letters as in his life. The letter exhorting his friends to action becomes more impatient in tone when the desired action is his election to the United States Senate. In the papers of Sidney Breese, for example, there are such uninhibited expressions as these, dating from the fall of 1846:

It will not do for you to rely upon the general impression that your friends will go for me but [you] should *write especially to each* one, and urge him to it where you cannot see them in person. If my friends are active I will be elected by more than two to one. But they must not be too confident.

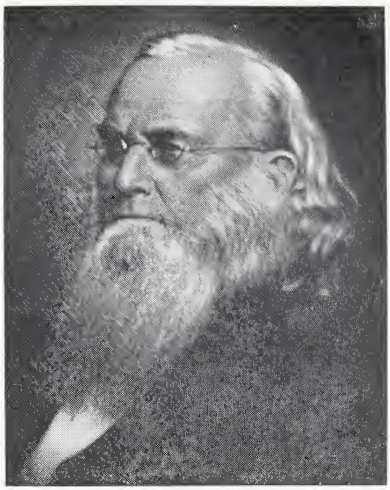
And again, toward the end of the same letter:

In regard to my election, I hope you will urge all your friends to go for bringing it on the first week of the Session. If you will take the trouble I believe you can get them to do it. Now is the time for prompt action. I have no doubt but all is sound, & all that is necessary is to keep it so.[6]

Breese was himself a senator at the time.

A party man first and last, Douglas was quick to learn

5. Aug. 30, 1841, Douglas MSS.
6. Nov. 6, 1846, Sidney Breese Papers.



Sidney Breese — Douglas wanted more active support from the Senator.

the necessary art of using patronage to build and secure his organization. His closest consultant in such matters was Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Illinois State Register* at Springfield. In fact, "it was a matter of common observation," writes Douglas's biographer Allen Johnson, "that before Democratic candidates put to sea in the troubled waters of State politics, they took their dead-reckoning from the office of the *State Register*."[7] In the Lanphier papers are some of the frankest exchanges of practical views on practical politics anywhere in the Douglas correspondence. "I like your suggestion as to appointments to office," wrote the senator to the editor in 1852. "I shall act on the rule of giving the offices to those who fight the battles. The party has been demoralized & weak[en]ed by requiring one set of men to spend the money & time & do the work while the offices were awarded to a set of droans [*sic*]. This shall no longer be the case with my consent." Having announced the rule, he proceeded to cases: "What do you say to Diller as Pension Agent & Curran for Po Master? Who for the two *land* offices? Do you want anything besides the Patronage for your Paper? and if so what? Who ought to be Marshall & District Attorney? Answer me directly & frankly on all

7. *Stephen A. Douglas: A Study in American Politics* (New York, 1908), 61-62.

these points. Your answer will be *confidential* and you must treat these suggestions *as strictly so*." The immediate cause of his anxiety became apparent in his next question: "Will I have any opposition for the Senate, and if so who will it be? Let me know everything as it transpires. Send me your Paper. . . . Write me often & do not expect answers to all your letters."[8]

The Little Giant had no cause for worry about his seat in the Senate, but the presidency was another matter. A year previous to the letter quoted above, while he was still a thirty-seven-year-old freshman senator, Douglas had cautiously — for him — but seriously begun extending himself toward the Democratic nomination. His reasons for caution were expressed in a letter to a friendly Boston editor in September, 1851:

> In regard to the Presidency I will say that I do not consider myself a candidate in the field canvassing for support. I am young & can afford to wait & am not anxious therefore about the present. We have many distinguished statesmen in this country . . . whose age will not allow them to wait. They can afford to hazard everything upon the cast of a die because they have no future before them. If any one of them shall be selected I shall go into the canvass cordially & with all the energy of my nature to ensure his success.[9]

Beneath the thin veil of youthful modesty, the implication is clear that if the party wished to consider giving the nomination for a term in the White House as a kind of old age pension plan, he was willing to submit gracefully. That such an effort at filial deference should be called forth on this occasion is perhaps best explained by the fact that Douglas was replying to a proposal that he pay for the editor's support with liberal quantities of patronage and Douglas wanted to let him down gently. Less selfish offers of backing were welcomed from many quarters. "I need not

8. To Charles H. Lanphier, Dec. 3, 1852, Lanphier Papers. Both of the men named obtained appointments, but Isaac Roland Diller became postmaster and Isaac B. Curran pension agent. See *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), March 18, 1853.

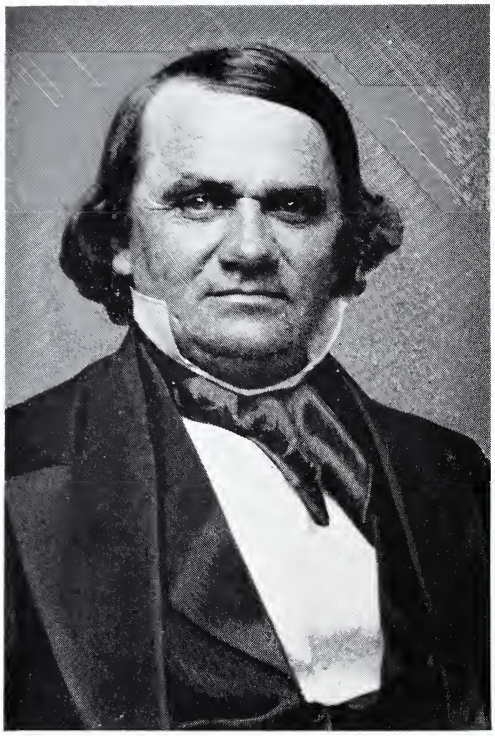
9. To George Roberts, Sept. 8, 1851, Douglas MSS.

assure you that I feel gratified for your efforts in my behalf and . . . at the prospect that Indiana will be found with Illinois when the time of trial arrives," he wrote W. H. English from Washington later the same year. On the eve of 1852, in fact, he could write Lanphier that "things look well & the prospect is brightening every day. All that is necessary now to ensure success is that the north and west should unite & speak out."[10]

There was another factor necessary to his success, however, that one of Douglas's friends seemed determined to overlook. This was the need to avoid antagonizing the other contenders. In particular, it was the youth of the Illinoisan that set him apart from his rivals. Lewis Cass, James Buchanan, William L. Marcy, and Levi Woodbury had all passed their sixtieth birthdays; Wiilliam O. Butler and Sam Houston were both fifty-eight. Douglas, at thirty-seven, had only to sound the cry of Young America *versus* the Old Fogies to bring down the unforgiving wrath of every potential ally at the convention. His awareness of this is suggested in the letter to the Boston editor quoted above, and had he been saved from his friends, his chances for the nomination would seem to have been formidable. But this was not to be. George N. Sanders, whom Douglas had always considered a useful friend, proved himself anything but helpful when in January, 1852, he began using his recently purchased magazine, the *United States Democratic Review,* to attack the Old Fogies with unrestrained enthusiasm. Douglas was upset and cautioned his friend once, was rebuffed, and finally, after the February issue appeared with further onslaughts directed at the same group, pleaded with him that

It is no answer to say that I am not responsible. You know & I know that my voice in this respect has been disregarded, and yet they will not believe it. I repeat that it is both inpolitic [*sic*] & unjust to make assaults upon any good Democrat. The man whose active friends will try to advance his interests by attacking others

10. To William H. English, Dec. 29, 1851, Douglas MSS; to C. H. Lanphier, Dec. 30, 1851, Lanphier Papers.



Stephen A. Douglas, from a daguerreotype made on July 21, 1855.

is sure to be defeated. You know this has been my opinion from the beginning. Every day confirms me in its correctness. I have just been informed that you refused to admit the Biography of Gov Marcy into the Review when requested by his friends. . . . I assure you it will injure me tenfold more than it will him.[11]

It was no use. Douglas's potential as a compromise candidate was soon dissipated and the convention went to the dark horse Franklin Pierce, who won the election in a trot.

On the issues of the 1850's, the Illinois Senator's strength lay in his consistent effort to search out and build with the cohesive forces in American life — the rapidly improving transportation systems, the drive for national expansion, and the mood of speculative optimism — rather than to offer final solutions to the issues that were dividing the nation into antagonistic sections. He hoped not so much to solve the basic problem of slavery as to survive it.

A middle position in those hectic times promised Douglas

11. To George N. Sanders, Feb. 10, 1852, Douglas MSS.

one of two alternative futures: He might succeed in saving the Union from disruption, at least in his time, and so become a national hero; or, if the situation got out of control, he might find himself isolated in the no-man's-land between the warring camps of North and South. The role was a dangerous one, calling for his skills as compromiser, improviser, and the salesman of hope. And yet it was an appropriate role for a senator from the internally divided state of Illinois. A great part of Douglas's energy, in fact, had to be devoted to defending his position at home from charges of excessive Southern or abolitionist sympathies. The best example of this dates from the summer of 1850, during the struggle for passage of the compromise bills. The *Quincy Whig* and other papers charged him with being a slave-owner, and at the same time approving of the Wilmot Proviso — the latter being a popular test at the time for identifying Yankee Free Soilers. Douglas wrote out an editorial for the *State Register* and sent it to Lanphier. In it he asserted that

> No one will pretend that Judge Douglas has any other property in Mississippi than that which was acquired in the right of his wife by inheritance upon the death of her father, and any one who will take the trouble to examine the Statutes of that State in the Secretarys office in this city will find that by the laws of Mississippi all the property of a married woman, whether acquired by will, gift, or otherwise, become[s] her separate & exclusive estate & is not subject to the control or disposal of her husband nor subject to his debts.

In his covering letter, Douglas confided to Lanphier that "It is true that my wife does own about 150 negroes in Miss & a cotton plantation. My father-in-law in his lifetime offered them to me & I refused to accept them. *This fact is stated in his will,* but I do not wish it brought before the public as the public have no business with my private affairs, and besides everybody would see that the information must have come from me."[12] Perhaps in addition to a feeling that

12. To C. H. Lanphier, Aug. 3, 1850, Lanphier Papers.

this was a private matter, Douglas had another reason for not wanting it known he had refused a gift of 150 slaves. He may have felt that what he had already said was a sufficient defense, and that he would avoid the embarrassment of elaborating on his motives. No explanation he might give would satisfy those with stronger feelings for or against the "peculiar institution."

After the passage of the Compromise of 1850, a group of measures for the success of which Douglas was partly responsible, the next great test of his middle-of-the-road position came with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in early 1854. It has often been called the most important act passed by Congress in the nineteenth century; certainly its history is among the most complex. It will suffice to indicate how in his own letters, Douglas announced the principle behind the bill, voiced his hopes for its success, and finally, how it affected his subsequent career.

> The Democratic Party is committed in the most solemn manner to the principle of Congressional non-interference with slavery in the States & Territories. The administration is committed to the Nebraska Bill & will stand by it at all hazards. The only way to avoid a division of the party is to sustain our principles.

So wrote Douglas to Lanphier in February, 1854.[13] He knew how much his own future depended on the bill, for as its sponsor and floor manager, he was widely — perhaps too widely — held responsible for its fate. Although the bill passed, it irritated rather than soothed the growing inflammation of the Union. When Douglas returned home late in the summer, he was met by the same abuse he had experienced throughout the Midwest. "I speak to the people of Chicago," he wrote Lanphier, "on Friday next Sept 1st on Nebraska. They threaten a mob but I have no fears. All will be right."[14] The mob was no fantasy. It did appear and prevented him from finishing his speech.

In retrospect, it is clear that passage of the Kansas-

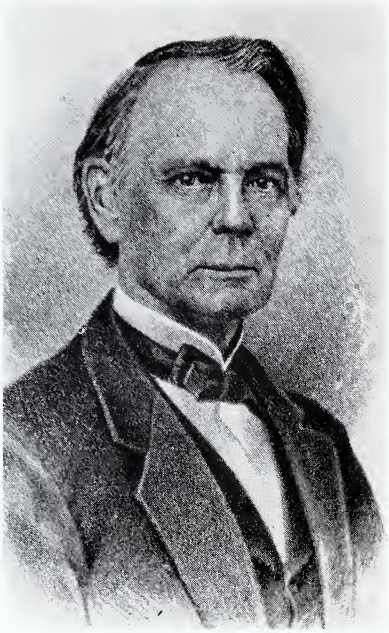
13. To C. H. Lanphier, Feb. 13, 1854, Lanphier Papers.
14. Aug. 25, 1854, Lanphier Papers.

Nebraska Act marked the beginning of the Little Giant's end as a peacemaker.[15] A new party that called itself by an old name, Republican, was rising to power in the North, and a new solidarity of Southern interests was rapidly taking form in the cotton states, as little concerned with compromising its hardening principles as was the abolitionist in the North.

For Douglas as a party leader the Kansas tragedy was symbolized by the fight over the Lecompton Constitution. Although he had condoned the election by which slavery men, with the help of visiting Missourians, had won control of the constitutional convention, he insisted that the convention's work be submitted to the people in a referendum allowing them freely to accept or reject it. This the convention was unwilling to do. It scheduled a referendum to decide only whether the constitution would be accepted with or without a clause permanently legalizing slavery. Buchanan was willing to abide by this arrangement; Douglas was not. In taking his stand, the Senator was making his first break with party orthodoxy, and he was fully aware of the danger both to himself and the future of a united Democracy. Yet the decision was made with characteristic speed and firmness. Even before he had read the proposed constitution, he wrote his friend John A. McClernand, in a letter now somewhat torn and stained but still preserved in the latter's papers, that

> Of course we must stand firmly by the principle of the Kansas organic act, which guarantees the right of the people of each State & Territory to form and regulate their own institutions in their own way. . . .
>
> The only question is whether the constitution formed at Lecompton is the act & will of the people of Kansas, [or] whether it be the act and will of a small minority, who have attempted to cheat & defraud the majority by trickery & juggling. If it be the will of the

15. For an extended discussion of this view and an appraisal of the conflicting interpretations of this crisis in Douglas's career, see Roy F. Nichols, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act: A Century of Historiography," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLIII: 2, 187-212.



Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the Illinois State Register *and a close political ally of Douglas's.*

people freely & fairly expressed it is all right, if not it must be rebuked.[16]

Certainly here is Douglas at his best. The Democrat was also a democrat. Yet for all the hazards of the course he chose — and Douglas was "read out of the party" by the Buchanan faction — it was not necessarily motivated by altruism or patriotism alone. Whatever it did to him in Washington and in the South, his stand against the Lecompton Constitution strengthened him in Illinois at a time when he needed all the strength he could muster. The year of the great contest with Lincoln was at hand.

Perhaps in part because so much of the senatorial campaign of 1858 took the form of debates, the contrasts between the candidates' views have always been sharply emphasized. Yet by this time Douglas had already been forced by circumstances to give up the attempt to hold a position that could find majority support in both sections of his party. He spoke as a leader of free-state Democrats, but, as Lincoln

16. Nov. 23, 1857, McClernand Papers.

noted at Galesburg in October, Douglas's speeches "would not go as current now south of the Ohio River as they have formerly gone there." Had he taken a stand with the "Buchaneers" in his party that year, he would have been defeated soundly. As it was, his re-election was secured only by virtue of the gerrymandering of legislative districts in favor of his own party, for in the popular vote he was noticeably shy of a majority.

That 1860 would see the breakup of the Democratic Party, Douglas was unwilling to concede until it had happened. In October, 1859, he wrote McClernand that "our friends in the South are in fine spirits and gaining every day and confident of success. There will be no difficulty in Charleston," where the national convention would be held the following April.[17] "I am informed that everybody wants to be a delegate," he wrote another friend, and suggested that "consulting delegates" could be appointed in any number to swell the ranks of the official group from Illinois.[18] In late February he wrote,

> There will be no serious difficulty in the South. The last few weeks has worked a perfect revolution in that section. They all tell me and write me that all will be right if our Northern friends will fearlessly represent the wishes and feelings of the Democracy in their own States. That such will be the case I have no doubt.[19]

When the time came, however, neither the efficiency of the Douglas team nor the bolt of seven cotton-state delegations served to win a nomination at Charleston under the two-thirds rule. Only when a second convention met at Baltimore in late June, and then not until the second ballot, was Douglas given the nomination of that part of his party that had not gone over to John C. Breckinridge, the candidate of the deep South, or John Bell, the choice of the border-state Democrats' Constitutional Union party.

Although his candidacy in 1860 found him at the bottom

17. Oct. 1, 1859, McClernand Papers.
18. To C. H. Lanphier, Jan. 1, 1859 [1860], Lanphier Papers.
19. To Peter Cogger, Feb. 19, 1860, Douglas MSS.

of the slope that he had descended from the heights of 1854, it left him, nevertheless, in a special kind of glory. The campaign he waged that year was unusual not only in that he took the novel step of canvassing in person, but more so in that before the summer was out he was not campaigning for himself at all but for the Union. He is reported in one man's memoirs to have said privately at Boston in August that he would be defeated, and that his purpose through the rest of the campaign would be to urge the southern states to submit to the verdict against them and stay in the Union.[20] While he felt a responsibility for keeping up the morale of the northern wing of the party, and spoke in New England and the Midwest as well, his tours of the South and his repeated defiance of secessionist opinion in his audiences lends credence to the report of his decision at Boston. To Norfolk and Raleigh in late August, and again from mid-October through the end of the campaign to St. Louis, Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Montgomery, and Mobile he went, seeking not votes, but peaceful acceptance of defeat. While other candidates were hedging around the dreaded question of secession, Douglas was constantly raising it to view and attacking it with all the energy he commanded.

Neither the election of Lincoln nor the secession of South Carolina halted Douglas in his search for a compromise in peace. By Christmas he had to admit to Lanphier that he had "some faint hope of a satisfactory adjustment" through the Crittenden Compromise or his own proposals, "but only faint hopes." In the same letter he asserted a fact that suggests the reason for his dispair: "No adjustment will restore & preserve peace *which does not banish the slavery question from Congress forever* and place it beyond the reach of Federal Legislation."[21] Nothing would banish the slavery question from Congress for even a day.

This is the last letter of any importance from Douglas's

20. Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston: 1872-77), II: 699.

21. To C. H. Lanphier, Dec. 25, 1860, Lanphier Papers.

hand in the collections of the State Historical Library. It brings him to the point at which he ceased to be a party man, even by his own lights, and takes up briefly the role of friendly advisor to the new war President. Before his death in June, 1861, he had even taken a highly effective role as an unofficial recruiting officer for the Union in Illinois.

There are other Douglas letters in existence, scattered through many collections, though nowhere is there the quantity of important letters from his hand that would be expected. Nor, for that matter, are there some of the qualities in these letters one looks for in a man of his unquestioned stature. Perhaps the handwriting itself helps explain something of why he wrote so seldom. It dashes across the page as if itself in pursuit of the mailbox. Fluent, emphatic and frank in his correspondence with friends, Illinois' "steam engine in britches" was no more reflective or patient with the pen than with any other obstacle to the expression of his daily thoughts. Yet this was Douglas, and a review of his letters is in many respects a review of his life.

WALTER S. G. KOHN

Illinois' Convention Ratifies The Twenty-first Amendment

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THE TWENTY-FIRST AMENDMENT to the United States Constitution is unique in at least two ways: First, it repealed another amendment outright by explicitly nullifying the Eighteenth Amendment which had ushered in the Prohibition Era.[1] Second, the manner of ratification was without precedent and remains without duplication. The Constitution specifies that, after being passed by two-thirds majorities in both houses of Congress,[2] a proposed constitutional amendment goes to the states for ratification. This usually means that the state legislatures have to act on it, and if three-quarters of them ratify it, the proposed amendment becomes part of the law of the land.

At least this is the usual method. But the Constitution does provide for an alternate way: ratification by conven-

1. The Twelfth Amendment, outlining the election of the President, was modified by another, the Twentieth. But the Eighteenth Amendment is the only one which was repealed in its entirety.

2. The Constitution may also be amended by holding a special convention for the purpose of proposing amendments. However, this method has never been used.

tions in three-quarters of the states. Congress may propose one or the other mode of ratification, and only once has it chosen the convention method: in the case of what became the Twenty-first Amendment repealing prohibition.

There are indications that this method was selected because some state legislators who may have wished to vote for ratification might not have had the courage of their convictions if by doing so they would incur the wrath of their constituents. This fear was not well founded in view of the overwhelming support given almost everywhere by the electorate to the repeal proposal. However, it was regarded as safer to let the decisive votes be cast by an entirely different group of people.

Both political parties, in their platforms adopted at the national party conventions in the summer of 1932, came out for repeal by convention, which in itself was a reversal of the position they had taken four years earlier. One argument for such a course was that special conventions would avoid delay by state legislatures, and by prompt action would help to put the bootleggers' profit into the Federal treasury and thus "balance the Budget, secure government against the possibility of bankruptcy, and relieve the people of further additions to the already intolerable burden of taxation."[3] On the other hand, people like Congressman Gifford from Massachusetts feared constitutional conventions because "there may not be a limit to the powers of the members thereof to meddle with their own State constitution." In other words, once called together, would such a convention know where to stop? Gifford specifically mentioned Illinoisans as hesitating "because of the mischief, as they regard it, that may be done to their own organic law, and [they] have attempted to place limitations on the action of such conventions."[4] To set aside precisely such fears the plat-

3. A. Mitchell Palmer, who had served as attorney general under President Wilson, in a brief inserted in the *Congressional Record,* LXXVI (Dec. 7, 1932): 133.

4. *Congressional Record,* (Dec. 8, 1932): 225.

forms of both parties had stipulated special conventions whose "sole purpose" (Republicans) it was to "act solely" (Democrats) on the repeal amendment.[5]

At any rate, in February, 1933, the proposed Twenty-first Amendment passed the United States Senate by a vote of 63 to 23,[6] and the House of Representatives by 289 to 121.[7] Both senators from Illinois, a Republican and a Democrat, voted for the amendment. At that time Illinois had twenty-seven members in the House. One Democrat had died on November 6 and the vacancy remained unfilled. The other twelve Democrats voted for the proposed amendment. Of the Republicans, three did not vote, five were for it, and six against. That only Republicans cast negative votes is not in itself remarkable. But this was not the Congress elected in the fall of 1932; its members were "lame ducks" who had been elected two years earlier. The congressmen from Illinois who supported the repeal amendment or abstained had either been re-elected in November, 1932, or another member of their party had been victorious. But every single one of the six congressmen who were recorded as voting against it had been defeated more than three months earlier!

On February 21, 1933, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson sent identical letters to the governors of all states informing them of the repeal amendment as passed by Congress and requesting its submission to a state convention.[8] Thus the ball was tossed to the individual states who apparently were to handle the details in whatever way they saw fit.[9] Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Dakota decided that discretion was the better part of valor and did

5. *Ibid.*, (Dec. 7, 1932): 131.

6. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Feb. 17, 1933, p. 1.

7. *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1933, p. 1. It is interesting to note that in 1917 the vote for the Eighteenth Amendment was almost the same: 65 to 20 in the Senate and 282 to 128 in the House. See Herbert Asbury, *The Great Illusion* (Garden City, N. Y., 1950), 325.

8. Everett S. Brown, "Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment," *American Political Science Review,* XXIX (Dec., 1935): 1005-6.

9. Some legislation providing for unified procedure throughout the states was introduced in Congress but never got anywhere.

nothing. North Carolina left it up to the people, who voted against holding a convention while, at the same time, choosing delegates who would have attended if such a convention had been held! Nebraska, Montana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota did not want to rush into anything and made preparations to hold conventions in 1934, by which time, as it turned out, any action on their part had become unnecessary since the required number of ratifications had already been obtained and the amendment adopted.[10]

In Illinois there were reports that the General Assembly might constitute itself into a state convention. This apparently was the outcome of a conference between five leading legislators and Democratic Governor Henry Horner. These men were quoted as saying that they could not find anything in state or federal laws to prevent this action.[11] (Presumably if a legislative body can turn itself into a committee of the whole, it could also turn the magic trick and constitute itself into a convention.) At any rate, the General Assembly was said to be "wet in sentiment" and in favor of ratification.[12] This view is challenged by Fletcher Dobyns who, in a book published seven years later, maintains that the legislatures would never have passed the amendment, for only in statewide elections could the city "with its wealth, daily newspapers, political machines, underworld and other resources" overwhelm the rest of the state, leaving the "dry" delegates without protection. "Bipartisan rings of crooked politicians could then control the polls, count the votes, make the return and deliver the goods."[13]

Be that as it may, the suggestion that the Illinois legislature be transformed into a repeal convention seems to have died a quiet death. Instead, at the proposal of Democratic floor leader Thomas P. Sinnett,[14] a committee of five state

10. Brown, "Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment," 1006.
11. *New York Times,* Feb. 22, 1933, p. 16.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Fletcher Dobyns, *The Amazing Story of Repeal: An Exposé of the Power of Propaganda* (Chicago, 1940), 45-46.
14. *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Feb. 22, 1933, p. 1.

senators and five state representatives was appointed to "recommend to the General Assembly the course of procedure to be followed for calling a State convention to act upon such proposed amendment."[15] There was disagreement about some of the details. For a while it appeared that delegates to the convention might be chosen at the next state-wide primary[16] which would have meant postponement of any action until April, 1934. This met with strong objections from the Governor who wanted prompt action to redeem campaign pledges.[17]

The number of delegates also caused some arguments. Once again, each state followed its own whims. Indiana decided on the largest number, 329, followed by New Jersey with 226 and New York with 150 convention members. On the opposite end of the scale, Arizona and Vermont decided on fourteen delegates, New Hampshire on ten and New Mexico figured that three was sufficient.[18] New Mexico had enacted the provision that the number of convention members should be the same as the number of its presidential electors. And so two men and one woman met at noon on September 19, 1933 in the senate chamber at Santa Fe. In an outburst of gallantry, they elected Mrs. Franklin L. Lane as their chairman, named Prager Miller secretary, and then the convention of three adjourned for lunch. At 2:30 P.M. this "body" solemnly voted three to none in favor of ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment, the document being signed by the two officers of the convention and Miguel A. Gonzales, delegate.[19]

The nation-wide average came to about sixty delegates per state convention. Since Illinois at that time was divided

15. *Journal of the Illinois House of Representatives,* 58 G.A., 260. Reprinted in the *Proceedings of the Illinois "Repeal Convention,"* 8.

16. *Illinois State Journal,* April 18, 1933, p. 1.

17. *Ibid.,* April 23, 1933, p. 9.

18. Brown, "Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment," 1006.

19. Everett S. Brown, "State Convention Records and Laws," *Law,* VII (University of Michigan, 1938): 290-91.

into twenty-five congressional districts,[20] twenty-five was sometimes mentioned as a suitable number for the state.[21]

On April 3, 1933, Michigan elected its one hundred convention delegates. This was done by districts with the result that victory went to 99 "wets" and one "dry," Dr. Eugene Davenport, retired dean of agriculture at the University of Illinois.[22] On April 11 this group met and voted 99 to one in favor of ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment, thus making Michigan the first state to do so.[23] Apparently now Illinoisians felt that they did not want to be left behind. After the state senate session was opened with a prayer by the former president of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League,[24] the General Assembly on April 28 passed a comprehensive law, stipulating details of the proposed convention.[25] The latter was to be held at noon of July 10 in the House chamber of the General Assembly in the capitol building in the state capital of Springfield with the governor calling it to order. Fifty delegates were to be elected at large on June 5, the day on which five state supreme court justices and all the circuit justices were to be elected. A delegate had to be twenty-five years old, a citizen of the United States and a resident of Illinois for at least five years. Nomination was to be by petition, with 25,000 signatures necessary for a place on the ballot. The names of the candidates for delegates were to be in columns under the headings "For Ratification," "Against Ratification," and "No Preference Expressed." The last one, as it turned out, did not materialize, since all would-be delegates ran either on the pro-ratification slate or in opposition to it. Any decision at the convention was to be made by majority vote.[26]

20. Two Congressmen from Illinois were elected at large.
21. *Illinois State Journal,* Feb. 23, 1933, p. 1.
22. *Ibid.,* April 10, 1933, p. 1.
23. *Ibid.,* April 11, 1933, p. 1.
24. *Ibid.,* April 27, 1933, p. 2.
25. *Journal of the Illinois House of Representatives,* 58 G.A., 819. Reprinted in the *Proceedings of the Illinois "Repeal Convention,"* 9-14.
26. *Ibid.*

Two thousand five hundred dollars or "so much thereof as may be necessary" was appropriated by the Illinois legislature "for the expenses properly incident to the convention."[27] The delegates themselves, however, were to receive no compensation, not even reimbursement for their expenses. Once again this was handled differently by the various states. The delegates in Maine received a flat rate of $5.00, those of Nebraska a lump sum of $25. A daily pay scale was set up in other states, Utah providing for $4.00 a day, South Dakota for $5.00.[28]

As the weeks rolled by toward June 5, hot judicial races developed in Illinois between the two major parties. Despite this, however, leading Democrats and Republicans alike were united in their efforts to elect a ticket favorably disposed toward ratification. The opponents made a major effort to show strength by filing 4,527 pages containing 95,704 signatures[29] which was 70,000 more than the law required. But their ticket was comparatively unbalanced as far as regional representation was concerned. Fourteen would-be delegates were from Chicago proper, four each from suburban Oak Park and Evanston, and one each from suburban Lake Forest and Wilmette. The Twenty-first Congressional District, which included Springfield, provided five would-be delegates. Two congressional districts were represented by three people each, four others by two apiece, seven by one each and one by nobody. Yet three counties in the northern part and one in the west of this large rural eleven-county congressional district — the then Twenty-fourth — went against ratification while every county of the Twenty-first voted "wet." Of the two congressional districts outside of Chicago and Springfield that had the largest representation on the "dry" slate, four out of six counties in the Fourteenth and none in the Twelfth Congressional District went against the repeal amendment. About the only

27. *Ibid.*
28. Brown, "Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment," 1011-12.
29. *Illinois State Journal,* May 12, 1933, p. 12.

conclusion to be drawn from this is that it really did not make any difference who represented the "drys" or where they were from!

The pro-ratification list, on the other hand, was a masterpiece of planning. Twenty-two of the candidates were from Chicago, one from suburban Lake Forest and two from suburban Cicero, leaving exactly one-half of the fifty places to the fifteen down-state congressional districts. All were represented, ten by two people each, the remaining five by one apiece. Whenever two people came from one congressional district, one of them was a Democrat and one a Republican, while the one-candidate districts were all represented by Democrats. This was a good move since every single one of these districts had gone Democratic in the races for the national House of Representatives the previous November; besides, the Democrats constituted the majority party in Illinois at that time.

The anti-ratification group presented its candidates in alphabetical order to the voters, except that the two leading names were reversed. First place on the ballot went to Henry W. Austin, a sixty-nine-year-old Oak Park banker who had served a number of terms in both houses of the Illinois legislature in earlier years. He thus was fairly well known. The number two spot was occupied by William P. Allin of the central county of McLean. The only information that this writer could locate about Allin was in an article published in the local newspaper several years earlier[30] which chiefly concerned his hobby, taxidermy, and the fact that his farm-house was a museum of rare stuffed birds. The alphabetical listing of the other forty-eight names gave the last place to perhaps the most prominent candidate, seventy-two-year-old Richard Yates, who had held many important positions in the state, such as governor (1901-1905) and congressman-at-large since 1918, surviving the Democratic landslide of 1930 but not the 1932 holocaust. Defeated for

30. *Daily Pantagraph* (Bloomington), 1926.

Richard Yates II, a consistent supporter of the prohibition cause.

re-election in November, 1932, Yates voted against the proposed repeal amendment during the "lame-duck" session in February, 1933, and once more offered his services in the cause of prohibition.

Of the one hundred candidates competing for the fifty spots on both tickets, this writer was able to identify about sixty with the aid of various *Who's Whos*, the assistance of a number of very helpful people with excellent memories[31] and several other sources, including books and newspapers. The forty persons who remain unknown to the writer except for their names and addresses may of course represent data invalidating the conclusions reached below. But judging from the information available, the anti-ratification candidates apparently were to a large extent sincere, high-minded, and often deeply religious people, who, as it turned out, were politically quite ineffective. Many of them were prominently identified with the Anti-Saloon League or the cause

31. I should like to single out especially my good friend and colleague, Dr. John A. Kinneman, emeritus professor of sociology and former chairman of the Department of Social Sciences at Illinois State Normal University, whose assistance in this connection proved of great value. Mrs. Harold Sinclair of Bloomington was also very helpful in locating useful information.

of prohibition and many were Protestant ministers. They included the editor of the *National Prohibitionist,* Edward Blake; the state president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Ada Reed Ferguson; and the Prohibitionist candidate for vice-president of the United States in 1932, Frank Regan of Rockford. The average age of the anti-ratification candidate was ten years above that of his opponent, 61½ years to 51¾ years. Twenty birth dates were obtainable from each slate,[32] giving the following figures:

		Anti-ratification candidate	*Pro-ratification candidate*
at least 35 years but not	40	—	3
40	45	—	1
45	50	1	5
50	55	2	1
55	60	4	3
60	65	2	3
65	70	7	2
70	75	3	2
75	80	—	—
80		1	—

The pro-ratification forces left no stone unturned to prove their representative character. In addition to the Cook County-downstate balance, the proportion of Democrats to Republicans on the slate was representative of the party strength in the state. Protestants such as Episcopalian Ralph Martin Shaw and Baptist Andrew C. Metzger were on the ticket. Both were from Chicago; both were Republicans. There was the prominent Jewish corporation lawyer Benjamin Alschuler from Aurora, a Democrat. Chicago's Bernard L. Majewski, a member of the Knights of Columbus and the Holy Name Society, and Peoria's John E. Cassidy, another member of the Knights of Columbus and a graduate

32. The writer readily admits that a sample of 40 per cent may not give a completely accurate picture. While later editions of *Who's Who* and other sources were consulted in vain, it is still possible that a number of those unidentified have been too young to be included in some of the reference works. Such are the hazards of compiling figures of this sort.

of Notre Dame, attested to the religious broad-mindedness of the pro-ratification slate. To their opponents' ten women the "wets," however, presented only two: Elizabeth A. Conkey, a public official and commissioner of Cook County, and at the time of this writing Democratic national committeewoman from Illinois; and Mary Bell Sloan, who had been an unofficial delegate to the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1931 and who was then married to a goiter specialist in Bloomington. Even the physical needs of individuals seem to have been properly balanced on the pro-ratification side: Oscar Mayer of sausage-making fame could be paired with Charles M. Postl who had founded health clubs and health institutes. Incidentally, both of them were foreign-born, one being a Democrat and a Lutheran, the other a Republican and a Mason.

The twenty-five candidates from Cook County were listed first on the ballot, but no other order of listing is discernible. The lead spot was occupied by P. A. Nash, who had just become Democratic state committeeman.[33] Frequently mentioned in connection with the "Kelly-Nash" or "Horner-Nash" political machines, Nash was undoubtedly one of the best-known political figures in Illinois. It had even been reported[34] that he could have become mayor of Chicago, but declined because he was already seventy.

The number two position on the "wet" ticket was occupied by George Franklin Harding, described as a "wealthy real estate man, [who] like his life-long friend [William Hale] Thompson [whom he helped to become mayor of Chicago] had first entered politics for the sport of the game."[35] Illinois' first native son to graduate from Harvard, an ardent Republican who rose high in Cook County politics, he held such positions as alderman and comptroller of

33. Nash replaced Anton J. Cermak, father-in-law of Illinois' present Governor Otto Kerner, who had been assassinated by a bullet meant for President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt.

34. *Illinois State Journal,* April 14, 1933, p. 1.

35. William H. Stuart, *The Twenty Incredible Years* (Chicago, 1935), 12.

Chicago and was a very powerful figure behind the scenes. Thus he complemented Nash beautifully.

Next on the ticket was a Democrat, William L. O'Connell, Cook County party chairman for many years. He had held the post of chairman of the Public Utilities Commission in 1915 and was involved in many presidential campaigns, though not always on the winning side: He was William G. McAdoo's Illinois manager in 1924, organized the state for Al Smith in 1928, and in 1932 was one of the early backers of Governor Franklin Roosevelt of New York.

The next name on the pro-ratification slate was that of Edward F. Moore, Republican, who had been deputy commissioner of public works at one time and who was to be secretary of the Cook County Republican committee in 1934 when Harold L. Ickes was read out of the Republican Party. He was surely a man who had the courage of his convictions: Stuart reports that in 1927, when there was a filibuster in the state legislature against a Chicago bond bill, he arrived in the state capital "with many aides. He put cots in the House committee rooms, served coffee and sandwiches — and yes, even good beer, a real treat in those prohibition days."[36]

Moore was followed by Oscar Mayer who has already been mentioned. Then came Jacob Arvey, who is still a force in Illinois politics and today occupies the position of Democratic national committeeman from Illinois, Mrs. Conkey's counterpart. The latter, incidentally, was fifteenth and Mrs. Sloan was number forty, thus once again illustrating that the women were not specially catered to by the "wets"! Arvey was succeeded on the ballot by Czech-born Democrat John Toman who started his American career as a newsboy at the age of ten and rose to serve Chicago in various capacities, including that of council member. After the prohibition amendment was repealed, he became Cook County sheriff and treasurer.

36. *Ibid.*, 334.

Republican Judge George Barrett, next on the list, was attorney general of Illinois during the Dwight Green administration in the 1940's. Then came two gentlemen who were in the pig iron, ore, and coke business and in plumbing and sanitary engineering activities, respectively. Only after these first ten prospective delegates is there a name that is not readily identifiable, thus proving that the "wet" slate attempted to sell itself to the electorate as a bi-partisan, star-studded cast. Farther down the list are such personalities as John Oglesby, a former lieutenant governor and son of a governor; Bruce Campbell, who had opposed Governor Horner in the 1932 Democratic primary; John Kapp, mayor of the capital city of Springfield; and the already-mentioned John Cassidy, who still lives in Peoria and who has been very active in Democratic politics: he held the position of attorney general at one time and was a candidate for lieutenant governor in 1936. In terms of political know-how, fame, and political balance, the pro-ratification list of candidates was far superior to that of its opponents.

Both slates were filed by May 11, as required by law.[37] Earlier, the "wet" forces had received a shot in the arm when Rhode Island, which incidentally had never ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, voted 150,244 to 20,874 for repeal and elected thirty-one delegates[38] who on May 8, promptly ratified the Twenty-first Amendment.

By this time the campaign was well under way on a nation-wide basis. On May 18, Lewis W. Douglas, Federal director of the budget, testified before the House Ways and Means Committee in Washington that the taxes expected from liquor after repeal would finance unaided the huge bond issue then under discussion.[39] A few days later, statements favoring the continuation of prohibition were circu-

37. *Illinois State Journal,* May 12, 1933, p. 1.

38. *Ibid.,* May 2, 1933, p. 1. Only one town in Rhode Island, Hopkinton, went dry by 310 votes to 293. In a 1930 referendum, the state had voted 171,900 to 47, 652 against retention of the Eighteenth Amendment with Hopkinton alone in the "dry" column by a 620 to 384 vote.

39. *Illinois State Journal,* May 19, 1933, p. 1.

lated in some of Springfield's Protestant churches, pointing out that while prohibition had not been enforced to the extent of wiping out drunkenness altogether, it had reduced the number of drunks.[40] Then Postmaster General James A. Farley put the alternatives very simply as either repeal of the "dry" laws or the payment of more income tax.[41] At the same time, Farley's own state of New York rendered its verdict very clearly by voting eight to one for repeal with New York City leading the way with 1,047,068 to 25,506.[42] Farley himself was a substitute delegate to the New York convention on June 27 which probably could boast the most famous of all convention presidents, Al Smith.[43]

Toward the end of May, Delaware went "wet" by almost four to one, with the leading city, Wilmington, rendering its verdict even more overwhelmingly.[44] Nevada followed suit by selecting more than six hundred delegates in primaries for county conventions and only one of them, George Fawcett, a leader in the Latter-Day Saints Church, was committed to the retention of the Eighteenth Amendment.[45]

As the voting day drew near in Illinois, P. A. Nash spoke out against overconfidence, saying that the "dry" forces would leave no stone unturned to prevent the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

On the Republican side, William Weber of the Cook County Central Committee warned solemnly that downstate Illinois was normally dry and if Illinois voted against repeal, Indiana, which was to vote immediately afterward, would undoubtedly do the same.[46]

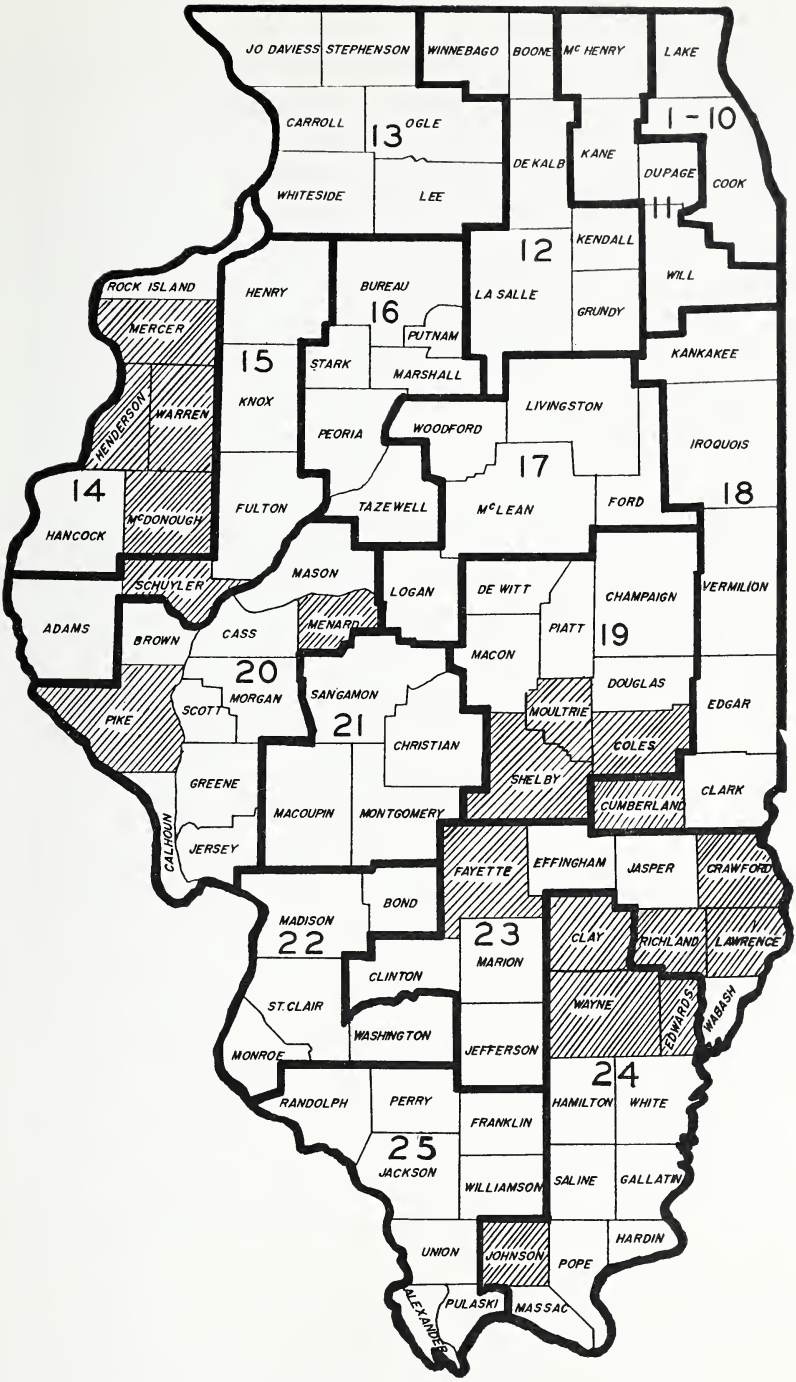
On June 5, the polls were open between the hours of 6 A.M. and 5 P.M. and, in addition to the ballots for the various judgeships, the voters were given the chance to express their

40. *Ibid.,* May 22, 1933, p. 2.
41. *Ibid.,* May 25, 1933, p. 1.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Brown, "State Convention Records and Laws," 294-95.
44. *Illinois State Journal,* May 28, 1933.
45. *Ibid.,* May 31, 1933, p. 1.
46. *Ibid.,* May 30, 1933, p. 1.

attitudes on the matter of repeal.[47] Illinois thus became the ninth state to do so, eight others all having supported the proposed amendment by large margins. Church bells rang in Chicago on election day at 7 A.M. and at noon in order to remind the voters of their duty to go to the polls.[48] The next morning, the *Illinois State Journal* headlined that "Illinois goes for repeal four to one."[49] There were slight deviations among the votes received by the various members of the respective slates; it had been possible to vote either for the entire list by putting an "X" at the top of the ballot or to vote for fifty different individuals. But these differences were minor; for example, in Cook County, where almost 700,000 votes were cast for the "wets," less than 3,000 votes separated the highest from the lowest winner – P. A. Nash received 699,977 votes and Orestes H. Wright, who occupied the number thirty-three spot, had 697,232.[50] No county split its ticket: only 19 out of the total of 102 counties supported the "drys." The total tabulation gave Nash 1,227,668 votes to 342,577 for Austin. Since the latter was able to get only 10 per cent of Nash's total in Chicago, or 69,484 to be precise, the pro-repeal slate obviously enjoyed a tremendous advantage. While the voters went to the polls in large numbers in industrial areas, the turnout was apparently light in rural districts.[51] Prohibitionists blamed their defeat on such factors as the combined efforts of the two major parties and the good weather which allegedly kept the farmers in

47. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1933, p. 1.
48. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1933, p. 1.
49. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1933, p. 1.
50. Official figures were obtained from the Illinois State Library, Springfield.
51. *Illinois State Journal*, June 6, 1933, p. 1.

The map at the right shows Illinois' congressional districts and how the counties voted on the Twenty-first Amendment. The shaded counties voted against ratification; they were Clay, Coles, Crawford, Cumberland, Edwards, Fayette, Henderson, Johnson, Lawrence, Menard, McDonough, Mercer, Moultrie, Richland, Schuyler, Pike, Shelby, Warren, and Wayne.


JO DAVIESS
STEPHENSON
WINNEBAGO
BOONE
Mc HENRY
LAKE
CARROLL
13
OGLE
1-10
DE KALB
KANE
DUPAGE
COOK
WHITESIDE
LEE
11
12
KENDALL
WILL
ROCK ISLAND
HENRY
BUREAU
LA SALLE
GRUNDY
MERCER
16
PUTNAM
KANKAKEE
15
STARK
MARSHALL
HENDERSON
WARREN
KNOX
LIVINGSTON
PEORIA
WOODFORD
IROQUOIS
17
14
18
McDONOUGH
FULTON
TAZEWELL
McLEAN
FORD
HANCOCK
MASON
SCHUYLER
LOGAN
DE WITT
CHAMPAIGN
VERMILION
ADAMS
BROWN
CASS
MENARD
PIATT
19
MACON
20
DOUGLAS
MORGAN
SANGAMON
EDGAR
PIKE
SCOTT
21
MOULTRIE
CHRISTIAN
COLES
SHELBY
GREENE
CLARK
CUMBERLAND
MACOUPIN
MONTGOMERY
CALHOUN
JERSEY
FAYETTE
EFFINGHAM
JASPER
CRAWFORD
BOND
MADISON
22
23
CLAY
RICHLAND
LAWRENCE
MARION
CLINTON
ST. CLAIR
WAYNE
EDWARDS
WABASH
WASHINGTON
MONROE
JEFFERSON
24
RANDOLPH
PERRY
HAMILTON
WHITE
FRANKLIN
25
JACKSON
WILLIAMSON
SALINE
GALLATIN
HARDIN
UNION
JOHNSON
POPE
ALEXANDER
PULASKI
MASSAC

the fields and away from the polls.[52] In most of the counties where they won, the anti-repeal forces had only relatively small margins: Coles County went "dry" by a vote of 5,955 to 5,688 while Henderson County did the same by 817 to 511. The margin of victory for repeal was generally much greater. LaSalle, Sangamon (Springfield), and Peoria counties voted against prohibition by about 22,000 to 4,000; 20,000 to 7,000; and 18,000 to 4,000, respectively, and this, of course, made all the difference, especially when added to the Chicago figures. The *Illinois State Journal* was quite pleased with the turnout, calling it second only to the presidential contest of 1932.[53]

Later in the same week the crucial state of Indiana voted 554,129 to 312,464 for repeal,[54] selecting 246 "wet" delegates out of a total of 329, thus making the Hoosier State safe for repeal, though, as it turned out, not without a heated debate on the convention floor.

As far as Illinois was concerned, the rest was anti-climatic. The fifty "wet" delegates had been elected and were now looking forward to the formality of ratification on July 10. A complication arose — and the only one — on July 9, when as the result of a fire in the south wing of the Capitol the House chamber was left water-soaked. According to one newspaper report, the Cook County delegation arrived at 3:30 P.M. on that day, called on the Governor, witnessed the fire, and then went into a huddle to complete convention details.[55] The convention assembled in the still-wet House chamber at noon on July 10, as prescribed by law. Governor Horner presided.[56] The roll of the delegates was called in alphabetical order, and then a resolution was presented, pointing to the "dangerous and unsafe conditions" of the meeting place. It was therefore suggested that the conven-

52. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1933, p. 4.
53. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1933, p. 1.
54. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1933, p. 1.
55. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1933, p. 1.
56. The account of what actually happened at the convention is from the *Proceedings of the Illinois "Repeal Convention"*, 17-31.

tion recess and immediately reconvene in the Senate chamber. By a roll-call vote of fifty to zero this was agreed upon.

Led by the Governor, the members crossed the hall to the Senate chamber. There the invocation was given by Monsignor William T. Sloan, president of the Catholic Welfare Council of Illinois. Next, Governor Horner delivered an address, expressing his pride in the occasion and lauding the delegates "as heralds of a great message entrusted to you by the people of Illinois. That message . . . will be heard throughout the Nation and welcomed wherever liberty is regarded as the birthright of American Citizenship." Whereupon the Governor introduced Mrs. William H. Mitchell, co-chairman of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, who in half-a-dozen sentences added her praise and congratulations to Horner's These were apparently the only speeches delivered on the general purpose of the convention, both in favor of repeal, both taking the outcome of the vote for granted, and both given by persons who were not delegates.

By a roll call of 50 to 0, Bruce Campbell was elected temporary presiding officer and was escorted to the chair by a committee of three. The time was not yet 12:30 P.M. After Campbell expressed his gratitude for the honor, delegate John W. Kapp, Jr., the mayor of Springfield, nominated State Senator Harold G. Ward of Chicago as secretary of the convention. Ward was not a delegate. Mayor Kapp recommended him warmly because he "represented not only the largest and most intelligent district of the state," but he also had worked very diligently in the General Assembly for the legislation that made possible the holding of the convention in the first place. There being no other nominations, Ward was duly elected temporary secretary by a roll call vote of 50 to 0.

A resolution was then offered and adopted, empowering the presiding officer to appoint a credentials committee of seven. Such a committee was promptly appointed.

Another resolution called on the presiding officer to appoint seven members "to prepare and recommend rules for the control and conduct" of the convention. This committee, too, was immediately named and proceeded at once to recommend that Robert's Rules of Order be followed, a suggestion which was adopted.

Now the credentials committee reported that "the delegates present have been duly and properly elected and qualified in accordance with law and are entitled to seats in this convention." A unanimous roll call vote confirmed this conclusion.

Next, the temporary presiding officer named a committee of three to wait upon the Honorable Norman L. Jones, judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, who, thus escorted, arrived and administered the oath of office to the delegates-elect.

Following a resolution to this effect, a seven-member committee on permanent organization was appointed and suggested the unanimous endorsement of Campbell as president of the convention. A roll call vote of 50 to 0 accepted this, and the former temporary president became the president proper. In a similar manner the committee recommended, and the unanimous roll-call vote endorsed, Ward's election as permanent secretary.

The committee on permanent organization then called for, and the convention by unanimous roll-call vote agreed to, the appointment of thirty officers and employees of the convention, ranging from executive assistant, minutes clerk, and assistant minutes clerk (all serving without compensation) to chaplain (at $10), six pages (at $5.00 per diem) and seven doorkeepers (at $8.00 per diem). The parliamentarian, sergeant-at-arms, and the three assistant sergeants-at-arms were named by the committee in the resolution; the other twenty-five appointments were immediately announced by the president of the convention.

After all these preliminaries the convention finally got down to the main business of the day or, for that matter, of

Bruce Campbell, who served as president of the Twenty-first Amendment convention.

John W. Kapp, Jr., mayor of Springfield and a delegate to the convention.

its existence. At the suggestion of delegate Arvey, a resolution was adopted empowering the president to appoint a seven-member resolutions committee. Its chairman, delegate Nash, immediately presented a resolution, recommending the ratification of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, repealing the Eighteenth Amendment. He moved the adoption of this resolution, delegate Toman seconded it, and on this crucial roll call fifty members approved, none disapproved. Campbell announced the resolution unanimously carried. Together with the secretary, he "executed and attached to the resolution" a certificate for the secretary of state to transmit to Washington, showing that Illinois had ratified the proposed amendment.

Four more resolutions were offered and passed, two of them by the now customary unanimous roll-call vote: a committee of nine was authorized – and promptly named by the president – to examine and transmit, together with the

president and secretary of the convention, the official certificate of ratification to the secretary of state of Illinois. The president and the secretary were empowered to approve the written minutes on behalf of the convention. The printing, binding, and distribution of fifteen hundred copies of the journal of the proceedings of the convention was authorized. Finally, the Honorable Edward J. Hughes, secretary of state, was assured of the "deep appreciation and thanks for the expeditious manner in which he arranged and prepared this chamber for the meeting of this Convention."

Having done all this, the "Repeal Convention" of the state of Illinois adjourned *sine die* at 12:55 P.M., fifty-five minutes after it was first called to order by Governor Horner in the water-soaked House chamber.

The *Illinois State Journal,* on July 10, had given a brief outline of the procedure to be followed at the convention. A reasonable supposition is that on the following day the news of the accomplished ratification would be heralded in banner headlines. However, not a word was to be found on the front page. The July 11 issue did contain an account of the convention proceedings, but it was hidden away on page ten in columns three and four and the lower part of five. In a more important position in columns one and two of this page were stories to the effect that the Philadelphia Athletics and the Chicago White Sox had split a doubleheader. Column five, which flanked the report on the ratification convention, was headed "$7,909 in Cash Prizes at Fair Poultry Show."[57]

In this way did Illinois become the tenth state to ratify the Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States,[58] which was proclaimed in effect on December 5, 1933.

57. *Illinois State Journal,* July 11, 1933, p. 10.

58. The amendment had previously been ratified by Michigan, on April 10; Wisconsin, April 25; Rhode Island, May 8; Wyoming, May 25; New Jersey, June 1; Delaware, June 24; Indiana and Massachusetts, June 26; and New York, June 27. Nevada, which is also mentioned in the paper, did not ratify until September 5.

Out in History's Left Field

By Clyde C. Walton

Looking for a new approach or a new theory? Try this one: Contance Irwin's *Fair Gods and Stone Faces* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1963, $7.50). The subtitle is *Ancient Seafarers and the New World's Intriguing Riddle.* What Mrs. Irwin presents is recent archaeological evidence suggesting there was contact between the Phoenicians and the Mayas long, long before Columbus. Fantastic? Read the book and see what you believe. Whatever you decide, Mrs. Irwin discusses a provocative subject. Now if we could just get her to apply her formidable talents to a topic like Marquette and Jolliet. . . .

I was reminded the other day that one of my special — and as yet unrealized — ambitions has been to catch a salmon with a fly rod. The reminder was Gordon B. Dodds, our friend at Knox College who has written a good book about one of the greatest salmon canners of all time, *The Salmon King of Oregon: R. D. Hame and the Pacific Fisheries* (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1963, $6.00). Hame was important as a pioneer in the business of salmon canning and a force in conservation. But, more important, here is an excellent example of how local history should be written. I only wish we had more people like Gordon Dodds to write books like this, and that the American Association for State and Local History, which sponsored the publication, could afford to issue more such works.

I have mentioned the Press of the Territorian before, and I have in front of me now numbers two and three "of a series"; both are by Peter Hertzog: *La Fonda: the Inn of Santa Fe* and *Little Known Facts about Billy the Kid.* They sell for $1.00 each and each presents original information about its subject. If you are interested in our southwest, or if you plan a trip down there, you ought to look at these pamphlets.

Another of our neighbors has a new history: Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota: A History of the State* (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1963, $8.50). Dr. Blegen is a historian and scholar of distinction, and this volume reflects his wide knowledge of Minnesota. A one-volume history of a state is a tough assignment; the author cannot put everything in, but neither can he ignore anything important. He is always balancing too much against too little. Dr. Blegen has produced an extremely well-balanced book, a book which is informative, well-written, and

authoritative. If two minor objections might be raised: the maps (there are twenty-one of them) could have been better and, unfortunately, there are no footnotes. These are small matters, for the maps are adequate and the section "For Further Reading" (pages 601-624) is an excellent bibliography and helps to answer for the absence of footnotes. I only wish that we had a history for each of our fifty states as good as this one.

Our good friend and vice-president of the Historical Society, Adin Baber, has writen volume three in the Hanks Family historical series: *Nancy Hanks, the Destined Mother of a President* (privately printed by the author: Kansas, Illinois, 1963, $15). Like the earlier numbers in this series — *Nancy Hanks of Undistinguished Families* and *The Hanks Family Legacy* — this volume is reproduced from typewritten copy and is sold exclusively by the Arthur H. Clark Company, Box 230, Glendale, California.

In the preface, the author says, "The purpose of this book is to present in a precise, concise and chronological order the ancestry of the Hanks and Harper forebears of Nancy Hanks Lincoln. It is an epitome of the larger book entitled, as Lincoln himself stated that his mother was, 'Nancy Hanks of Undistinguished Families'."

With Mr. Barber's penchant for close, careful research, this book is all that most will want to know about Nancy Hanks. Suffice it to say, the old myths about Nancy's illegitimacy are dispelled, and a clear, documented record of her family is presented. More credit to Mr. Baber for his patient, worthwhile work.

We all remember how the Virginian brought into our language the stirring phrase, "When you call me that, smile!" And we usually remember Owen Wister because he wrote one of the great romantic novels of the West. But to know the real Owen Wister — and to see the West as he saw it — I recommend *Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters* edited by Fanny Kemble Wister (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1958, $5.00).

Book Reviews

LEGENDS AND LORE OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS
By John W. Allen. (Area Services Division, Southern Illinois University: Carbondale, 1963. Pp. 404. $3.85.)

This book contains a rare distillation of the things John Allen has seen and heard and read about during a long life of observant awareness in Southern Illinois. Its seeming formlessness is part of its charm for, in reading through it, one has the distinct impression that each section and topic has been prompted by the one preceding it whether a logical connection can be found or not. One no sooner finishes it than he is ready to start browsing back through it for gems he may have slighted the first time over.

Those hundreds of readers who have enjoyed John's short syndicated essays in many Southern Illinois newspapers as well as in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* will possess in this book in permanent form all the best of them and many more. The scores of members of the Illinois State Historical Society who have stood around him at Shawneetown, Cave-in-Rock, the Old Slave House, the Mound City ways, the Thebes courthouse, and dozens of other treasured sites and have heard him simply and unaffectedly bring to life for them other days and other ways in Egypt will find in this book a precious memento of all the times John Allen has been with us in his own beloved land.

John's "omnium gatherum" has a wide range. It presents famous Illinoisans of whom everyone has heard — John A. Logan, Robert Ingersoll, William Jennings Bryan, William E. Borah — but there is room, too, for William Newby, Dr. George Fisher, James Hall, William Morrison, and Black John, the slave. Herein the author tells of superstitions and charms, of primitive tools and their uses, of sassafras, sorghum, and soft soap, of schools, churches, courthouses, and jails, of steamboats and ghost towns and names on the map.

Irving Dilliard has contributed a biographical foreword to the volume which will enhance its value to all of us who have had the privilege or knowing John Allen and of calling him friend.

Glenn H. Seymour
Eastern Illinois University

A special edition of John W. Allen's *Legends and Lore of Southern Illinois* will be published early in 1964 for the Illinois State Historical Society by the Area Services Division of Southern Ill-

inois University. Next year's members of the society will be able to obtain a copy of the book as a membership bonus. Members will be notified when the edition is off the press.

O. E., HISTORIAN WITHOUT AN ARMCHAIR

By Otto Eisenschiml. (Bobbs-Merrill Co.: Indianapolis, Ind., 1963. Pp. 224. $4.00.)

When Dr. Otto Eisenschiml died on December 7 at the age of eighty-three Illinois lost her most enthusiastic and most productive semi-professional historian (see page 732). *Historian Without an Armchair* was his last book, although, at the time of his death, he was working on several research projects.

"History is a mosaic composed of many small pieces," Dr. Eisenschiml said in this book, and then he proceeded to tell how he discovered some of the more interesting of those "small pieces." The "armchair historians" (those who write "in armchairs, with source books within easy reach") in general do not favor this "small pieces" theory, but Dr. Eisenschiml, during his long lifetime, assembled a number of mosaics large enough to make them take notice.

The author was particularly interested in Lincoln and the Civil War and he began exploring battlefields, forts, and storage vaults half a century ago. Some of the battlefields that he crawled over on hands and knees have since been made historic sites complete with monuments and bronze markers, and others have disappeared entirely. The contents of some of the vaults have been dusted off and published in book form and others are still gathering dust and awaiting new discoverers.

All of this exploring makes for entertaining reading when it is put together in Dr. Eisenschiml's style of writing, sometimes as if he were doing a mystery story and sometimes as if he were a news reporter. Many of these stories have been told before in magazine articles or in one or another of his ten books, but he added others that had never been published.

When Dr. Eisenschiml began his research, there were a number of Civil War veterans still living. His interviews with several of them are the basis for the first section of this book. Other sections are based on his early visits to homesteads, towns, and historic sites that probably are no longer in existence. The final sections concern some of the author's discoveries and theories on the assassination of Lincoln and the killing of John Wilkes Booth. On several occasions he turned up incidents that led into byways that

are more entertaining than historical.

The book has three pages of chapter notes at the end but it is not footnoted nor does it have an index. The "armchair historians" will still quibble over these omissions but that would not have annoyed the author — he had his brightly polished "small pieces" and he knew that they would be read and enjoyed.

H. F. R.

CHARLES EVANS: AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHER
By Edward G. Holley. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1963. Pp. xii, 343. $7.50.)

To librarians and bookmen the name of Charles Evans brings to mind the twelve big red volumes of the *American Bibliography.* Originally intended to include the years from the beginning of printing in the United States in 1639 to 1820, Evans, himself, was able to complete it only to 1799 but the American Antiquarian Society finally brought out volume thirteen covering the latter part of the alphabet for 1799 and the year 1800.

Few librarians, we are sure, could give any details of Charles Evans's life. And yet it was as a librarian that he began his career. He was one of the founders of the American Library Association and its first treasurer. His library career began as an assistant to William F. Poole, then at the Boston Athenaeum. In 1872 Evans organized the Indianapolis Public Library and was its librarian for a few years. Out of library work for a while, he returned to the profession to organize and direct the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore. From there he went to Omaha, Nebraska, for a year and then back to Indianapolis again as head librarian for three years. He then spent three years cataloging the Newberry Library in Chicago. From 1896 to 1901 he was secretary and librarian of the Chicago Historical Society.

His inability to work under people and to take orders was his undoing as a librarian. When he was discharged from the Chicago Historical Society, the president of the society, John N. Jewett, probably came close to the truth of Evans's character when he said, "He has learned nothing from experience, and probably never will." After 1901 he was no longer in library work but devoted the rest of his life to the *American Bibliography,* his magnum opus.

The life of Charles Evans is a tragic story. That a man of such ability and industry should live his entire life on the very verge of poverty is almost unbelievable. He left a monumental work, recognized by scholars the world

over, but he never benefited from it, or anything else, financially. Not until near the very end of his long life was he even given the recognition long due him in an honorary Litt.D. degree by Brown University in 1934. He died in Chicago the following year at the age of eighty-five. In 1884, he had married Lena Young in Texas, where he was then working as a salesman for a paper and stationery firm. They had four children — one of whom was "Chick" Evans of golf fame.

Every librarian should read this biography, and it will be with a sense of profound sorrow that they finish it — the story of the long life of an exceptional personality. The author, Edward G. Holley, director of libraries at the University of Houston, and the University of Illinois Press are to be congratulated for publishing this enlightening and detailed account of America's greatest bibliographer.

S. Ambrose Wetherbee

JEFFERSON AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERTY
By Dumas Malone. (Little, Brown and Co.: Boston, Mass., 1962. Pp. xxx, 545. $7.50.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON: APOSTLE OF LIBERTY
By Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. (Liveright Publishing Corp.: New York, 1962. Pp. 417. $5.95.)

Thomas Jefferson's connections with Illinois are not as intimate as with some other states, but they are important enough for citizens of Illinois to be aware of them, as well as the other great contributions of Jefferson to the national heritage of freedom. It was during Jefferson's Presidency, for example, that Illinois began to measure up to territorial status in preparation for the admission of Shadrach Bond of Kaskaskia to Congress as delegate from the new Illinois Territory. The territories of Illinois and Indiana came from lands originally ceded to the United States by Virginia, Jefferson's home state. Edward Coles, second governor of Illinois, corresponded with Jefferson on the subject of slavery.

The first book listed above is the third volume in Dumas Malone's truly distinguished biography of Jefferson against his times. Each volume is self-contained and this one, which presents Jefferson and "the ordeal of liberty," is particularly so. He is secretary of state in this period and then retires to Monticello without knowing how much is ahead of him in the way of stirring events. Few periods of our history have greater relevance for today than the hysterical

era of the Alien and Sedition Acts. For Americans of the 1790's and early 1800's, after having gone in for intellectually repressive legislation, had the sense to discard it and turn out of office its perpetrators. This is outstanding biographical and historical writing.

Mrs. Wilbur covers the whole of Jefferson's life with special emphasis on his devotion to liberty of which she properly calls him an "apostle." She succeeds in making her subject a human being, which is her second main intention. Few books about notable figures contain so much in the way of anecdotes and stories. It is hard to see how any public or school librarian could turn in book orders and not include these on our third President.

IRVING DILLIARD
Princeton University

THE HEARTLAND: OHIO, INDIANA, ILLINOIS
By Walter Havighurst. (Harper and Row: New York, 1962. Pp. x, 400. $6.95.)

The Heartland surveys the period from the French explorers to the Saint Lawrence Seaway. In chronicling almost three hundred years, Walter Havighurst devotes seventy per cent of the book to the period before 1865. The treatment of the post Civil War era is quite episodic although the author delineates briefly its major themes: modern literature, scientific agriculture, large-scale industrialization, recent waterways transportation, and labor organization.

In all the periods he describes, Professor Havighurst attempts to weigh economic, social, political, and intellectual history. To accomplish this broad task, he mainly employs the biographical approach, but where there are few noted men to illuminate his themes — immigration, labor, transportation — this method falters. Furthermore, the author does not always maintain balance and, as a result, topics like religion, education, and state politics receive little attention. At times the author oversimplifies, as in his explanation of the causes of the War of 1812.

The reader may overcome these deficiencies and fill in the book's gaps himself, however, by consulting works in the excellent bibliography. Despite some flaws, *The Heartland* is a fine introduction to the region's history, an interestingly-written sketch of the interaction of men of different cultures to their varying environments.

GORDON B. DODDS
Knox College

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

The papers of Illinois Governor Len Small (1921-1929), which were recently received by the Illinois State Historical Library (see July, 1963, *Dispatch*), can add immensely to our knowledge of the office of the governor and to the story of our state in the 1920's. The collection, comprising 102 transfer file cases, covers the period from 1910 to 1936. The cases had been stored in a garage at the Small home where they had survived two fires. The Governor's heirs, Mrs. Grace Small, Mrs. Jacqueline Gibbs, E. E. Inglesh, and Burrell and Len Small, presented the material to the Library.

The earliest correspondence in the collection deals with political matters for the period 1910-1912. After a gap of seven years, there are voluminous files for the remaining years, including the Govenor's term of office. Of especial interest are the records dealing with the planning and establishment of modern highways and their maintenance and patrol during the growth of the "hard road" program of the 1920's. Social and economic historians will be greatly interested in the correspondence relating to the Ku Klux Klan and to strikes and riots in Illinois during Small's tenure.

Governor Small is the eleventh governor of Illinois whose papers are in the Historical Library.

Another political figure of note, Congressman Joseph G. Cannon, is represented in a recent Library acquisition. Philip Shutt of Paris, a vice-president of the State Historical Society, gave the Library fifty of "Uncle Joe's" letters written to Asa J. Baber, president of the First National Bank of Paris in the 1880's and 1890's. The letters were discovered among the effects of the late Joseph Barnhart of Danville, a close friend and onetime secretary of Cannon's. Barnhart's daughter, Mrs. George Hoffman of Paris, received the letters from her mother and turned them over to Shutt for arrangement and deposit.

Cannon's political acumen and skill are demonstrated in his comments to Baber regarding local and national politics. Much of the correspondence concerns patronage appointments in Illinois and it is obvious that Baber was Cannon's trusted confidante and political advisor in Edgar County.

The collection also includes letters to Baber from A. M. Jones, chairman of the Illinois Republican State Central Committee at the time, and one from Senator Shelby M. Cullom.

BERNARD WAX

News and Comment

S. I. U. Entertains Society at Annual Meeting

Members who attended the Illinois State Historical Society's sixty-fourth annual meeting in Carbondale on October 4-6 were treated to a new-fashioned brand of hospitality — it is Southern Illinois University hospitality. The facilities and personnel of this large and growing educational institution were made available to them on a weekend when the football team was out of town and there was a lull in campus activity. University buses took them on tours, several faculty members gave talks, students entertained, and the visitors had almost exclusive use of lounges, meeting rooms, and a ballroom.

At their business session the society's directors elected Gilbert G. Twiss of Chicago president for 1963-1964 and Dr. William A. Pitkin of Carbondale senior vice-president. The new president is a copy editor in the editorial department of the *Chicago Tribune* and a long-time officer in the Chicago Civil War Round Table. Pitkin is an associate professor of history at S.I.U. and a former director and vice-president of the society.

President Robert M. Sutton of Urbana presided at the annual membership meeting Saturday morning when five new directors of the society were elected: Miner T. Coburn of Wilmette, a teacher at New Trier High School; King V. Hostick, Chicago and Springfield dealer in and collector of historical manuscripts; Neil Lathrop, head of the history department at Freeport Junior College; Wayne E. Morgan, Springfield insurance executive; and James D. Trabue, Belleville attorney.

Vice-presidents named by the directors for the coming year are Arnold Alexander, Evanston; Adin Baber, Kansas; William H. Barrick, Rockford; Gunnar Benson, Sterling; Mrs. Fred C. Evers, Elmhurst; Sibley B. Gaddis, Mt. Sterling; Father Landry Genosky, O.F.M., Quincy; Donald F. Lewis, Bethalto; Michael S. Lerner, Chicago; Marion C. Moore, Tolono; Philip D. Sang, River Forest; Ebers Schweizer, Chester; Mrs. Maitland A. Timmermiere, Alton; Donald F. Tingley, Charleston; and Sylvestre G. Watkins, Sr., Chicago. Clyde C. Walton was re-elected executive director.

Nearly a hundred early arrivals Friday evening enjoyed a smorgasbord dinner in the University Center River Rooms, took a walking tour of the campus, and then returned for a reception at which they were guests of S.I.U.

The four buses with their 142

passengers left the University Center for the Saturday tour soon after the membership meeting. Going east from Carbondale they passed the S.I.U. Southern Acres Campus, Crab Orchard Lake, and the national wildlife preserve, and then turned south several miles to the new federal penitentiary near Marion which was almost completed. When all of the visitors were inside the lobby and the doors locked behind them, they were given a briefing by associate warden Michael Kolinchak and then began their hour-and-a-quarter tour with a guard as the guide for each group of about twenty-five. At the time the institution was considered to be on a "camp status" and the 213 short-term prisoners were working on a variety of construction-finishing projects. Thus the visitors were given a complete tour, which will not be allowed after the institution is in operation as a maximum security prison. They were shown through the receiving and discharging facilities, kitchens, dining rooms, visiting rooms, cellblocks, dormitory rooms, library, hospital, auditorium, recreation facilities, classrooms, the television-equipped control center, and the circular chapel with its revolving altar which can provide a setting for Jewish, Roman Catholic, or Protestant worship.

From the prison the buses traveled a dusty dirt road past Devil's Kitchen Lake to the S.I.U. Little Grassy Lake Camp II where a barbecue chicken luncheon was served. Following the luncheon William F. Price, director of the Little Grassy camp, welcomed the group and told of the construction of the camp, which was built for handicapped children.

Dr. Benjamin Frank, assistant director of the S.I.U. Crime and Correction Center, spoke on "The Significance of the New Maximum Security Prison to Southern Illinois." He pointed out that the Marion institution is the first such federal prison built in the past sixty years, and a primary reason for the choice of the location was the proximity of the university — other federal prisons are being built in West Virginia and North Carolina near university towns. When in operation the Marion institution will have 600 prisoners.

Frank J. Kopecky, supervisor of the 211,000-acre Shawnee National Forest, then gave a brief history of that area since the first federal representative arrived on October 1, 1933.

By the time the program ended it was nearly 3 P.M. and only half a dozen horseback riders and an equal number of fishermen could be found taking advantage of the many recreational opportunities that were available. The others returned to Carbondale to watch the third game of the World Series and the football games.

Following the Society's annual banquet Saturday evening at the

Newly elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society, Gilbert Twiss, second from left, is congratulated by Robert M. Sutton, 1962-1963 president. At left is Dr. William A. Pitkin, who was elected senior vice-president. Charles D. Tenney, at right, was the speaker at the society's Sunday luncheon.

University Center the panel wall at one end of the ballroom folded into its recess revealing a stage set up for the evening's musical program "History in Song" under the direction of Robert Kingsbury, of the S.I.U. music department. Three student music groups presented the program which began with several spirituals by the University Choir (twenty-four girls and sixteen boys) and ended half an hour later with "Nothing Like a Dame" from "South Pacific" sung by the University Men's Glee Club (forty-three voices). The third group was the University Chamber Choir (ten girls and six boys).

Following this musical program the wall at the other end of the ballroom folded back and there was a second stage set up for a dramatic presentation, "The Legend of Southern Illinois," by Julia Bradley. The seven members of the Southern Players cast (three girls and four boys) told their story with dramatic readings and guitar-accompanied ballads — they went from keelboats to steamboats, to railroads, the Civil War, the rise and decline of mining, and ended by extolling the scenic beauties and recreational facilities of present-day Egypt.

On Sunday morning John E. Lonergan, campus landscape architect and a planning engineer for S.I.U., conducted three half-

hour bus tours of the 640-acre campus. The tourists saw most of the University's 210 buildings, beginning with Old Main and ending with the new 200-foot-in-diameter domed arena, and including superannuated "temporary" structures and sites where groundbreaking took place less than a week before.

Following the Sunday luncheon three of Dr. Pitkin's graduate students in history read papers on "The Issue of Freedom in Illinois." The three crises they cited took the form of brief biographies of three governors of the state: "Edward Coles, 1822-1826," by Thomas Cassidy; "William Bissell, 1857-1860," by Mrs. Mary Jane Hiller; and "Richard Yates, 1861-1865," by Linda Hartman.

The final speaker was Charles D. Tenney, S.I.U. vice-president for instruction, whose subject was "The Future of Southern Illinois: A Prediction." He had consulted geologists, anthropologists, sociologists, engineers, and other scientists, and made his forecast a synthesis of their views. He visualized a professor of 2000 A.D., attired in a suit of disposable fabric, taking off in his solar-powered helicopter from the landing court in the center of his circular house in the woods, and flying over an area of man-made lakes, cultivated forests, and small industries to deliver a paper on "The Future of Southern Illinois: A Revised Version and Amended Prediction."

He concluded his talk at 3:30 P.M., thus ending the sixty-fourth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society.

CARBONDALE NOTES: Dr. (William A.) and Mrs. (Minnie Mae) Pitkin were the local arrangements committee for the society's sixty-fourth annual meeting. And they proved what two people can accomplish in six months if they work hard and have the facilities and personnel of a university to work with.

Mrs. Doris P. Leonard of Princeton, chairman of the awards committee, announced at the banquet Saturday the selection of a mayor, a writer-artist, and two local historical societies to receive the society's distinguished-service-to-history awards for 1963. They were Springfield's Mayor Nelson O. Howarth, who has taken an active part in a program for preservation and restoration of the Lincoln Home area; John A. Gustafson of Batavia, author-illustrator of a history of his home town; the Evanston Historical Society, which sponsors a variety of educational programs and has more than a thousand members; and the Peoria Historical Society, which purchased the historic Judge John C. Flanagan home and converted it into a historical museum.

S.I.U. President and Mrs. Delyte W. Morris were guests at the

society's annual banquet, after having stopped by to say hello at the barbecue luncheon earlier in the day.

Carbondale's weather was dry, dry, dry, with temperatures in the low fifties in the mornings and mid-eighties in the afternoons. Although some trees had begun to take on their fall colors, the experts reported that the meeting was about two weeks early for the full fall color display.

Director Kingsbury was forced to conduct the musical program Saturday evening seated on the edge of a chair; his right ankle was in a cast, the result of an automobile accident. Incidentally, the celesta (for the benefit of the musically unindoctrinated) which one of the Chamber Choir accompanists played, is something of a rare hybrid instrument — a sort of glockenspiel with a keyboard.

The society banquet played a dual role for the Michael Lerners of Chicago — it was also their twenty-third wedding anniversary dinner.

President Gil Twiss had as guests for the meeting his daughter, Mrs. James W. Heegeman of Newport, Rhode Island, and his sister, Mrs. R. B. Siegert of Pana. The latter flabbergasted her fellow sight-seers on the campus tour by referring to a culvert over which the bus passed as a "whistle."

The society's Robert R. McCormick Historymobile with its exhibit "Slavery to Freedom: History of the Negro in Illinois" missed the meeting because driver-lecturer Charles V. Weishaupt became ill several days earlier and was confined to a Springfield hospital.

Registration at Carbondale was just under two hundred. The largest group, 167, was at the Saturday luncheon.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Members of the Alton Area Historical Society were guests of Principia College on September 29 when they heard reviews of the history of the college and the Elsah area. Dr. John Wanamaker, biology department head, and Dr. Charles B. Hosmer, history professor and a national authority on historic preservation, were speakers for the program which was followed by a tour of the Ames and Turner homesites. After the tour, a tea was held in the home of Mrs. Edward T. Grayson in the village of Elsah. Arrangements for the program were made by Mrs. John F. Lemp.

The Auburn Historical Society had a new president when it held its quarterly meeting on September

3. Upon the resignation of Orin Jenkins because of ill health, Mrs. Bertha Penn, vice-president, assumed his duties. The society was reassured by Wayne Harris, president of the Association of Commerce, that his organization will support the observance of the one hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the founding of Auburn to be held in 1965. The society is sponsoring the Auburn Heritage Contest for junior high and senior high school students in the categories of arts and crafts and essays.

The Aurora West Side board of education has renamed two elementary schools on the recommendation of the Aurora Historical Society. Schneider School, formerly North Aurora School, was renamed for a pioneer North Aurora family some members of which were educators; and Gertrude Scott Smith School, previously Beau Ridge School, was so-called in memory of a teacher with a forty-six-year record. Aurora Historical Museum president F. W. Schussler announced the retirement of Mrs. Alice Applegate, curator since 1937, and Miss Bess Lockhart, secretary of the historical society for many years.

The historic bell which summoned children to classes in the Louise White School in Batavia for sixty-eight years was dedicated in the city's Little Triangle Park by the Batavia Historical Society on Sunday, September 15, with the address being delivered by Oliver Freedlund, president of the society. The "Now and Then" committee of the society reported a large number of pictures have been received on loan for its display.

Bureau County's Red Covered Bridge was rededicated at a centennial commemoration program sponsored by the Bureau County Historical Society on September 2. The bridge was erected in 1863 and has played an important part in the history of Bureau County since that time. Welcoming the visitors were Mrs. Perry D. Trimble, president of the society, and Roger Steele, representing the city of Princeton. Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and the following representatives of neighboring historical societies extended their greeting: L. R. Casey, president, Sterling-Rock Falls; W. D. Boyle, director, Putnam County; Mrs. Myrna Swanson, president, Marshall County; and A. V. Colby, vice-president, Henry County. Bureau County Judge H. W. Gunning rededicated the bridge to close the program.

A program which reflected the German background of the founders of Arenzville was presented at the Cass County Historical Society's fall meeting, September 19 at the Arenzville Legion Hall. The town of Arenzville was host to the group. Mrs. Leland Schnake told

about Francis Arenz, founder of Arenzville, who came to Illinois in 1829. New board members, Robert Morse of Virginia and Mrs. W. H. Rodgers of Beardstown, were announced by Miss Marjorie Taylor, president.

The Cairo Historical Association board met at Magnolia Manor in July and elected officers for the coming year. Mrs. Dallas Wood was named president, succeeding Mrs. Lucille Woodward. Mrs. Wood announced that Virginia Cade Luby had agreed to design and carry out the theme, A Victorian Wedding at Christmas Time, for Holiday House 1963. Other officers include Miss Shirley Diggs, Mrs. Joe K. Marchildon, and Clayton Boone, executive directors; C. W. Berbling, Roy Collins, the Rev. Bascom Hopkins, and Earl L. Jewell, vice-presidents; Miss Demetra Upshaw, secretary; and Mrs. Winnie C. Roche, treasurer. Boone, Collins, and the Rev. Mr. Hopkins were appointed to the roof repairs committee for Magnolia Manor.

Dr. Archie Jones, associate director of the Chicago Historical Society, has resigned his post to become dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. Dr. Jones had been with the society since 1959.

"Life in Chicago 1900-1935," a photographic exhibit selected from a collection of 100,000 glass negatives, closed its long run at the historical society museum on September 8. The collection was donated by the *Chicago Daily News.*

The newly organized Coles County Historical Society has had a busy life touring the historical sites of the vicinity. In late September approximately 175 members probed the past of Hutton Township. The three-division motor caravan's itinerary included the burial site of the minister who preached at Thomas Lincoln's funeral, the town of Hutton, Whetstone Cemetery, and the Five-Mile House at the intersection of Route 130 and Hutton Road.

The Effingham Regional Historic Society sponsored the personal appearance at the Helen Matthes Library, Effingham, of John W. Allen, on September 23, to autograph copies of his new book *Legends and Lore of Southern Illinois.* Approval was given recently by the library's board of directors for the purchase of steel filing cabinets for the storage of materials being collected by the historical society.

Students of the Elmwood schools presented a program dealing with the histories of community institutions and organizations including the bank, library, and fire department, at the August 26 meeting of the Elmwood Historical Society. "The Battle of Vicks-

burg" was the title of the program presented at the July meeting by Bob Callis and Wayne Nystrom of Galva. They gave a demonstration of the mechanism of a Civil War musket and pistol, and had an exhibit using two hundred toy soldiers to show the Union position at the approach to Vicksburg and a display of many books dealing with the subject.

The Evanston Historical Society had a busy summer preparing for and taking a major part in the Evanston centennial celebration. The society's home at the Dawes mansion was the scene of numerous tours and gatherings throughout the celebration period. Two notable gifts were received by the society during the summer. An exact replica of a dress worn by Mary Todd Lincoln in 1863, Evanston's founding year, was presented to the society by the First National Bank of Chicago. And a silk brocade wedding gown worn by her mother-in-law in 1893 was presented by Mrs. James W. Good, Jr.

Geneva's Little Traveler organization has turned over its most prized possession, a seventeenth-century crèche, to the Geneva Historical Society. It was a gift from Mrs. Walter A. Krafft, former owner of The Little Traveler, an old house that has been converted into a gift shop. The eighteenth-century figurines in the nativity scene were assembled by members of the organization during trips abroad. Mrs. Margaret A. Allan, secretary of the historical society, said that the crèche will be stored until the planned society museum is built in Wheeler Park.

Officers of the Henry County Historical Society were among the guests at a reception in the Cambridge home of Mrs. Bernice Florine for Mrs. Helen Duprey Bullock of Washington, D. C., director of information of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, when she visited Bishop Hill in early July in the interest of preserving that town's pioneer heritage. Mrs. Bullock was accompanied by Richard Hagen, historical consultant for the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, who was her guide on the visit.

The Joliet Historical Society, formed last February under the chairmanship of Paul G. Hensel, Jr., is seeking a site for a new historical museum. The post office building is considered the most likely location if that facility is replaced with a new building. Interest has been so great and offers of displays so numerous that proposed smaller buildings would be inadequate.

Lusk Memorial Cemetery Park, Edwardsville, was the setting for the first Land of Goshen Historical Society meeting of the new season, on September 8. Ben J. Isselhardt, Jr., gave a historical review of the cemetery where many of the

founding fathers of Edwardsville and the Goshen area are buried.

Members of the Lawrence County Historical Society and the Arts and Crafts Guild met at Lawrence Township Park in mid-July to hear John W. Allen tell of the great heritage of history that has been left by the people of years ago who lived in Southern Illinois. The author of *Legends and Lore of Southern Illinois* shared many of his stories and statistics with the crowd.

A. Edson Smith, former president of the Madison County Historical Society, will serve as the first curator of the new Madison County Historical Museum at the Weir House in Edwardsville, which was purchased during the last week of July. Mrs. Louise Ahrens, curator of the old museum in the county courthouse, will be the assistant director and receptionist at the new site.

An important contribution to the renovation of the Weir property was an offer by an Alton resident to re-landscape the grounds in keeping with the century-ago period and to rework the brick walks. The new museum is one of the oldest houses in the county, dating back to 1836 when it was built by Dr. John H. Weir, one of Edwardsville's early settlers.

The historical society also recently acquired eighty-eight volumes that were in the original Edwardsville library — one of the first public libraries in Illinois. The gift was made by Miss R. Louise Travous of Edwardsville, a granddaughter of the late John T. Lusk, a founder of the library.

Wenona members of the Marshall County Historical Society were hosts September 15 at a ceremony dedicating the William Hunt tree in Cumberland Cemetery located in Evans Township west of Wenona, not far from old Fort Darnell. The tree, a Scotch pine, has endured for a hundred years and, according to legend, was planted on the Hunt grave to camouflage it as a protection against grave robbers, who dug up and sold bodies to medical scientists for research purposes. Some years later a small monument was placed on the grave and in time this stone has become embedded in the trunk of the tree.

The float of the Mercer County Historical Society appeared in parades at the New Windsor Fair and Rodeo and the New Boston Fish Fry last summer, and in each parade received an award of $10. Also, the society was presented $500 as a reward for realizing its goal of more than two hundred paid-up members during the fiscal year 1963. The payment was made by Paul Blazer, of Ashland, Kentucky, who was reared in Mercer County and still has an interest in its welfare.

The Nauvoo Historical Society celebrated its tenth anniversary

with a picnic at its quarterly meeting in July. Mrs. Sophia Harsch, ninety-nine, was honored as the oldest active charter member. Preston Kimball read a ten-page résumé of the society's history compiled by Mrs. Edna Griffiths, publicity chairman, to open the meeting. Society board member James Moffitt, who is chairman of the Upper Mississippi River Travel Council, gave an interesting talk describing and explaining the plans and progress of that organization.

A new museum case with sliding doors and removable shelves is being purchased with money received from the estate of Mrs. Caroline Beebe, first president of the Ogle County Historical Society. Russell Poole, president, announced this acquisition at the family picnic meeting of the society held in late August at Weld Park near Stillman Valley. A committee appointed by the society is negotiating for a newly unearthed mill wheel found near Cherry Valley to be placed either in the yard of the museum in Oregon or at Weld Park, the former mill site. At the meeting Armour Van Briesen gave a history of Weld Park, Black Walnut Creek, which runs through the park, and the Black Walnut School east of the park.

The Palos Historical Society (Palos Park) received a collection of old Palos photographs in July as the gift of Sidney Traub, a resident of the community for fifty-five years. Traub took the pictures himself, dating back to 1892 when he first went to Palos Park with his family for a visit. His remarks about the history of the community have been tape-recorded for the Palos Historical Society archives.

Trinity Lutheran Church at Conant was the focal point of the August 5 meeting of the Perry County Historical Society. The organization met at the church to study the building and its history. Rev. Reinhardt Zimmerman, the minister, gave an account of the building which was constructed in 1897; Mrs. Theodore Schudt read an obituary of Ernest Frederick Brune, one of the men who did the woodwork on the church; William H. Schrader told of his experiences at the church and school soon after the structure was built; and Mrs. Dorothy Cooke and Mrs. Frieda Beck showed pictures of the building at different periods of its existence.

Approximately forty members and guests of the Pike County Historical Society were present at the September meeting held in the basement of the Methodist church in Pittsfield. Miss Peggy Farrell spoke on "Pike County's Participation in the Black Hawk War." Her research revealed that one hundred Pike County volunteers took part in the war, and that Black Hawk may have camped at

one time along the banks of Bay Creek.

A cornfest at the Charter Oak School near Schuline August 17 under the sponsorship of the Randolph County Historical Society met with an overwhelming response from members and visitors of the area.

Lily Flynn of Percy was in charge of the arrangements which included an outdoor-cooked meal complete with Indian pudding served from the fireplace. Members created a pioneer setting by the use of flowers, checked tablecloths, and antique arrangements, and were themselves dressed in pioneer costumes.

Mrs. Cameron Townsend of near Schuline has furnished the society a complete description of the octagonal Charter Oak School as it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

William H. Barrick was elected the second president of the Rockford Historical Society, succeeding Ray F. Lichtenwalner, who served during the first year of the society's existence. The election preceded a picnic August 4 on the Rockford College old campus with members of the Tinker Cottage Association and the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford as guests of the society. Other officers include: vice-presidents, Jess L. Robinson, Emma Lundgren, and Blanche Alden; secretary, Arthur Huenkemeier; and treasurer, Harry Andreen.

The St. Clair County Historical Society has acquired the property at 701 Washington Street, Belleville, and will restore it to its original appearance as the Mr. and Mrs. Henry A. Lengfleder Memorial Museum, an educational museum and headquarters for the society. The two-story brick residence was built in 1866 by Moritz S. Dobschuetz, one of the early business leaders of Belleville, and was occupied by his family until around 1893. The immediate former owner was Miss Lisa Lind. The acquisition and restoration of the house will help to emphasize Belleville's architectural heritage during the sesquicentennial celebration planned for next year commemorating the city's anniversary as the seat of St. Clair County.

Members of the Saline County Historical Society were called to order in the high school in Eldorado at their September meeting by the ringing of an old country school bell. The history of Eldorado, Illinois, was told through a one-act play presented by T. Leo Dodd as the teacher; John W. Allen, portraying the county superintendent of schools; and the students, whose reports told the story, were Grace Karnes, Lee Skaggs, Dr. James A. Barker, B. E. Skelton, Judy Barker, and Nelson Fowler.

Professor Robert Johannsen, chairman of the University of Illinois department of history, spoke on the life of Stephen A. Douglas at a meeting of the Sangamon County Historical Society in Springfield on September 9. The author of *The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas* told of Douglas's attempts to unify the states during the pre-Civil War period. The society also presented awards to the winners in its essay contest.

Meeting at Lithia Springs, northeast of Shelbyville, in September, the Shelby County Historical Society discussed plans for the establishment of a historical museum.

The society and the Shelbyville Chautauqua Association brought together nearly 150 paintings by Shelbyville's Robert M. Root for an exhibit on the centennial of his birth. The exhibit was held in the Chautauqua Auditorium as a part of the society's 1963 schedule of Chautauqua events.

Mr. and Mrs. J. Carroll Moerk have been appointed by the Stephenson County Historical Society to the positions of resident curators of the county historical museum.

The Vandalia Historical Society has distributed its first publication, a biographical sketch of the late Joseph C. Burtschi. The eight-page pamphlet was written by his daughter, Mary Burtschi, and printed by the *Vandalia Leader*. The project was begun in 1957 when an editor of the *Leader* asked Miss Burtschi for a sketch of her father for the newspaper's files. Mr. Burtschi was the founder and first president of the Vandalia Historical Society.

Historian Otto Eisenschiml Dies

Otto Eisenschiml, historian, Civil War and Lincoln authority, lecturer, and chemist, died at his Chicago home on December 7 at the age of eighty-three. He had been a member of the Illinois State Historical Society for the past thirty years, a speaker at Society meetings, and had contributed a number of articles and book reviews to this *Journal*.

Dr. Eisenschiml was known as a thorough researcher and an entertaining writer and speaker. His historical discoveries sometimes led to controversies with other historians whose theories he did not accept, and he seemed to enjoy the resulting conflicts which were waged on the lecture platform and in the magazines. Whatever he did or said, he was never dull.

Dr. Eisenschiml was born in Vienna, Austria, on June 18, 1880, as an American citizen — his father had spent more than twenty years in this country and had been naturalized. The future historian studied at the Vienna

Polytechnical Institute; he graduated in 1901, and came immediately to the United States. He worked as a chemist for the Carnegie Steel Company in Pittsburgh from 1901 to 1904, when he became chief chemist for the American Linseed Company of Chicago (1904-1912). He then formed the Scientific Oil Compounding Company, which later became Scientific Chemicals, Inc. He was chairman of the board of directors of the latter firm at the time of his death.

Although he had begun a writing career as a newspaper reporter while he was still in Vienna, Dr. Eisenschiml did not publish his first book until he was fifty-seven years of age. From that time on he was a prolific writer.

The eleven books of which he was the author are *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* (1937), *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death* (1940), *Reviewers Reviewed; A Challenge to Historical Critics* (1940), *Without Fame; the Romance of a Profession* (1942), *The Case of A.L. — Aged 56* (1943), *The Story of Shiloh* (1946), *The Art of Worldly Wisdom* (1947), *The Celebrated Case of Fitz John Porter* (1950), *Why the Civil War?* (1958), *The Hidden Face of the Civil War* (1961), and *O. E., Historian Without an Armchair* (1963). (For review of the last named, see page 716.) He was co-author of *The American Iliad,* with Ralph G. Newman (1947) and *As Luck Would Have It,* with E. B. Long (1948), and was one of seven co-authors of *Chicago Murders* (1945), which was edited by Sewell Peaslee Wright. He also edited *Vermont General: The Unusual War Experiences of Edward Hastings Ripley, 1862-1865* (1960).

Why Was Lincoln Murdered?, Dr. Eisenschiml's best known work, was reprinted in Great Britain (1938) and dramatized as "Mr. President" by Paul Horgan and performed on the New York stage (1942). *Without Fame* is autobiographical, and *The Story of Shiloh* is practically the official version of that battle. *The Art of Worldly Wisdom* is a rewriting of the philosophies of the seventeenth-century Spanish Jesuit Baltasar Gracián y Morales.

The American Iliad was later reprinted as Vol. I of the two-volume *The Civil War* (1956) — Vol. II was *The Picture Chronicle of the Events, Leaders and Battlefields of the War* by Ralph G. Newman and E. B. Long. *Iliad* was also issued as a paperback titled *Eyewitness: The Civil War as We Lived It* (1956).

Articles by Dr. Eisenschiml published in this *Journal* include "Addenda to Lincoln's Assassination" (Summer and Autumn, 1950), "A 'Study' of John Surratt?" (Summer, 1958), and "The 55th Illinois at Shiloh" (Summer, 1963).

In addition to an honorary Doctor of Literature degree from Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, Dr. Eisenschiml received citations and awards from a large number of organizations in the fields of history and chemistry. Among these were Lincoln College, the Illinois State Historical Society, the Chicago Civil War Round Table, the College of St. Francis (Joliet, Illinois), the High Point (North Carolina) Civil War Round Table, the American Institute of Chemists, and the American Chemical Society.

His writing and lecturing extended into the chemical field, and he was a founder and the first editor of the *Chicago Chemical Bulletin*. Dr. Eisenschiml served the government as a member of chemical advisory groups in the two World Wars, and he was the developer of a flexible coating for barbed-wire entanglements, a gas-proof covering for balloons, and other chemical products for wartime use.

Dr. Eisenschiml is survived by his widow, Bertha, and by two sons, Gerald A. and Ralph E., and a daughter, Mrs. Rosalie Ginglass.

Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, Lincoln Authority, Dies

Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, former Acting Illinois State Historian, died at Memorial Hospital, Springfield, on December 13, after an illness of eight months.

At the time of her death Mrs. Pratt was an archival assistant in the State Archives division of the Illinois State Library. She was known nationally for her work in the field of Lincoln research for which she had received numerous honors.

Mrs. Pratt was born Marion Dolores Bonzi on June 4, 1907, at Rockford, Illinois. She studied at Rockford College, where she graduated in 1928, and at the University of Illinois, where she received a M.A. degree in history the following year. During nine of the next sixteen years, she taught history and was assistant to the dean of Rockford College. She was twice the recipient of the Talcott Fellowship at the University of Chicago where she studied for three years toward her Ph.D. degree and worked as a research assistant in the history department. She also taught at colleges in Omaha and Fairbury, Nebraska.

Marion Bonzi came to Springfield in 1945 as an assistant editor of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. William E. Baringer was then the editor and he was succeeded by Roy P. Basler. The project was being sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Association.

In 1950, Dr. Harry E. Pratt, who had been executive secretary

of the Association from 1936 to 1943, returned to Springfield to become the Illinois State Historian and head of the Illinois State Historical Library. There had always been a close interdependence between the State Historical Library and the Abraham Lincoln Association and, as a result, the State Historian and the assistant editor soon found that their mutual interest in the Lincoln story was causing them to spend much of their time together. This relationship resulted in their marriage, which took place on October 1, 1950, and they became a husband-and-wife history team.

The Abraham Lincoln Association suspended operations in 1953 with the publication of the nine-volume *Collected Works* and its vast files of Lincoln material were transferred to the Historical Library. Mrs. Pratt continued to work for the Association for several months to wind up its affairs and supervise the move to the Library. She then became assistant secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society and unofficial assistant to her husband in his Lincoln studies.

On April 15, 1955 — the anniversary of Lincoln's death — Dr. Pratt suffered a heart attack and was hospitalized for a month or more. During this time he was able to continue his work as State Historian and his Lincoln research with Mrs. Pratt acting as his agent and assistant. Then, on February 12, 1956 — the one hundred and forty-seventh anniversary of Lincoln's birth — Dr. Pratt had a second heart attack; this one quickly fatal. Within a day or two

Mrs. Marion D. Pratt

Mrs. Pratt was appointed Acting State Historian — as the one person best able to tie up the loose ends of her husband's affairs at the Library. She continued in this position until October of that year when she joined the staff of the State Archives.

Among the honors received by Mrs. Pratt for her Lincoln studies, some were shared with her husband and others were accorded to her after his death. The most unusual of their honors came in

1954 when Dr. and Mrs. Pratt were awarded Doctor of Literature degrees by Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois. They were presented a joint citation which stated, in part, that they were being recognized for "unflagging devotion to the cause of historical accuracy and careful investigation . . . conscientious and creative editorship . . . [and] knowledge and integrity in the Lincoln field."

Carl Sandburg began the dedication to his one-volume edition of *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years* by writing: "To Harry and Marion Dolores Pratt, a handsome team of Lincoln scholars, who gave time and care to the new manuscript of the Prairie Years." And Dr. James G. Randall said in his *Lincoln the President: Midstream,* "The Pratts — Harry E. Pratt of the Illinois State Historical Library and Mrs. Marion Bonzi Pratt of the Abraham Lincoln Association — stand high among the author's distinguished benefactors by reason of their incomparable knowledge, able guidance, and unstinting service."

In 1953 Mrs. Pratt was awarded the Lincoln Diploma of Honor by Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee — her husband had received the same recognition earlier. In 1959 she was one of thirteen Illinoisans named honorary members of the national Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.

In the field of Lincoln scholarship Mrs. Pratt was known as an editor and researcher. On several occasions she edited the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly,* and during her term as Acting State Historian she was editor of this *Journal.* She also helped to edit books sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Association, and acted as editorial advisor for radio and television programs about Lincoln. Although she did not do much writing, two of her last magazine articles helped to further the Lincoln story. They were "From State Capitol to Historic Lincoln Shrine," *Illinois Libraries,* June, 1962, and "Some New Finds in the State Archives," *Illinois History,* February, 1959.

Mrs. Pratt was an active member of the First Methodist Church of Springfield where she was serving on the official board at the time of her death. She was one of the first directors of the Sangamon County Historical Society, and belonged to a number of historical organizations.

Funeral services were held at the First Methodist Church on Monday, December 16, and Mrs. Pratt was buried beside her husband on a hillside in Oak Ridge Cemetery in the shadow of the Lincoln Tomb.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, and photographs. The Historical Library specializes in Lincolniana and materials related to the Civil War and has large holdings in these two categories.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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